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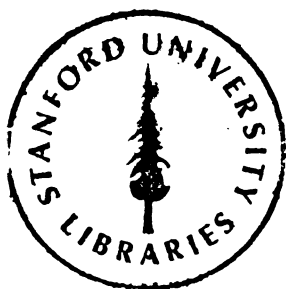
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A
REVIEW
OF THE
REV. DR. CHANNING'S DISCOURSE,
PREACHED AT THE DEDICATION
OF THE
SECOND CONGREGATIONAL UNITARIAN CHURCH,
NEW YORK,

DECEMBER 7, 1826.

by
B. B. Winner of Boston

BOSTON :
HILLIARD, GRAY, LITTLE, AND WILKINS.

1827.



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REVIEW.

A Discourse, preached at the Dedication of the Second Congregational Unitarian Church, New York, Dec. 7, 1826. By WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING. New York. Published for the Second Congregational Unitarian Church. 1826. pp. 57.

THE Unitarian controversy in this country was commenced in 1815, by the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "American Unitarianism; or a 'Brief History of the progress and present state of the Unitarian Churches in America ;' compiled from documents and information communicated by the Rev. James Freeman, D. D. and William Wells, Jun. Esq. of Boston, and from other Unitarian gentlemen in this country : By Rev. Thomas Belsham, Essex street, London ; extracted from his Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey, printed in London, in 1812, and now published for the benefit of the Christian Churches in this country, without note or alteration." In June, 1815, this pamphlet was reviewed in the Panoplist, an Orthodox religious journal, at that time published, monthly, in this city. This review drew forth "A Letter to the Rev. Samuel C. Thatcher," then one of the Unitarian clergy

of Boston, "on the" *alleged* "aspersions contained in a late number of the Panoplist on the Ministers of Boston and the vicinity ; by William E. Channing, minister of the Church of Christ in Federal street, Boston." This Letter was answered by the Rev. Samuel Worcester, D. D., at that time pastor of the Tabernacle Church, Salem. Two additional pamphlets were published by Mr. Channing, and two by Dr. Worcester. The controversy, as carried on in separate publications, was then suspended till 1819. The principal object of the Orthodox in this first discussion, was completely attained. Unitarianism, which had before operated and spread in secret, was brought to light. Its existence, and something of its real character, were made known ; and, from that time, the concealment of a minister's religious system has, in this part of the country, been difficult, if not impracticable.

Unitarians began now, in their periodical journals and in conversation, openly to state and advocate their opinions, and to oppose and denounce those of the Orthodox. The weapons of attack and defence they employed, were chiefly derived from *Biblical literature*. Erroneous readings, mistranslations, and wrong interpretations, were the charges perpetually preferred against the doctrines of the Orthodox, and the scriptural arguments by which they were maintained. The Orthodox, it was alleged, had too superficial an acquaintance with the original languages of the Bible, and with those kindred dialects which have thrown so much light upon scriptural phraseology, and their investigations of the composition and history of the Bible were too limited, to ascertain

what portions of the received text were genuine; and what were the doctrines really taught in those portions. Had they a little more learning, especially the learning requisite for a successful criticism of the Scriptures, they would, generally, there was no doubt, become Unitarians. The study of Biblical criticism was, moreover, beginning to be cultivated among them; and the result, it was confidently and often predicted, would be, a rapid disappearance of the antiquated doctrines of Orthodoxy. And what was the result? In 1819, Mr. now Dr. Channing preached and published his Baltimore sermon, which seems to have been the concerted signal for Unitarian clergymen generally to begin the distinct avowal of their opinions from the pulpit. This sermon was replied to by the Rev. Professor Stuart of Andover, in a series of "Letters to the Rev. William E. Channing." The points discussed in these Letters were, "The principles of interpreting the Scriptures; and the unity of God, and the divinity and humanity of Christ," as, in the view of the Orthodox, taught in several passages of the New Testament. The argument of Professor Stuart was conducted almost entirely on the principles of Biblical criticism. These Letters were never answered;* and from the time

* We are aware that the writer of a review in the *Christian Examiner* for September and October, 1824, has said, p. 368, "We had, with amazement, both seen in print, and heard in conversation, the assertion, that no reply had ever been made to Stuart's Letters on the Trinity; and hence, in a tone of boasting, it was inferred that they were acknowledged to be unanswerable; notwithstanding that a most thorough and conclusive reply had been printed in the *Christian Disciple*, and a very large separate edition eagerly bought up, and spread through the community." An assertion, which must fill every candid reader, acquainted with the facts, with "amazement." Professor Stuart's argument was almost entirely scriptural, consisting in a critical examination of a portion of the passages of the New Testament supposed by the Or-

of their publication, very little has been heard from Unitarians about Biblical criticism.

The trial of Orthodoxy was now transferred to another tribunal, that of *philosophy*. Its doctrines were declared to be irrational and absurd, wholly inconsistent with the perfections of God, and the freedom and accountability of man. No one, it was alleged, who had a just sense of his dignity as an intelligent creature, and of the rectitude and goodness of God, could believe them. This was the general strain of remark in regard to Orthodoxy and its advocates for two or three years, until the close of the controversy between Dr. Woods and Dr. Ware, in which the sentiments of Unitarians and of Trinitarians and Calvinists were discussed chiefly on this ground. From that time we have heard little about the philosophy of the two systems. They were now brought to another test, that of *tendency*.

Dr. Ware's Postscript to his second series of Letters, which closed his discussion with Dr. Woods, appeared in 1823. In the same year was published in this city an octavo volume, of four hundred and eighteen pages, entitled, "An Inquiry into the comparative moral tendency of Trinitarian and Unitarian doctrines ; by Jared Sparks." Orthodoxy, it was

thodox to teach the doctrines of the Trinity and of two natures in Christ, while the argument of the writer of the article in the Christian Disciple referred to, was almost entirely philosophical, consisting in an examination of the consistency of the doctrines mentioned with reason. Nor is this all. The writer of that article had himself only claimed that it might be considered "a virtual answer" to Professor Stuart's Letters, and had said in his very first sentence, "Instead of confining our attention exclusively to Professor Stuart's Letters, we have thought that it would be more useful and more satisfactory to our readers, to give a general view of the subject in controversy, with the reasons for our own opinions, *without particular reference to his work.*"

now said, again and again, tends to produce dishonorable apprehensions of God, and gloomy views of life ; and to cramp and degrade the human mind, and must, from the nature of things, be inefficient in producing an elevated piety ; while Unitarianism, it was alleged, tends to produce exalted apprehensions of God, and cheerful views of life, and to enlarge and elevate the mind, and must produce, in those who sincerely embrace it, a fervent and active piety. This was the strain of much that appeared in the religious periodicals of the Unitarians, and, if we have not been misinformed, of much that was said in their ordinary discourses from the pulpit. In several occasional discourses, printed and published by Unitarian clergymen, this advantage was distinctly and confidently claimed for their system. In a sermon,* preached at the weekly Lecture in the First Church in Boston, May 20, 1824, and published in the *Christian Examiner* for May and June in that year, entitled, "On the Causes by which Unitarians have been withheld from exertions in the cause of Foreign missions," were the following remarks ; "There is, however, yet one other cause, to which the enemies of our distinctive religious sentiments ascribe, what they call, our indifference on the subject of the conversion of the Heathen. It is said, that the evil is to be sought in the very nature and character of our religious sentiments. But is there any justice in this accusation ? Is there in our peculiar sentiments any thing to support the charge, that Unitarianism narrows our sympathies to the confines of those who be-

* This sermon was said to have been written by the gentleman who has since published "An appeal to Liberal Christians for the cause of Christianity in India."

lieve with us? that it brings a coldness over the heart, which benumbs those affections that would otherwise spread themselves as widely as the existence of man? Is ours, as it is said to be, a religion of mere speculation? This we most peremptorily deny." "I might, I think, most satisfactorily demonstrate, that, in our views of Christianity, there *are excitements of a far higher order than in those of any other class of Christians*, to zeal in missionary labors for the conversion of the world. The time forbids me even to name them; though they furnish the best topic that could be desired, for appeals to reason, to conscience, and to the heart." Dr. Channing, in his sermon delivered at the ordination of his present colleague, June 30, 1824, said, p. 13, "It is objected to Unitarianism that it does not possess this heart-stirring energy," of which he had been speaking as required in the ministry in the present age. And in a note appended to the printed discourse, he calls this "a *reproach* thrown on Unitarian Christianity;" and proceeds to assign what he supposes to be the causes of the objection, but gives no proof of its being a "reproach." In a sermon preached at the dedication of the Twelfth Congregational Church in Boston, October 13, 1824, by the Rev. John G. Palfrey, minister of the congregation in Brattle Square, the preacher affirmed, that the "belief" of the Orthodox is "adverse to religious progress." Some of them, he admitted, have "become good Christians in despite of their errors." "But," he added, "while we emulate their attainments, may we not think that a character whose root was so firm as to withstand such a shock, might have swelled in-

to still nobler dimensions under the culture of a more spiritual and generous faith?" "Let us do no such injustice to the omnipotence of truth," by which he means the system of the Unitarians, "as to think it a sluggish element. It is thoroughly instinct with life." "The unadulterated system of truth," i. e. Unitarianism, "is a powerfully enlightening and sanctifying faith." pp. 23, 24, 28, 30.

Such were the assertions of leading Unitarians in relation to the tendency of the two systems; but as yet no proof had been attempted of the truth of these assertions, except in Mr. Sparks's octavo, which had attracted but little attention. At length, on the 24th of August, 1826, the colleague of Dr. Channing preached a discourse, at the dedication of the meeting-house erected the last year in Purchase Street, on Gal. iv. 17, "It is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing." This sermon, said the *Christian Register* of Sept. 2, 1826, "was a powerful exculpation of Unitarian Christians from the charge, that their sentiments encourage indifference to religion, and are incompatible with religious feeling. It was demonstrated that the doctrines are ennobling to the mind, and favorable to piety and virtue. The Standing Committee of the Church have unanimously requested a copy of the sermon for the press, and we doubt not it will be perused with high satisfaction by the religious denomination to which the preacher belongs. We hope it will be perused by others also, and that more candid judgment may be expressed towards Unitarians than has sometimes been done by those who did not understand, or refrained from doing justice to, their sentiments." The

editor of the *Christian Examiner*, in the number for July and August 1826, gave an abstract of the sermon, and made concerning it the following remarks. The preacher "spoke of the views we," Unitarians, "entertain of God ; of his relations to us as our Creator, and Father, and our final Judge, and of our relation to him as children and sinners. *Upon all these points our doctrines were shown to be peculiarly adapted to call forth deep religious emotion, to excite ardent religious feelings.* We wish we could recall the language in which was mentioned that most undeserved of all reproaches, that we make but a light matter of sin. It was an eloquent and triumphant refutation of the calumny ; and we know not how any one who heard it, can in conscience hereafter repeat it." "On the whole it appeared, that, if Unitarianism does not make men zealous, it is not the fault of the system, but owing to its not being intelligently represented and thoroughly believed. *It is much more spiritual, tender, and solemn than Orthodoxy*, and therefore ought to be less liable to this charge." "We are ashamed of this apology for an abstract of Mr. Gannett's admirable discourse, it is so meagre." "As the sermon will doubtless be printed, we hope every one who can, will judge for himself what and how good are its contents."

Yet this sermon was not published. Why it was not, we are unable to state. Subsequent events would seem to indicate, that a defence of Unitarianism, from the pulpit and the press, on a new ground, and probably the last on which it will be attempted to defend it, without expressly denying the inspiration of the Scriptures, should be made by a more experienced

champion. And it has been made in the discourse now under review.

From the facts which have been detailed, and from the standing of Dr. Channing among Unitarians, we conclude that we are to regard this discourse as exhibiting the argument from moral tendency, on the Unitarian side of the question, as forcibly as we are to expect it to be exhibited. This conclusion seems to be fully warranted by the remarks of Unitarians in relation to the discourse. A correspondent of the *Christian Register*, writing from New York, said, "The discourse was one of Dr. Channing's happiest and most powerful efforts; and, though expectation had been raised to the highest, it was fully realized." Referring to the eighth head of the discourse, he says, "It was under this head that the preacher laid out his whole strength, and the effect was astonishing. There were statements here given, which will thrill in the bosoms of many who heard them to the last day of their lives. I can give you no just idea of them, and I will not attempt it."* The *Christian Inquirer*, the religious newspaper of the Unitarians published in New York, said of the discourse, "We are unable, did our time and limits permit, to express in sufficiently strong terms, our admiration of this profound and manly exhibition of the sentiments of Unitarians, and we are persuaded no one, who listened to the discourse with attention, but must acknowledge that, for clearness and strength of reasoning, it has been seldom exceeded by any sermon which has been delivered in our pulpits. Several of the arguments in favor of the unity of God were new and original, and the illustrations of the pernicious ten-

* *Christian Register* of Dec. 16, 1826.

dency of Trinitarianism were unanswerably clear and forcible.”* The Christian Examiner for November and December, 1826, says, p. 519, “Of the sermon it is difficult to speak in measured terms of approbation. It has been pronounced the noblest production of the very pure and original mind which composed it, and was delivered with an effect which will never be forgotten by those who heard it.” And in a review of the discourse in the Examiner for January and February, 1827, it is said, “To a mind not prejudiced by education and habits of life, not pledged to any system, nor bound to it by ties of interest, the force and clearness of reasoning with which the position of the sermon is maintained, must be irresistible. Of this fact we venture to say that there will be decisive proof. The sermon may be attacked, complained of, criticised, perhaps reviled; men may shut their eyes to it; they may refrain from reading it, regarding it as a matter of conscience to keep themselves in error, or, having read it, they may exclude it from their thoughts; but it will not be answered. There will be, we think, no attempt to answer it, except, perhaps, by some one incapable of estimating, either his own powers, or the force of argument.” A discourse of which all this has been said, and which was composed and delivered and published in the circumstances that have been detailed, will be expected by the community to receive a careful examination.

It is not our purpose in this review to enter upon a discussion of the main question, which of the two systems, the Unitarian or the Orthodox, is of superior

* Christian Register of Dec. 16, 1826.

tendency to form an elevated religious character. The investigation of this topic, requiring an extended exposition of the principles of moral government and of free agency, will be reserved for a future publication. In this pamphlet we shall invite the attention of the christian public only to a few general remarks on the discourse of Dr. Channing.

The text is Mark xii. 29, 30, " And Jesus answered him, The first of all the commandments is, Hear, O Israel ; the Lord our God is one Lord ; and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. This is the first commandment." The object proposed by the author is, " to show the superior tendency of Unitarianism to form an elevated religious character," and in this way, as " the chief purpose of Christianity undoubtedly is to promote piety," to " contribute no weak argument in support of the truth of " Unitarian " views." The subject was appropriate to the occasion. The discourse is evidently the result of much and anxious thought. And the style is animated throughout, and in some places beautiful. But here our commendation must end. Our subsequent remarks upon the discourse, a regard to truth, and the eternal interests of men, requires to be of a different character. And,

I. THE TEMPER MANIFESTED IN THE DISCOURSE IS EXCEEDINGLY TO BE REGRETTED, AS ONE WHICH BY NO MEANS ADORNS THE DOCTRINE OF GOD OUR SAVIOUR, AND IS ESPECIALLY TO BE DEPRECATED IN MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL. There are some instances of a mode of speaking of the opinions and character of Orthodox professors of Christianity,

which are, in our view, utterly inconsistent even with that courtesy which should regulate civilized intercourse when there is no reference to sacred subjects, and which is calculated to produce the same effect on many minds as was formerly produced by the sneers and scoffs of infidels. We are grieved to make these statements respecting any production of a clergyman of the standing of the author of this discourse, but justice requires us not to withhold them.

In the introduction to the discourse the author says,

"This doctrine," Unitarianism, "is considered by some as the last and most perfect invention of Satan, the consummation of his blasphemies, the most cunning weapon ever forged in the fires of hell." "To us this doctrine seems not to have steamed up from hell."

Of the sentiments of the Orthodox he has suffered himself to speak as follows :

"This system," Trinitarianism, "is a relapse into the error of the rudest and earliest ages, into the worship of a corporeal God. Its leading feature is....a doctrine which, in earthliness, reminds us of the mythology of the rudest pagans ; and which a pious Jew in the twilight of the Mosaic religion, would have shrunk from with horror." p. 17. "Trinitarianism is a riddle." "One God consisting of three persons....is so misty, so incongruous, so contradictory." "Such a being is certainly the most puzzling and distracting object ever presented to human thought. Trinitarianism....offers to the mind a monstrous compound of hostile attributes, bearing plain marks of those ages of darkness, when Christianity shed but a faint ray, and the diseased fancy teamed with prodigies and unnatural creations." pp. 22, 23. "A system of the universe," such as he had alleged Trinitarianism involves and demands, "must be wild, and extravagant, and unworthy the perfect God." p. 26. "For ourselves, we look with horror and grief on the views of God's government, which are naturally

and intimately united with Trinitarianism. They take from us our Father in heaven, and *substitute a stern and unjust Lord.*" "Urge not upon us a system which *makes existence a curse and wraps the universe in gloom.*" p. 27. "Trinitarianism".... is "*a melancholy system.*" "It is a narrow, technical, artificial system, the fabrication of unrefined ages." p. 33. Man "*owes no allegiance to such a Maker,*" as he had charged Trinitarianism with representing Jehovah to be, "*and cannot, of course, contract the guilt of violating it.*" "*The severity of this system places him,*" man, "*on the ground of an injured being. The wrong lies on the side of the Creator.*" p. 41. "Did I believe what Trinitarianism teaches....I should feel myself living under a *legislation unspeakably dreadful, under laws written like Draco's, in blood* ; and instead of thanking the sovereign for providing an infinite substitute, *I should shudder at the attributes* which render this expedient necessary." "He who framed all souls and gave them their susceptibilities, ought not to be *thought so wanting in goodness and wisdom,* as to have constituted a universe which demands *so dreadful and degrading* a method of enforcing obedience as the penal sufferings of a God." p. 44. In another place he compares the Orthodox doctrine of the crucifixion of Christ as a propitiation for the sins of the world, to the execution of an Infinite Being, a partaker of supreme divinity upon "*a gallows erected in the centre of the universe* ;" and then says, in reference to the teacher whom he supposes to announce such a transaction, which Dr. Channing pronounces *less "ignominious,"* than that presented by the Orthodox doctrine of atonement, "*Would you not tell him that he calumniated his Maker ? Would you not say to him, that this central gallows threw gloom over the universe ; and that the spirit of a government, whose very acts of pardon were written in such blood, was terror, not paternal love ; and that the obedience, which needed to be upheld by this horrid spectacle, was nothing worth ?*" "Would you not say to him....that the angels, those pure flames of love, need not *the gallows and an executed God* to confirm their loyalty?" p. 45. Again, he represents the Trinitarian as "*compelled to defend his faith by the plea,....that God is honoured by our reception of what shocks the intellect.*" And he

adds, "Trinitarianism, as we have seen, links itself with several degrading errors; and its most natural alliance is with Calvinism, that cruel faith, which stripping God of mercy and man of power, has made Christianity an instrument of torture to the timid, and an object of doubt or scorn to hardier spirits. I repeat it, a doctrine which violates reason like the Trinity, prepares its advocates in proportion as it is incorporated into the mind, for worse and worse delusions. It breaks down the distinctions and barriers between truth and falsehood. It creates a diseased taste for prodigies, fictions, and exaggerations, for startling mysteries and wild dreams of enthusiasm." p. 50.

We wish sincerely, that fidelity in the work we have undertaken would permit us here to end our quotations under this head of remark. But the unpleasant task is not yet completed. It is not only of the sentiments of the Orthodox, that the author of the discourse has suffered himself to speak in a manner so reprehensible. He has said things not less severe of their intellectual and religious characters. He had indeed remarked, pp. 10, 13, "The object of this discourse requires me to speak with great freedom, of different systems of religion. But let me not be misunderstood. Let not the uncharitableness which I condemn, be lightly laid to my charge. Let it be remembered that *I speak only of systems, not of those who embrace them.* In setting forth with all simplicity what seem to me the good or bad tendencies of doctrines, *I have not a thought of giving standards or measures by which to estimate the virtue or vice of their professors.*" "I shall speak freely, and some may say severely, of Trinitarianism; but I love and honour not a few of its advocates: and in opposing what I deem their error, *I would, on no account, detract from their worth.*" But these reso-

lutions seem to have been forgotten in the progress of the discourse, and he has suffered himself to speak "of those who embrace" the Orthodox system, as follows :

"I see indeed superior minds, and great minds, among the advocates of the prevalent system ; but *they seem to me to move in chains, and to fulfil poorly their high function of adding to the wealth of the human intellect.* In theological discussion, *they remind me more of Sampson grinding in the narrow mill of the Philistines,* than of that undaunted champion achieving victories for God's people, and enlarging the bounds of their inheritance."

"It," the system of Trinitarians, "tends to generate and nourish a religion of a low, dull, melancholy tone, such, I apprehend, as now predominates in the christian world." "Multitudes," meaning Trinitarians, "seem to prize pardon more than piety, and think it a greater boon to escape, through Christ's sufferings, the fire of hell, than to receive, through his influence, the spirit of heaven, the spirit of devotion." pp. 34, 37.

Of such language, in reference to any class of persons of respectable standing in the community, we hesitate not to say,—and we know we shall have the concurrence of every dispassionate reader in the assertion,—that there can be no justification or palliation. What then shall be thought of its being used, as it is by Dr. Channing, of a class of men, not a few of whom, he has acknowledged, deserve from him honour and love ; many of whom have been the benefactors of the world ; of a class of men which embraced the great body of our venerated Fathers ? Is it said, that some Orthodox writers have employed expressions equally severe in reference to the sentiments and characters of Unitarians ? And what if they have ? Is their offence any justification or palliation of the same conduct in one, by whom they have been uniformly and pointedly condemned ?

II. THE MODE OF REASONING EMPLOYED IN THE DISCOURSE, AS RESPECTS BOTH THE "SUPPORT OF THE TRUTH OF" UNITARIAN "VIEWS," AND THE SHOWING OF "THE SUPERIOR TENDENCY" OF UNITARIANISM "TO FORM AN ELEVATED RELIGIOUS CHARACTER," IS OBJECTIONABLE.

The ultimate object of the discourse is to furnish proof of the truth of Unitarianism. And the proof furnished is, the alleged superior tendency of Unitarianism, to form an elevated religious character, without any reference to the testimony of Scripture. This alleged superior tendency of Unitarianism is not, it is true, advanced as the only proof, but as "no weak argument, in support of the truth of" Unitarian "views." Nor is it admitted that Unitarianism is not supported by the testimony of Scripture, but claimed that it "is in harmony with the great and clear principles of revelation." p. 49. But in the argument in support of its truth to be furnished in this discourse, reference to "scriptural authorities" is expressly disclaimed. p. 9.

Now we do not question the right of an author to employ whatever mode of argument he pleases, in attempting to establish the truth of his opinions. Nor will any one question, that every reader has an equal right to judge, whether the mode he has employed was judiciously chosen. And we must say that, in our view, the mode of reasoning employed in this discourse in proof of the truth of Unitarianism is far from being satisfactory. The Bible, all Protestant denominations agree, is the only ultimate standard of religious doctrine. *"To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is*

because there is no light in them." With consistent Protestants, an argument for the truth of a religious system which contains no reference to Scripture, can be of little weight.

What if a plausible, and an apparently conclusive argument should be framed, in favour of certain religious doctrines, as eminently calculated to produce honourable views of God, and from this it should be inferred that those doctrines are true, while they are contradicted by the plain testimony of Scripture ; would the argument be of any avail ? Suppose a person should state, as a part of his religious creed, that there is no sin or suffering in the universe ; and should then attempt to show, that these opinions have a "superior tendency to form an elevated religious character ;" and suppose he should reason in some such manner as the following : ' It is derogatory to the paternal character of God, and wholly inconsistent with his infinite benevolence, to suppose that he can have permitted any of his intelligent creatures to sin, and by sinning to incur suffering. He who made the mind, and has access to it at all times, is certainly able to prevent so unhappy an event ; and if he is able to prevent it, will not his unbounded goodness secure its prevention ? If you say, the permission of sin, and the consequent infliction of suffering were necessary to exhibit fully the divine character, and form his intelligent creatures to the highest degree of moral excellence and of happiness, or could not have been prevented without interfering with human freedom, you limit the perfections and degrade the character of the Infinite One. Will an earthly parent permit his child to commit a fault, and by committing

it incur suffering, when he foresees the child's exposure to temptation, and can, with perfect ease, prevent his transgression. And is our Father in heaven less solicitous for the purity and happiness of his children, than earthly parents are for the virtue and happiness of their offspring? The system I advocate asserts "the unconquerable love" of Jehovah "the absolute and unbounded perfection of God's character," while that I oppose limits the divine goodness, and "degrades the character of the Supreme Being." My system must, therefore, promote a more fervent and enlightened piety.

'Or, to present the argument in a still more convincing light, Unitarians of the present day allege, that their system produces more honourable views of God than that of the Orthodox, because the latter hold to entire moral depravity and eternal punishment, while Unitarianism teaches, that men are only partially depraved, and if they die without repentance, will, at most, suffer only a limited punishment. The force of this reasoning I admit; and, on the same principles, I contend that my system must produce more honourable views of God than even Unitarianism; for the Unitarian maintains, that God is only so benevolent, as not to suffer men to become entirely depraved, and incur eternal misery; but I maintain, that so unlimited is the benevolence of God, that it prevents men from becoming sinful at all, and from incurring the least degree of suffering. Who does not see that my system asserts far more strongly "the unconquerable love, the absolute and unbounded perfection" of the Divine Being, and thus tends to produce far more honourable views of God. I conclude,

therefore, that not only Orthodoxy, but also Unitarianism, is false, and my system is true.*

But would it, therefore, be true? And of what avail would all this reasoning, so plausible, and, as seems to us, on Unitarian principles, so unanswerable, be, while we read in our Bibles, "All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God;" and, "Man is born unto trouble as the sparks fly upward"? So Dr. Channing may, by a course of plausible reasoning, in favor of the superior tendency of Unitarianism to promote "generous conceptions of the Divinity," furnish, what he calls, "no weak argument in support of its truth;" and hence conclude, that the Son of God is not truly divine, that he did not, by his death, make an atoning sacrifice for sin, that unrenewed men are not entirely sinful, and that there is no eternal punishment. But, while we hear Isaiah saying, "I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple; above it stood the seraphim; and one cried unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy, is Jehovah of hosts," and find the evangelist John declaring, "These things said Esaias, when he saw his," Christ's, "glory, and spake of him;"* while we find the sacred writers asserting, that "the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all, and with his stripes we are healed,"† "he is the propitiation," or propitiatory sacrifice, "for our sins, and for the sins of the whole world,"‡ "he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself;"§ that "by nature all are dead in trespasses and sins,

* *Isaiah*, vi. 1—3. *John* xii. 41. The verse which John quotes from *Isa. vi.* is the 10th, but this is a part of the account which begins verse 1st of this remarkable vision.

† *Isa. liii.* 6, 5. ‡ *1 John*, ii. 2. § *Heb. ix.* 26.

and children of wrath ;”* that the wicked shall be “ cast into hell, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched ;”† and the sin against the Holy Ghost “ shall not be forgiven, neither in this world neither in the world to come ;”‡ while we read these and numerous other similar passages in our Bibles, and while neither Dr. Channing nor any of his brethren, has proved that they do not teach the doctrines just named, of what avail is all his reasoning as furnishing proof of the truth of Unitarianism ?

To the reasoning by which it is attempted in the discourse to “ show the superior tendency of Unitarianism to form an elevated religious character,” we object, that it is wholly theoretical, containing not a single reference to facts in its support. This might, perhaps, have passed for sound argument before the days of Bacon. But, happily, theory unsustained by facts, will no longer satisfy any minds but those of mere partizans, who have resigned the privilege of thinking for themselves to some oracle, whose sentiments they implicitly adopt, because they are his. But, if we do not very much mistake the character of this community, *they* will not do this, even to the author of this discourse, much as he is respected for talents and learning and sobriety. They will think for themselves. They will ask, What are the facts, in a case so preeminently one to be settled, if satisfactorily determined, by an appeal to facts ?§

And what are the facts in the case ? The answer

* Eph. ii. 1—3. † Mark ix. 47, 48. ‡ Mat. xii. 32.

§ The question of the comparative moral efficacy of the two systems was briefly, but ably, discussed in Dr. Beecher’s sermon at Worcester, and in his reply to the review of the sermon which appeared in the Christian Examiner ; both of which, together with the review, ought to be read by every one who would understandingly form his opinion.

shall be given chiefly by the opposers of Orthodox opinions. In the article on Predestination, in the British Encyclopedia, written, it is said, by Robert Forsyth, Esq., a learned civilian and an infidel, after an account of the Calvinistic and Arminian systems, to the latter of which the preference is given, it is said, "There is one remark which we think ourselves in justice bound to make. It is this; that, from the earliest ages down to our own days, if we consider the character of the ancient Stoics, the Jewish Essenes, *the modern Calvinists*, and Jansenists, compared with that of their antagonists, the Epicurians, the Sadducees, the Arminians, and the Jesuits, we shall find that *they have excelled, in no small degree, in the practice of the most rigid and respectable virtues; and have been the highest honor to their own age, and the best models for imitation to every succeeding age.*"

In the Edinburgh Review, whose decided partiality, for many years, to infidel opinions is well known, we find the following remarks: "What are we to think of the morality of Calvinistic nations, especially the most numerous of them; who seem, beyond all other men, to be most zealously attached to their religion, and most deeply penetrated with its spirit? Here, if any where, we have a practical and decisive test of the moral influence of a belief in necessarian opinions. In Protestant Switzerland, in Holland, in Scotland, among the English Nonconformists, and the Protestants of the north of Ireland, and in the New England states, Calvinism was long the prevalent faith, and is probably still the faith of a considerable majority. Their moral education was at

least completed, and their collective character formed, during the prevalence of Calvinistic opinions. Yet, where are communities to be found of a more pure and active virtue ?”*

Of Unitarians, compared with the Orthodox in England, Dr. Priestley, the father of modern Unitarianism, said forty years ago, “ Though Unitarian dissenters are not apt to entertain any doubt of the truth of their principles, they do not lay so much stress upon them as other Christians do upon theirs. Nor, indeed, is there any reason why they should, when they do not consider the holding of them to be at all necessary to salvation, which other Christians often do with respect to theirs. They, therefore, take much less pains to make proselytes, and are less concerned to inculcate their principles upon their children, their servants, and their dependants in general. Besides, it cannot be denied, that many of those who judge so truly concerning particular tenets of religion, have attained to that cool, unbiassed temper of mind, in consequence of becoming more indifferent to religion in general, and to all the modes and doctrines of it. Though, therefore, they are in a more favorable situation for distinguishing between truth and falsehood, they are not likely to acquire a *zeal* for what they conceive to be the truth. Consequently, when they are satisfied with respect to any controverted question, concerning which they may have had the curiosity to make some inquiry, they presently dismiss the subject from their thoughts ; and thus, never reading or thinking about it, except when it is casually mentioned, they are not in the way of being interested in it,

and cannot be expected to make any great sacrifices to it. From this principle it is, that great numbers becoming Unitarians in the Church of England, and even among the clergy, do not feel the impropriety and absurdity, to say nothing more harsh, of continuing to countenance a mode of worship, which, if they were questioned about it, they could not deny to be, according to their own principles, idolatrous and blasphemous. Such persons also, having no zeal for speculative religion, merely because they have no zeal for religion in general, their moral conduct, though decent, is not what is deemed strict and exemplary.”* To the use we make of this testimony of Dr. Priestley it has been objected that, in the discourse from which it is taken, the Doctor states it as his opinion on the whole, that the Unitarians as a body are not less religious than other Christians. This is true ; and the reader shall see how it is stated. “ Upon the whole,” says Dr. Priestley, “ considering the great mixture of spiritual pride and bigotry in some of the most zealous Trinitarians, I think the moral character of the Unitarians in general, allowing that *there is in them a greater apparent conformity to the world than is observable in the others*, approaches more nearly to the proper temper of Christianity. It is more cheerful, more benevolent, and more candid. *The former have probably less, and the latter, I hope, something more, of a real principle of religion than they seem to have.*”† Among Unitarians in England at the present day, Dr. Channing admits, in the note to his sermon at the ordina-

* Discourses on various subjects, published in 1787, English edit. pp. 95, 96.

† Discourses, p. 100.

tion of Mr. Gannett, p. 30, that there is a want of "due fervor" in religion, and employs a page in attempting to account for the fact.

But it is time to turn our attention to Unitarianism compared with Orthodoxy, as they now exist in this country.

Among the proper tests of the fervor of piety existing among a people, we suppose all will admit, that attendance upon public worship, and the degree of engagedness and zeal with which ministers discharge their appropriate duties, are to have a prominent place. In a pamphlet, published some time since, entitled "Smooth Preaching," said to have been written by the minister of the Unitarian congregation in Charlestown, it is declared to be a matter of notoriety, "which none will question," that Orthodox preaching is much more numerous attended than Unitarian. And a writer in the Christian Register of Jan. 13, 1827, over the signature "Layman Junior," says, "Few questions can be more interesting to an Unitarian than the one so frequently asked, but seldom, if ever, answered, 'why the Unitarian preachers do not exhibit the zeal of the Calvinists.' It is, as we say, a question oftener asked than answered; and that too, while *the fact remains confessedly undisputed.*" This inquiry, he says, "implies a charge of lukewarmness in their vocation, upon those whose duty it is to keep alive the pure flame of religious action in their people." And in another article on the same subject, in the Register of Jan. 27, he says, "No fact can be more certain, than that the people will never exceed their pastor in religious fervor. And it is to the clergy that we should look,

as to the mercury which is to tell us the warmth of religious fervor in the community."

In the *Christian Examiner* for March and April, 1826, appeared an article, understood to have been written by the junior minister of King's Chapel, Boston, which professes to give an accurate account of "Unitarian resources." Before quoting from this account, it is necessary to remind the reader not already acquainted with the facts, that according to the statements of Unitarians, they have about an hundred religious societies in Massachusetts, of which twelve are in Boston, which is double, and was, till within little more than a year, treble the number of Orthodox Congregational societies in the city; and in these Unitarian congregations is found probably four fifths of the wealth in that metropolis. The account contains the following statements. In a few Unitarians there is a good degree of "engagedness," and to their "exertions, under Providence, the progress of simple Christianity is mainly indebted," for they "are not sparing of their time, nor their means, in promoting those plans of improvement and benevolence which are laid before the Unitarian public." But of Unitarians as a body this cannot be said. Their "country societies, in general, are" little more than nominally Unitarian, and almost entirely destitute of zeal; and their ministers are "surrounded by" so much "timidity," that they "often grow timid themselves; keep to one style of preaching and one round of subjects, and neither excite nor are excited to inquiry, decision, and exertion. Much of this is also true of the Unitarian societies in Boston. I can remember the time, and I am not old, when.

though Boston was full of Unitarian sentiment and feeling, there was no open profession of it. A dead silence was maintained in the pulpit on doctrinal subjects,—a silence which was not disturbed by the press. Then came the Unitarian controversy ; and people read it for a while, and a few of the ministers ventured to preach, at intervals, on the strict unity of God, and converts were made, and eight or nine of our churches were content to go on under the designation of Unitarian churches, though many and loud were the protests against the name. But the name was taken with tolerable unanimity ; the utter dismissal of Orthodox doctrines from the pulpits followed, and the ministers were permitted to preach the plain morality of the Gospel. This would have been very well, if they had been permitted to preach any thing else ; but they were not. People were tired of the controversy ; some, because they thought they were completely masters of it, and some, because they never liked it. They were called Unitarians, and that was enough.” And even “ now,” “ the old silence is maintained ;” and “ the people, though satisfied with ministers of the Unitarian persuasion, and resolved to have no other, are generally unwilling to hear Unitarianism explained or defended, and are therefore not interested in it, nor well versed in its principles ;” and “ when a purpose, strictly Unitarian, is to be accomplished, they, into whose hands it is committed, know full well, that the interest in Unitarianism, as such, is small indeed, and that its resources are soon exhausted.”* Let us

* *Christian Examiner*, vol. iii. pp. 114, 115, 116. The conclusion which would seem to be warranted by these statements, viz. that Unitarianism is essentially deficient in moral power, we are required in

now hear the testimony of another Unitarian, of authority not less worthy of confidence—the author of the Review of Dr. Beecher's sermon at Worcester, in reference to the Orthodox. "In thus speaking of the moral efficacy of the two rival systems, it is a pleasure to us, now and always, to acknowledge the good qualities which recommend our opponents,—their unquestionable sincerity as a body, their laudable zeal in promoting many of the benevolent undertakings that distinguish this age, their endeavours to excite a spirit of greater seriousness and consideration among the people, and to stem the torrent of vice that is for ever setting in upon a thoughtless world." p. 34.

In accordance with the preceding testimony, we have been informed, that in his discourse at the dedication of the theological hall at Cambridge, last August, Dr. Channing asserted, that in point of fact, the Unitarians are, as a body, exceedingly deficient in zeal. And at the commencement of a vigorous effort lately made, in the numerous and wealthy Unitarian congregations in Boston, to raise sufficient funds for the establishment of a Unitarian mission in the East, which effort did not wholly succeed, the same gentleman was understood to say, that 'he feared there was not piety enough among the Unitarians in Boston to establish and support a foreign mission,

fairness to mention, is denied by this writer, and another cause of the facts he had stated assigned. Things are, he says, as he had stated, not because "Unitarianism is essentially cold," "but because it is not heartily and intelligently embraced by one half of their societies," in general, "nor by one third of the members of the other half;" and in Boston, the members of Unitarian congregations, with a few exceptions, are "called Unitarians, and that is" with them "enough." Boston has been "full of Unitarian sentiment and feeling" for more than twelve years; and the result is, that the members of Unitarian societies in that city, are, with a few exceptions, contented to be "called Unitarians, and that is" with them "enough!"

though he hoped there would be soon, as he thought they were improving in piety.' But in the few Orthodox Congregational societies in that city, which contain not many persons of great wealth, more than \$50,000 have been contributed to the single object of Foreign missions during the last fifteen years.*

Such, if the testimony of opposers of Orthodoxy, most of them Unitarians, may be relied on, are the facts in the case. And yet Dr. Channing would persuade us, by a train of abstract reasoning, that Unitarianism has "a superior tendency to form an elevated religious character."

III. THE DISCOURSE CONTAINS SEVERAL INSTANCES OF MISREPRESENTATION. Indeed the representation given of the doctrines of Orthodoxy is, in general, so incorrect, that the person who should derive his views of the religious sentiments held by the Orthodox as a body from the statements of Dr. Channing, would be utterly misled, and would probably not attribute to them a single doctrine to which, as represented, they would assent. In justification of these remarks we will quote Dr Channing's statements in relation to some of the more prominent doctrines of Orthodoxy, and compare them with the statements in relation to the same doctrines made by standard Orthodox writers.

Page 51, Dr. Channing represents the Orthodox as "divorcing reason from religion," and teaching

* We make this statement, not in the spirit of boasting. When we think of a world lying in wickedness, of the millions perishing for lack of vision; when we remember that we are stewards of God, and bound by every obligation to use our property and influence as shall most effectually promote his glory; when, especially, we look to Calvary, and see how He, who was rich in all the glory of the Godhead, became poor for our sakes, we are ashamed that we have done so little for the extension of his kingdom in the world, we feel that we have been exceedingly deficient in gratitude, and devotedness, and love.

“the prostration of the understanding as an act of piety.” If the reader of this review has ever looked into Orthodox theological writings, or attended Orthodox preaching, he will at once perceive the entire incorrectness of these statements, for he will know that the Orthodox are in the constant habit of employing reason in vindicating and illustrating their opinions. Some of their standard writers have expressed themselves on this topic as follows : “ We do not question,” says the celebrated Francis Turretin, one of the successors of Calvin in the professorship of theology at Geneva, “ we do not question the propriety of employing reason in theological discussions, for we acknowledge it to be of great use, in illustrating divine mysteries by analogies derived from human and terrestrial things, in comparing the Old Testament with the New, versions with the originals, ancient with modern opinions, and the views of theological writers and the decrees of councils with the word of God ; in deriving just consequences from well established premises ; in defending the truth and opposing error.”* Says President Edwards, “ Our business should doubtless much consist in employing those faculties by which we are distinguished from the beasts, about those things which are the main end of those faculties,” the doctrines of religion. And this, he adds, should be done by “ common people as well as divines.”† “ It is right,” says Andrew Fuller, “ and stands commended in Scripture, to apply our hearts to understanding ; but it is wrong, and stands condemned in Scripture by the same pen and in the same page, to lean to our own understanding. So

* Theol. Elenct. Loc. i. Quest. 8. Sect. 3.

† Works, first Amer. edit. vol. viii. pp. 12, 16. Digitized by Google

I apprehend *it is right to adhere to right reason*”—by which he had said he meant the fitness of things—*“and to use all means to find out what it is ; but it is wrong and presumptuous to set up our reason as a standard competent to decide what is truth and what is error.”** “I admit,” says Professor Stuart, in his Letters to Dr. Channing, “as fully as you do or can do, the *proper office* of reason in the whole matter of religion, both in regard to doctrine and practice.”†

Dr. Channing asserts, p. 37, that Trinitarianism “does not make the promotion of piety its chief end,” but “teaches that the highest purpose of Christ’s mission was to reconcile God to man and not man to God ;” which leads those who embrace it to “prize pardon more than piety, and think it a greater boon to escape through Christ’s sufferings the fires of hell, than receive through his influence the spirit of heaven.” Very different from this are the representations of Trinitarians themselves. “Holy practice,” says President Edwards, “is **THE VERY END** of the redemption of Christ.” “Holy practice is **AS MUCH THE END OF ALL THAT GOD DOES ABOUT HIS SAINTS**, as fruit is the end of all the husbandman does about the growth of his field or vineyard.”‡ “To what purpose,” says Andrew Fuller, “was the Son of God manifested in human nature? Was it not that he might destroy the works of the devil?” “Why did he give himself for us ; but that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works?” “We cannot enter into *the end of Christ’s death, which*

* Works, Amer. edit. vol. vii. p. 22.

† Second edit. p. 10.

‡ Works, vol. iv. pp. 346, 347.

was to make an end of sin, unless we become dead to sin.”* “The gospel,” observes Dr. Scott, author of the Commentary on the Bible, “may be denominated a scheme, formed in God’s infinite wisdom and love, *to restore a fallen creature to holiness*, in consistency with the rules of the divine government, the honor of the divine law, the glory of God’s holiness and justice, and to the praise of his grace. *This is the end, and glory, and loveliness of the gospel. Rob it of this, and you degrade it into the mire.*”†

Page 41 of the discourse, Trinitarianism is represented as teaching, that God is the author of that sinfulness in men for which he accounts them guilty, and threatens them with endless punishment. It makes God, says Dr. Channing, “a being who *brings us into existence burdened with hereditary guilt*, and who threatens with endless punishment and wo the heirs of so frail and feeble a nature.” “The severity of this system places man on the ground of an injured being. *The wrong lies on the side of the Creator.*” Let us now hear the statements of Trinitarians themselves on this point. Calvin, in the chapter of his Institutes on original sin, devotes two sections to *refuting* “those who dare to charge God with their corruptions.” “They err,” he says, “in seeking for the work of God in their own pollution.” “Our perdition proceeds from the sinfulness of our flesh, *not from God.*” “It arises, *not from creation*, but from the corruption of nature, that men, being enslaved by sin, can will nothing but what is evil.” “What excuse can he plead, seeing he cannot impute

* Works, vol. vii. pp. 388, 373.

† Letters and Papers, Boston edit. 1825, p. 287.

the hardness of his heart to *any one but himself?*"* "The condemnation spoken of by Paul," Eph. ii. 3, "*is by no means derived from God*, but from our depraved nature."† The Synod of Dort, which "was a fair representation of the Calvinistic world one century after the commencement of the Reformation," say, "The cause or fault of unbelief, as also of all other sins, *is by no means in God*, but in man."‡ President Edwards says, "Sin is *not* the fruit of any positive agency or influence of the Most High."§ And again, "As Adam's nature became corrupt without God's implanting or infusing any evil thing into his nature, so does the nature of his posterity."|| Dr. Bellamy affirms, that "it is in vain to pretend that we are not voluntary in our corruptions, when they are *nothing else* but the free, *spontaneous* inclinations of our own hearts."¶ And that "sinning creatures act freely, and are solely and wholly to blame."** And Dr. Woods has said, "The sin which we suppose to belong to man at his first existence, is the act of a rational and accountable being; an act as free and unconstrained as any which takes place during his whole life."††

Again, Dr. Channing asserts, p. 50, that "Calvinism strips man of power." Calvinistic writers have indeed asserted that, "No mere man, since the fall, is able, in this life, perfectly to keep the commandments of God."‡‡ But inability is of two kinds, commonly denominated by theological writers *natu-*

* 2 Instit. b. ii. cap. i. sec. 10, and cap. v. sec. 1, 5. † Comment. in Eph. ii. 3. ‡ Articles of the Synod of Dort, chap. i. art. 5. § Works, vol. v. p. 294. || Works, vol. vi. p. 431. ¶ Works, vol. i. p. 156.

** Ib. vol. ii. p. 173. †† Reply to Dr. Ware's Letters, first ed. p. 83.

‡‡ Shorter Catechism, Reply to Quest. 82.

ral and *moral*. Natural inability consists in the want of requisite faculties, rendering a person unable to do the thing referred to if he would ; and to whatever degree it exists, and from whatever cause it may arise, excuses its subject from blame. Moral inability consists entirely in want of inclination, and leaves a person capable of doing the thing referred to if he would ; and to whatever degree it exists, and from whatever cause it may arise, furnishes no excuse for not doing what is required by a competent authority, but renders the person blameable and inexcusable for not doing it. Now it is evidently in the former of these senses that Dr. Channing meant to represent Calvinists as attributing inability to man, for he says, p. 41, that their view of this subject renders man "without guilt," in disobeying the commands of God. But is this representation just ? We admit that expressions have been inconsiderately used, and statements of the doctrine of depravity incautiously made, by some Calvinists, which, taken by themselves, might seem to furnish ground for such a representation. But these very persons would, in most cases, reject such an inference from the language they have employed. And most Calvinistic writers of authority have expressly disavowed the sentiment attributed to them by Dr. Channing. The Synod of Dort ascribe man's inability to believe in Christ and obey the law of God entirely to his heart and will.* The authors of the Shorter Catechism, when stating their views more fully than in the passage quoted above, say, By our "original corruption," or depravity, "we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made

* Articles, chap. 3 and 4.

opposite to all good, and wholly *inclined* to all evil.”* These different phrases were clearly intended to be explanatory of each other, and show that, in the opinion of the Westminster divines, fallen man is “disabled and made opposite to all good,” by being, “utterly *indisposed*” to good, and wholly “*inclined* to evil.” Calvin says, “Man does evil voluntarily, and not by constraint.”† Turretin asserts, that “Man does not sin by a natural, but by a moral necessity, arising from an evil disposition.”‡ President Edwards maintains, in his treatise on the Will, that the inability to obey the law of God which Calvinists attribute to men, is not natural, but moral, consisting entirely “in the want of inclination.”§ Dr. Bellamy says, “As to *natural capacity*, all mankind are *capable* of a perfect conformity to God’s law; and all our inability arises *merely from the bad temper of our hearts, and our want of a good disposition*; and therefore we are wholly to blame. Our impotency, in one word, is *not natural*, but *moral*; and therefore, instead of extenuating, does magnify and enhance our fault.”|| Andrew Fuller contends, in his “Gospel Worthy of all Acceptation,” that “the inability of sinners to do things spiritually good, does not consist in the want of rational faculties or external advantages, but is owing to want of inclination, and to nothing else.”¶ “President Dwight says, “The nature of man’s inability to obey the law of God is, in my view, completely indicated by the word *indisposition*, or the word *disinclination*.”**

* Westminster Confession of Faith, chap. vi. sect. 4.

† Instit. b. ii. Cap. ii. sect. vii.

‡ Theol. Elenct. Loc. x. Quest. 2.

§ See particularly Part I. sect. 4, and Part III. sect. 4.

|| Works, vol. i. p. 156.

¶ Part iii. Works, vol. i. p. 93.

** Theol. Sermon. 133.

And Dr. Woods, in his "Remarks on Dr. Ware's Answer," referring to Dr. Ware's repeated assertions that the Orthodox represent man as "by nature wholly *incapable* of any good inclination or motion," says, "I did hope, after all that had been written on this subject, that Dr. Ware would never again invest Orthodoxy with such false colors. As to human *power, capacity, or ability*, understood in the proper sense, our conceptions are at least as high, as those of our opponents. Man *has*, in our view, a *capability* or *power* of doing all that God requires of him. His power must, we think, be as extensive as his duty. We constantly assert, that the fault of man is not want of *power* to do his duty, but of *disposition, or inclination*. So that any prejudice which is excited against Orthodoxy, in the minds of the learned or the vulgar, by such representations as those above mentioned, is excited at the expense of candor and truth."*

Again, the Orthodox are charged in this discourse with Tritheism, or a belief in three Gods. Page 20, the "one of the three persons" in the Godhead, who, according to Trinitarianism, "assumed" human nature, is spoken of as "*the God* who became man," evincing clearly that the word *person* is used in its ordinary sense as applied to men, indicating a distinct being; thus virtually asserting, that Trinitarians in fact believe in three distinct divine beings. And, p. 22, the God of Trinitarians is said to "consist of three persons or agents;" and, p. 49, the "three persons who constitute the God" of Trinitarianism, are pronounced to be "three conscious agents, who cannot by any human art or metaphysical device, be made to co-

alesce into one being." These statements are but a repetition, in substance, of what had been said by Dr. Channing on this subject in his sermon at Baltimore; and it will be a sufficient exposure of their inaccuracy to quote the remarks of Dr. Woods, in his Letters to Unitarians in reference to the part referred to of the Baltimore sermon. "After reading his," Dr. Channing's, "remarks, and the remarks of other Unitarians on this subject," the *unity of God*, "who would expect to find that *all respectable writers on the side of Orthodoxy have strenuously asserted the unity of God as a fundamental doctrine of revelation*, and have declared, times without number, that they could admit no views of the divine character inconsistent with this? Who would expect to find that *in all Confessions of Faith written by Trinitarians, the unity of God is one of the first doctrines asserted, and in all their systems of Divinity is one of the first which is distinctly and largely defended?* Truly, my respected friends, this doctrine is as important in our view, as it can be in yours. And we could not in reality have more reason to charge Unitarian authors with injustice, should they represent us as denying the *existence* of God, than we have when they represent us as denying his unity."*

Page 19 of the discourse, Dr. Channing represents the Orthodox views of the person of Christ as "confounding human and divine properties in one being;" and on this representation he grounds the assertion, p. 20, that their object of worship is "a corporeal God," "a human God." To show the entire incorrectness of this representation a single quotation, to

which the Orthodox of every name would subscribe, will be sufficient. In the Mediator, say the Westminster divines, “two whole, perfect, and *distinct* natures, the Godhead and the manhood, were inseparably joined together in one person, *without conversion, composition, or confusion.*” *

Page 18, Trinitarians are charged with worshipping the human nature of Christ. They are spoken of as “worshippers who adore their God for his wounds and tears, his agony, and blood, and sweat.” And in vindication of this charge, the following passage, containing an address to the Son of God, is quoted from the Litany of the Episcopal Church : “By the mystery of thy holy incarnation, by thy holy nativity and circumcision, by thy baptism, fasting, and temptation, by thine agony and bloody sweat, by thy cross and passion, good Lord, deliver us ! ” But how evidently unjust is the representation made of the meaning of this passage. The reader will at once perceive that it is not, as Dr. Channing represents, an expression of adoration to the Son of God *for* his incarnation, as we adore the Father for his omniscience ; but that it is a petition to Christ, as possessing a divine nature, accompanied with the mention of what his mercy has already done for us in becoming incarnate and making atonement, *as an argument or plea for acceptance* in the request, as when David, in the twenty-fifth Psalm, beseeches the Lord to grant his petition, by the remembrance of his tender mercies and loving kindnesses, which have been ever of old.† As to the charge itself, that

* Confess. of Faith, chap. viii. § 2.

† This is what is commonly called “pleading with God, or arguing our case with him” in prayer ; “which,” says the excellent Dr. Watts,

Trinitarians worship the human nature of Christ, it is entirely incorrect. Their views on this point are thus stated by a distinguished writer, to whose representation of this subject every Trinitarian would assent. "Christ," says Francis Turretin, "is to be worshipped, and to be worshipped as Mediator; but the ground or formal reason of the adoration to be rendered to him is not his human nature, nor his mediatorial office, but solely his divinity, for nothing created can be a proper object of adoration.*

Pages 39 and 48, Dr. Channing represents Trinitarianism as teaching that the object of Christ's death was to "*quench vindictive wrath in God,*" "*to awaken his mercy,*" "*to open the arms of divine mercy.*" This is another repetition of a charge made in the Baltimore sermon, where "the popular system" is said to convey the idea, that "Christ's death has an influence in making God placable or merciful, in quenching his wrath, in awakening his kindness towards men." In reference to this statement Dr. Wood's observes, in his Letters to Unitarians, that "it is uniformly the sentiment of the Orthodox, that *the origin, the grand moving cause of the whole work of redemption, was the infinite love, benignity, or mercy of God; and that it is purely in consequence of this love, that he appointed a Mediator, and adopted every measure which he saw to be necessary for the salvation of man. The goodness, mercy, or placability of God, considered as an attribute of his character, could then be neither produced nor increased,*

* all the saints of old have practised," and "is one part of that importunity in prayer, which Scripture so much recommends." See Watts's Guide to Prayer, chap. i. § 5.

* Theol. Elenct. Loc. 10. Quest. 14, § 7, 8.

by the atonement of Christ ; as *the atonement itself owed its existence wholly to that eternal immutable goodness.*"* That the statement of Dr. Woods was fully justified will be seen from the following quotations. The Synod of Dort say, that "the death of Christ, and through it, the redemption of man, *proceeded from eternal love.*"† The Westminster divines assert that it was "of *his mere love and mercy,*" that God gave his Son and saves his people.‡ Calvin says, "the merit of Christ depends solely on *the grace of God, which appointed this method of salvation for us ;*" and "the *love of God holds the first place, as the supreme and original cause*" of our salvation.§ President Edwards says, "Wonderful is the *love that is manifested* in giving Christ to die for us."|| "Here," says Dr. Bellamy, after referring to the ruin of mankind by sin, "here was an opportunity for infinite and self-moving mercy to exert itself in the most illustrious manner, in designing mercy, *in providing a Mediator,* and in opening a door for the exercise of much grace to mankind in general, and of special saving mercy in ten thousand thousand instances. There was *nothing ab extra—from without God himself to move* and put him on to such a wonderful and glorious enterprise. The *motion was wholly from himself, from his self-moving goodness.*"¶ Dr. Scott, author of the Commentary on the Bible, says, "The whole design of man's redemption *originated in the love of God to the world, even to the apostate race of man.*"** "I believe," says Andrew

* First edit. p. 85.

† Articles, chap. ii.

‡ Larger Catechism, reply to Q. 30.

§ Instit. b. ii. chap. 17, sect. 1, 2.

|| Works, vol. vii. p. 206.

¶ Works, vol. i. p. 330.

** Comment on John iii, 16.

Fuller, "it is very common for people, when they speak of *vindictive* punishment, to mean that kind of punishment which is inflicted from a wrathful disposition, or a disposition to punish for the pleasure of punishing. Now if this be the meaning of our opponents," the Unitarians, when they allege, that according to the Calvinistic system, God is a vindictive being, "we have no dispute with them. We do not suppose the Almighty to punish sinners for the sake of putting them to pain. *Neither Scripture nor Calvinism conveys any such idea.* Vindictive punishment, as it is here defended, stands opposed to that punishment which is merely *corrective*; the one is exercised for the good of the party; the other not so, but for the good of the community." This last, he then proceeds to show from Scripture testimony and from the nature and fitness of things, is amiable in God. Again, he says, referring to the Unitarian representation of Calvinism as teaching that the atonement of Christ *renders* God merciful to men, "Nothing can well be a greater misrepresentation of our sentiments, than this which is constantly given. These writers cannot be ignorant that *Calvinists disavow considering the death of Christ as a cause of divine love or goodness. On the contrary, they always maintain that divine love is the cause, the first cause of our salvation, and of the death of Christ to that end.* They would not scruple to allow, that God had love enough in his heart to save sinners without the death of his Son, had it been consistent with righteousness; but that, as receiving them to favour without some public expression of displeasure against their sin, would have been a dishonour to his government, and

have afforded an encouragement for others to follow their example, *the LOVE OF GOD wrought in a way of righteousness*, first giving his only begotten Son to become a sacrifice, and thus pouring forth all the fulness of his heart through that appointed medium.”*

Another misrepresentation of Orthodox views in reference to the atonement found in this discourse is, that they teach that, “the infinite Creator saves the guilty by *transferring their punishment* to an innocent being,” and thus “lays the penalties of vice on the pure and unoffending,” pp. 30, 31. Many Orthodox writers have indeed spoken of Christ’s “bearing the punishment due to the sins of men,” and “suffering the penalty of the law;” and some excellent men have, at times, expressed themselves on this subject in a way which we are by no means disposed to justify. But none who have used this language ever meant that our punishment was literally “*transferred*” to Christ, and *the* penalty we had incurred laid upon him; for the penalty and punishment which the Orthodox teach has been incurred by sin is *eternal death*. But who will believe that any one ever meant to assert that our Lord suffered eternal death? The reader will at once perceive that the language we have quoted from Orthodox writers was used by them in a figurative sense, as when Isaiah says, “He hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows,” and “the chastisement of our peace was upon him,” i. e. his sufferings are a substitute for the penalty we have incurred by sin,—they are a full equivalent for the punishment that was due to those who are forgiven, answering the same

* Works, vol. ii. pp. 91, 89.

ends in the divine government. "He bore," says a judicious Calvinistic writer, "the punishment due to our sins, *or that which, considering the dignity of his person, was equivalent to it*;" "as I do not believe Jesus was in any sense criminal, *I cannot say he was really and properly punished*."* And because the *mode of expression* in question has been too much insisted on by some of their own writers, and has been used as an occasion for misrepresenting their sentiments by impugners of the doctrine of atonement, it is now very generally discarded by the Orthodox, certainly so by nearly all of this class in New England. They now usually express themselves on this topic in some such language as the following; "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, by being made a curse for us. The law denounces a punishment. This was its curse. Christ delivers us from that punishment, by being made a curse; that is, by suffering an evil, which, so far as the ends of the divine government are concerned, was equivalent to the execution of the curse of the law upon transgressors."†

Again, Dr. Channing represents the Orthodox as regarding the atonement merely as the payment of a debt, and consequently as removing, inasmuch as it was required to remove, no other obstacle to pardon, but that which arises from the individual interest of the creditor. "Suppose," says he, when avowedly illustrating their views of this subject, p. 42, "suppose that a creditor, through compassion to certain debtors, should persuade a benevolent and opulent

* Fuller's Works, vol. iv. pp. 84, 85.

† Wood's Letters to Unitarians, first ed. p. 94.

man to pay him in their stead. Would not the debtors see greater mercy, and feel a weightier obligation, if they were to receive a free, gratuitous release?" Now it is true that the advocates of atonement have often spoken of Christ as having "*bought us, or redeemed us from destruction, by the price of his own blood.*" And in doing so, they have followed the example of the Scriptures; which represent us as God's debtors, Matt. vi. 12; as "*bought with a price,*" 1 Cor. vi. 20; as "*redeemed with the blood of Christ,*" 1 Pet. i. 18, 19. It is also true that some Orthodox writers, especially those who have maintained what is called a limited atonement, have, in the view of their brethren, who entertained a different opinion as to the extent of the atonement, insisted too much upon this representation. But no writer, generally received as an authority among the Orthodox, has asserted that the atonement of Christ is to be regarded *merely as the payment of a debt, and as removing no other obstacle to the pardon of sinners but one existing on the part of God.* Francis Turretin, arguing the necessity of an atonement, says that "sin, for which satisfaction is required, is to be regarded, not only as a debt, by which we are bound to divine justice for its payment, but also as a *crime*, for which we are under sentence of eternal death before God, *the supreme Governor and Judge of the world.* Wherefore sinners are not only called debtors, Matt. vi. 12, but also *guilty* before God, or condemned by his law, Rom. iii. 19. Hence, to effect our redemption, it was necessary that the debt of sin should be paid, and *our guilt expiated,*" i. e. according to his use of the term guilt, *the demand of*

*the law upon us satisfied.** “Some of the peculiar principles of the Antinomians,” says Dr. Bellamy, “seem to take their rise from *wrong* notions of the nature of satisfaction for sin.” “They seem to consider God *merely* under the notion of a *creditor*, and us *merely* under the notion of debtors.” But “nothing is more evident than that God is, in scripture, considered as the righteous *Governor* of the world, and we as *criminals* guilty before him; and the evident design of Christ’s death was, to be a *propitiation for sin*; to declare and manifest God’s righteousness, that he might be just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus.”† “The atonement of Christ,” Andrew Fuller remarks, “proceeds, not on the principle of commercial, but of moral justice, or justice as it relates to *crime*. Its grand object is to express the divine displeasure against sin, and so to render the exercise of mercy, in all the ways wherein sovereign wisdom should determine to apply it, consistent with righteousness.”‡ And Dr. Woods has stated, that, “when Christ is said to pay our debt, it is signified, *simply, that, by means of his sufferings, he delivers us from punishment*. This similitude does not relate particularly to the mode of deliverance, nor to the nature of the evil which is escaped, nor to the nature of the good secured, but merely to the *fact* of his procuring deliverance by means of his death.”§

Once more, Trinitarianism is represented, in this discourse, as teaching that, in the crucifixion of Christ, *the divinity suffered and died*. “Its leading

* Theol. Elenct. Loc. 14. Quest. 10, sect. 6.

† Works, vol. i. pp. 378, 379.

‡ Ib. vol. i. p. 89.

§ Letters to Unitarians, first edit. p. 94.

feature," says the author, p. 17, "is the *doctrine of the Infinite Divinity dying on a cross.*" Page 45, he represents the Orthodox as maintaining that "the angels need an *executed God* to confirm their loyalty." And, lest it should be supposed that, in employing "the language of earnest discussion," he had, in the passages just quoted, used expressions which might seem to convey more than was intended, he adds, p. 46, "Let none say that we misrepresent the doctrine of atonement, *the primary and essential idea of which is the public EXECUTION OF A GOD,* for the purpose of satisfying justice and awakening a shuddering dread of sin."

Here is an example of boldness of assertion never before equalled, so far as we now recollect, even by Unitarians. The Orthodox have in former instances been censured for maintaining that "an infinite being suffered for sin," inasmuch as they maintain that the humanity of Christ, by which the sufferings which made atonement were endured, subsisted in intimate personal union with the divinity, in consequence of which those sufferings have, in their view, an unlimited value. But never before, as far as we know, has any one ventured to represent Trinitarians as believing in the sufferings of *the divinity, the execution of a God.* And the reason probably has been, that all preceding impugnors of Orthodoxy have felt that it would be hazarding too much to make such a representation. For scarcely ever was there an Orthodox sermon preached, or treatise written, in which the reasons of the incarnation of Christ were assigned, which did not state as the most prominent one, that he *might* suffer and die in our stead. And

whenever it has been thought important to show that he could not suffer in our stead without becoming incarnate, it has been invariably asserted, that the divine nature is incapable of suffering. "Why," ask the Westminster divines, "was it necessary that the Mediator should be man?" And they reply, "That he *might* perform obedience to the law, *suffer*, &c."* "As it would have been impossible," says Calvin, in his chapter on "the necessity of Christ becoming man in order to fulfil the office of Mediator," "As it would have been *impossible for one who was only God to suffer death*, or for one who was a mere man to overcome it, *he associated the human nature with the divine, that he might submit the weakness of the former to death as an atonement for sins*, and that, with the power of the latter, he might contend with death, and obtain a victory on our behalf."† Francis Turretin argues, "It was necessary that our Mediator should be man, as well as God, that, by dying, he *might* acquire salvation for us; for the divinity could not die."‡ "If Christ," says President Edwards, "had remained only in the divine nature, he would not have been in a capacity to have purchased our salvation; not from any imperfection of the divine nature, but by reason of its absolute and infinite perfection; for *Christ, merely as God, was not capable of that obedience or suffering that was needful. The divine nature is not capable of suffering, for it is infinitely above all suffering*,"§

Such are the statements, in this discourse, of some of the more prominent doctrines of Orthodoxy; and such is a portion of the evidence of the incorrectness

* Larger Catechism; Q. 39.

† Instit. b. ii. cap. xii. sect. 3.

‡ Theol. Elenct. Loc. 13, Quest. 3, sect. 19. § Works, vol. ii. p. 181.

of these statements, Our apology for occupying so large a portion of this review with quotations from Trinitarian writers of authority is twofold. So serious a charge as that contained in this head of remark, ought never, we think, to be made, without being sustained by the most express proof. We also knew that statements similar to those we have quoted from the discourse, (with the single exception of the last of them,) are frequently made by Unitarians, from the press, and from the pulpit; and we considered it a duty to improve the present opportunity of informing those of our readers, who have been in the habit of hearing and perusing such statements without a knowledge of their incorrectness, what are the opinions of the Orthodox on the subjects referred to.

And now what shall be said of these numerous and palpable misrepresentations? Were they beyond a doubt, the result of intention on the part of their author, we should be at no loss for an answer to the question. To bring upon individuals or classes of men the public odium, by imputations known to be unfounded, is a most aggravated offence against society, and against heaven. But what means can be employed, having a more direct and certain tendency to bring upon persons public odium, than to impute to them religious tenets, calculated to excite, and found, by experiment, never failing to excite execration and contempt? What then is the extent of criminality in the professed minister of the Gospel, who has reason to believe that hundreds, perhaps thousands, will receive his statements with implicit confidence, and suffers himself, publicly, to impute such

tenets to a large class of nominal Christians knowing the imputation to be unfounded.

But we are *not* willing to charge Dr. Channing with having intentionally misrepresented the sentiments of Trinitarians. What explanation then shall be given of his representations of their opinions? Shall it be said that some of them *are correct in their application to individuals* who have been ranked with Trinitarians? This, we have seen, can be said with truth of but one or two of his representations. But, if it might be said with truth of all, would their author be justified in attributing those opinions to the whole body of Trinitarians? Dr. Channing has said in another publication, "The **INJUSTICE** would be seen and resented, if a Trinitarian were charged with every opinion which has, at any time, been found in company with the doctrine of three persons in one God, and if every rash saying of every brother Trinitarian were to be laid at his door."*

Will it be said that the statements of the opinions of the Orthodox contained in the discourse *may be derived by inference* from their representations and reasonings? There are passages in the discourse which have the *appearance* of attempting in this way to justify some of the representations given of Orthodox opinions. Thus, p. 49, the author argues that "three persons, constituting one God, must either be frittered away into three unmeaning distinctions, into sounds signifying nothing, or they are three conscious agents, who cannot, by any human art or metaphysical device, be made to coalesce into one being," i. e. they are three Gods. And p. 17, he contends, that "on

* Note to sermon at the ordination of Mr. Gannett. pp. 29, 30.

the supposition that the second person of the Trinity became incarnate, God may be said to be a material being, on the same general ground on which this is affirmed of man." The reasoning in both these instances is, in our view, wholly inconclusive. But whether it be so or not, is not material to our present purpose. What if it could be shown, in this way, that the Orthodox "may be said," not only to believe in three Gods and to worship a corporeal God, but to hold all the monstrous opinions ascribed to them in this discourse. Is it just to attribute to individuals or denominations inferences from their doctrines, which they have not only not admitted, but have positively denied? Dr. Channing himself has replied. The "practice" in a writer, he has said, "of fastening on his opponents the consequences which seem to him to follow from their system," is "*unfair and injurious.*" "Suppose that I, availing myself of this expeditious way of settling the opinions of others, should make a collection of the inferences which seem to me to flow from the doctrine that God is the author of sin, and suppose that I should publish this collection to the world as the creed of those Christians by whom this doctrine is received; would they not reproach me as a *libeller*?" *

Is it to be supposed, that Dr. Channing *is not informed what are the real opinions of the Orthodox* on the topics referred to in his representations? If it were so, would he be justified in the course he has pursued? Would the man who, publicly, makes imputations unfavourable to the moral character of another, having no foundation in fact, be justified by

* Remarks on Dr. Worcester's First Letter, pp. 15, 16.

the plea that he did not know them to be false? Would you not say, he is bound to know that what he states is true? And is not the religious controvertist who publicly imputes to his opponents ridiculous and execrable opinions, equally bound to know that his statements are true? And if they are not, is he not utterly without excuse?

But Dr. Channing cannot be uninformed as to the real opinions of Trinitarians. He was educated among this class of Christians. In his preparation for the ministry, it is probable, he chiefly read Orthodox works on theology. He has publicly asserted that his "earliest prepossessions must have been in favour of the doctrine of the Trinity."* Yea, more. He has, on different occasions, avowed his knowledge of the fact, that the real belief of the Orthodox, on several very important points, is directly the reverse of what he has stated it to be in this discourse. In his last publication, the Orthodox are represented, p. 50, as almost discarding the use of reason in their religious discussions. But in the Baltimore sermon, he says, p. 9, "None reason more frequently than our adversaries. It is astonishing what a fabric they rear from a few slight hints about the fall of our first parents, and how ingeniously they extract from detached passages mysterious doctrines about the divine nature." In the discourse now under review, Dr. Channing charges Trinitarians with believing in three Gods, or, as he expresses it, "three conscious agents who cannot, by any human art or metaphysical device, be made to coalesce into one being." But in his Remarks on Dr. Worcester's Second Letter, he

* Remarks on Dr. Worcester's Second Letter, p. 9.

says, p. 25, "Trinitarians and Unitarians both *believe in one God, one infinite and self-existent mind.*" In the New York discourse the Orthodox are represented as teaching that the object of Christ's death is to *render* God merciful. But, p. 42, it is admitted that, according to Trinitarianism, the *mercy* of God *provided the substitute* for the guilty. Trinitarians, it is said again, hold, "as the primary and essential idea" of their doctrine of atonement, that "the Infinite Divinity died on a cross." But in the Baltimore sermon, it is said, p. 25, that the advocates of atonement "when pressed with the question, whether they really believe, that the infinite and unchangeable God died on a cross, *acknowledge that this is not true, but that Christ's human mind alone sustained the pains of death;*" and a similar statement is made, p. 47, of the discourse preached at New York. It was not, therefore, ignorance of the real opinions of the Orthodox which occasioned the misrepresentations we have exposed.

How, then, shall they be accounted for? Shall we say of their author, as he said some years since (in our view without just cause) of a certain reviewer; "the most charitable construction which his conduct will admit, is, that his passions and party spirit have criminally blinded him, and hurried him into an act, which could have been authorized only by the strongest evidence, and the most impartial inquiry"?*

We are not willing, as we have intended to evince by the strain of our remarks, to adopt either of the ~~modes~~ modes to which we have alluded, of accounting for these misrepresentations. And we cannot think of any other. We must therefore leave them unaccounted for.

* Letter to Rev. S. C. Thatcher, p. 9.

In concluding this head, we appeal to our readers' sense of justice, and ask, Is not Dr. Channing bound, publicly, to retract the statements he has made in this discourse, of the sentiments of Trinitarians? We also request any of our readers who may, hereafter, see in Unitarian publications, or hear from Unitarian pulpits, such statements, to do the Orthodox the justice to recollect that they are not true.

IV. Without entering upon the discussion of the main question, which of the two systems is of superior tendency to form an elevated religious character, we may notice some of the INSTANCES OF INCONCLUSIVE REASONING found in this discourse.

Several of the arguments are founded on the misrepresentations which have just been exposed, and are, therefore, wholly without force, as applied to the real sentiments of Trinitarians. Thus the first argument, pp. 13—16, assumes, that Trinitarianism presents to the mind three infinite and independent objects of affection and adoration; and the reasoning under the fourth head, from p. 24 to p. 26, is grounded on the supposition, that the Orthodox hold that one of the persons in the Godhead is, *independently of the others*, an infinitely perfect being, which implies that *each* is, independently of the others, an infinitely perfect being, i. e. that there are three Gods. But the Orthodox do not believe in three Gods. Much of what is said under the ninth and under the sixth heads about the influence of Unitarianism in improving, and of Trinitarianism in confining and degrading the intellectual powers, is predicated on the erroneous position, that the Orthodox discard reason in religious investigations. And the whole of the reasoning employed, pp. 41—43, to

show that pardon through the sacrifice of Christ is not gratuitous, and therefore "obscures God's mercy," is founded on the false assumption, that, according to the views of Trinitarians, the atonement is merely the payment of a debt, and its chief object is to render the Divine Being merciful.

There are also numerous instances of inconclusive reasoning, not directly founded on misrepresentations of Orthodox opinions.

Page 17, the author of the discourse reasons as follows : " On the supposition that the second person of the Trinity became incarnate, God may be said to be a material being, on the same general ground on which this is affirmed of man ; for man is material only by the union of mind with the body ; and the very meaning of incarnation is, that God took a body, through which he acted and spoke, as the human soul operates through the corporeal organs." That is, if the reasoning be stated more distinctly ; ' The human *soul* is united to a body, therefore *man* is a material being. *God*, according to Trinitarianism, took a body, therefore *God* is a material being.' The arguments, it is at once seen, are not similar. In the former, the predicate respects the *soul*, and the conclusion respects *man* ; but in the latter, *both* the predicate and the conclusion respect *God*. A man is a complex person, *composed* of soul and body, and therefore it is proper to say that he, the *man*, is a material, as well as a spiritual being. The Lord Jesus Christ is, according to Trinitarianism, a complex person, *composed* of divinity and humanity, and therefore it is proper to say, that he, *Christ*, is a divine, and that he is a human being. The human soul is *united* to a body ; but it *cannot*, on that account, be said, with accuracy, that the soul is material. God, or the divine nature in the person of the Son, according to Trinitarianism, became *united* to a body ; but it *cannot*, on that account, be said, with accuracy, that God is a material being.

Pages 18, 19, we have some remarks about ' the Protestant, if a Trinitarian, condemning himself, while he condemns the Roman Catholics, for using similitudes and representations in their

worship ;' "for," says Dr. Channing, "if as he," the Trinitarian Protestant, "believes, it was once a duty to bow in adoration before the living body of his incarnate God, what possible guilt can there be in worshipping before the pictured or sculptured memorial of the same being? Christ's body may as truly be represented by the artist as any other human form ; and its image may be used, as effectually and properly, as that of an ancient sage or hero, to recall him with vividness to the mind." To this, Dr. Channing supposes the Trinitarian Protestant to reply, "that God has expressly forbidden the use of images in our worship." This perfectly conclusive answer he attempts to set aside by the following reasoning. "But why was that prohibition *laid on the Jews*? For this express reason, that God had not presented himself to them in any form which admitted of representation. Hear the language of Moses, 'Take good heed, lest ye make you a graven image ; for ye saw no manner of similitude on the day that the Lord spake to you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire.' Deut. iv. 15. If, since that period, God has taken a body, then the reason of the prohibition has ceased." That is, 'the reason why God has forbidden *all nations, from the beginning* (for the moral law is the law of the human race), to worship any graven image is, that *the Jews* saw no manner of similitude when the Lord spake to them in Horeb, A. M. 2513!' The fact mentioned by Moses, was a reason why the Jews should not transgress the second commandment, but it was not at all a reason why that "prohibition was *laid*" on them and all other nations. If then any event has since occurred, which has rendered inapplicable the argument of Moses, Deut. iv. 15, the second commandment will, nevertheless, remain in force ; and will furnish an answer, as conclusive as it is brief, to Dr. Channing's argument from the condemnation of Roman Catholics by the Trinitarian Protestant.

Again, it is alleged in this discourse as a conclusive argument against the doctrine of the Trinity, that it involves a contradiction. "Trinitarianism," it is said, p. 49, "*contradicts reason* ;" and, p. 22, that it "*involves irreconcilable ideas*. One God consisting of three persons is a being so *contradictory*." This charge, which has often been made, has been repelled in the following manner.

"Those who allege that the doctrine of the Trinity includes a contradiction, reason thus : 'The idea of one, and the idea of three, are contradictory and subversive of one another, so that the same thing cannot be one and three at the same time. But Trinitarians affirm, that God is one and three at the same time ; therefore they affirm what cannot be true, i. e. a contradictory proposition.' But the major proposition is stated in a loose and indefinite manner, and is not true in every instance ; for a triangle is one and three at the same time, when considered as one among many figures, and in reference to its sides. In order to be true, that is, admissible, the major proposition must run thus : 'It is impossible for the same thing to be one and three, *in the same respect*, at the same time.' To this we assent. But in this form, the doctrine of the Trinity is by no means embraced under it, for, it need not be told to the intelligent reader, that Trinitarians *unanimously deny* that God is one and three *in the same respect*. They expressly teach that God is one in one respect, and three in another respect. The first respect they denominate by the term *essence* [or *being*], and the second by the term *persons*. Therefore, as the Trinitarian proposition is not embraced in the major, the conclusion of course is not applicable to it."* Or to state the answer in a different form : Man is one and two at the same time. But this assertion involves no contradiction, because it affirms man to be one and two *in different respects* : one, considered as an individual of the human race ; two, in reference to his soul and body. So God, according to Trinitarianism, is one and three at the same time. But this proposition involves no contradiction, because it affirms the Divine Being to be one and three *in different senses* ; one, in respect to essence, or considered as related to intelligent existences ; and three, in respect to an unexplained distinction usually expressed by the term *persons*.

Pages 28, 29, the author seems to argue that Trinitarianism is not taught in the scriptures, because it was not found, by certain exalted minds, in those passages which have been supposed, by its advocates, to contain it. "Trinitarianism," he says, "is shut up

* Appendix to vol. i. of Schmucker's translation of Stoor's Biblical Theology, p. 469. This Appendix we would earnestly recommend to the attentive perusal of those who wish to obtain accurate ideas as to "the relation of the doctrine of the Trinity to reason."

in a few texts, a few written lines, *where many of the wisest minds have failed to discover it.*" "Three divine persons, I repeat it, are found only in a few texts, and those so dark, that *the gifted minds of Milton, Newton, and Locke did not find them there.*" "Many of the wisest minds," as those of Voltaire, and Volney, and Hume, and Bolingbroke, "failed to discover" the evidences of divine revelation; therefore, according to this reasoning of Dr. Channing we are to believe that the scriptures are not inspired! "The gifted mind of Milton" did "find," or supposed it found, in certain "texts" of Scripture, that God is a material being, that the human soul is material, that polygamy is lawful; therefore, according to this reasoning of Dr. Channing, we are to believe that these monstrous doctrines are taught in the scriptures. The same "gifted mind" found in the Bible the doctrines of original sin, and of vicarious atonement; does Dr. Channing, therefore, as the principle of his argument in this place requires him to do, receive these as doctrines of scripture? Or does he call even "the gifted Milton" master, only so far as he likes his opinions?

Page 37, it is said, "We deem our views of Jesus Christ more interesting than those of Trinitarianism. According to Unitarianism he is a being who may be understood, for he is one mind, one conscious nature. According to the opposite faith, he is an inconceivable compound of two most dissimilar minds, joining in one person a finite and infinite nature, a soul weak and ignorant, and a soul almighty and omniscient." According to Dr. Channing's views of the person of Jesus Christ, "he is a being who may be understood," there is nothing "inconceivable," nothing mysterious, in the constitution of his person. Dr. Channing is, we believe, a high Arian. He supposes that a superangelic spirit assumed a body; which being, composed of a superangelic spirit and a human body, was the Lord Jesus Christ. This exalted spirit, in all its maturity, was then *the soul* of the infant born in the manger of Bethlehem. This exalted spirit, in all its maturity, united to an infant's body, we are to suppose Luke asserting, "grew, and waxed strong," and increased in "wisdom," as the human souls of other infants do! And this being, having no human soul, is often said by the sacred writers to have been *a man*,

in all respects like other men, with the single exception of sin ! Yet there is nothing "inconceivable," nothing mysterious in all this ! But still, Dr. Channing argues, 'Jesus Christ is a more interesting, because he is a more simple, "object of thought and affection," according to Unitarianism, than according to the opposite faith ; for, according to the former, he "is one conscious nature," but according to the latter, he is "a compound of two most dissimilar" natures.' A being is then interesting as an "object of thought and affection" in proportion to the simplicity of its nature. And consequently the lower animals, having, as some suppose, but one nature, the material, are more interesting "objects of thought and affection" than men, who are "a compound of two most dissimilar" natures, the material and the spiritual.

Pages 43, 44, Dr. Channing supposes a Trinitarian to allege, as a peculiar advantage of his system, that "it provides an infinite substitute for the sinner," and says, "this doctrine of an infinite satisfaction, or, as it is improperly called, 'of an infinite atonement,' subverts, instead of building up hope, because it argues infinite severity in the government which requires it." Admit, for argument's sake, (and for no other reason can we admit it for a moment,) that such a provision did "argue infinite severity in the government which requires it." The gracious provision, *by* that government, of "an infinite satisfaction," would argue that it was also infinitely merciful ; and thus the obstacle which its severity, if that alone had before been displayed, might have presented to the indulgence of hope, would be entirely removed. And why would it have been removed, and that at such an amazing expense ? For the *very purpose of opening to a guilty world a door of hope*. Yet this provision, according to the logic of this discourse, "subverts instead of building up hope" !

Pages 46, 47, it is urged as "a second objection to this doctrine of infinite atonement," that, "when examined minutely, and freed from ambiguous language, it vanishes into air ;" for the doctrine of the Orthodox is not (what had been asserted on the preceding page to be its "primary and essential idea") "that the great God really suffered and died ;" but, "that God took into union with himself our nature, that is, a human body and soul ; and these bore the sufferings for our sins." "Thus the infinite

victim proves to be a frail man, and God's share in the sacrifice is a mere fiction." That is, 'on the supposition that the human body and soul of Jesus Christ were united to the Divinity in the manner the Orthodox believe, his sufferings would be of no more worth than those of an ordinary man.' But is it thus that the worth of sufferings is estimated? Dr. Channing, we presume, will admit, that it is only the body of man that dies. The bodies of brutes also die. But is the death of a man of no more importance than the death of a brute? If, as the high Arians suppose was the fact in the person of the Saviour, a superangelic being should take a body and be put to death, his superangelic nature would not die. Death, in his case, as in that of ordinary men, could be strictly predicted only of the body. But would his death be of no more importance than that of an ordinary man? Every mind estimates the death of a man as far more important than that of a brute. And why? Because *that which dies* is, in the former case, *united to* an intelligent and immortal spirit, and in the other is not. Should a superangelic spirit take a body, every mind would estimate the death of this being as far more important than that of an ordinary man. And why? Because *that which dies* is, in the one case, *united to* a superangelic spirit, and in the other is not. Suppose, then, the Divinity in the person of the Son, has, as the Orthodox believe, taken a human body and soul, and that the glorious person thus constituted has, in his human nature, suffered and died. What is the value of his sufferings and death? Every candid mind esteems them of unlimited value.

There are in the discourse other instances of inconclusive reasoning equally surprising. But the exposure of them will be more appropriately made in the course of the discussion reserved for a future publication.

V. This discourse, in connexion with other publications, FURNISHES DECISIVE EVIDENCE OF THE CONTINUED PROGRESS OF UNITARIANISM IN THIS COUNTRY IN DEPARTING FROM THE FAITH OF THE FATHERS OF NEW ENGLAND. This progress was noticed, and

its continuance predicted by Professor Stuart in his Letters to Dr. Channing in 1819. To Dr. Channing himself Mr. Stuart then said, "A mind capable of reasoning and thinking, in such a manner as yours, must necessarily, as it seems to me, come to the same conclusions with Eichborn, and Paulus, and Henke, and Eckermann, and Herder, and other distinguished men of the new German School, when it begins to reason with such maxims as those which you adopt." And in reference to the advocates of Unitarianism in general, Mr. Stuart anticipated that, in a short time, the great body of them would be simple Humanitarians, and that the question between them and the Orthodox here would soon be, "whether natural or revealed religion is our guide and our hope." * The latter part of this prediction, those, not advocates of Unitarianism, who had observed the progress of religious opinions in Boston and the vicinity for several preceding years, had no doubt would be fulfilled. But that which related to Dr. Channing it was, we believe, not generally expected would be fulfilled. His Orthodox education and apparent reverence for the Scriptures, it was thought by many, would preserve him from departing much farther than he had then done from Evangelical sentiments. But the fact seems to be, that both parts of Mr. Stuart's prediction, though not yet completely fulfilled, are advancing rapidly toward a full accomplishment.

When Dr. Channing first became a preacher of the Gospel, he was, we conclude from a careful examination of all the evidence we have been able to collect, a Semi-Arian, believing the Son of God to

* Second edit. pp. 171, 175.

to be deprecated as a calamity that we should be required to derive our opinions of the mode of the divine existence from the Scriptures alone. 3. The inference appears to be fairly authorized, that the Bible, without the illumination of nature, would be a dark and defective communication of religious truth, while the testimony of nature, at least in reference to the mode of the divine existence, is clear and complete. 4. The supposed testimony of creation is preferred to the supposed testimony of certain texts of Scripture ; and this because the latter has not been found by "the gifted minds of Milton, Newton, and Locke." Now Dr. Channing has said in this discourse that he "sees among the adherents of Trinitarianism superior minds and great minds," and the author of the review of Dr. Beecher's sermon at Worcester has asserted, that "Unitarianism has never yet prevailed in any country." We presume, therefore, it will be admitted that the majority of "gifted minds" that have yet appeared in Christendom have been Trinitarians. The reasoning employed under the fifth head of the discourse may then be fairly stated thus : Some "gifted minds" have found in nature testimony in favour of Unitarianism, which testimony has not been found by the majority of "gifted minds" in Christendom that have investigated the doctrines of religion. And some "gifted minds" have not found in certain texts of Scripture testimony to the truth of Trinitarianism, which testimony has been found by the majority of "gifted minds" that have received and studied the Christian revelation. We are, however, to receive the supposed testimony of nature to Unitarianism and reject

the supposed testimony of certain texts of Scripture to Trinitarianism." This certainly looks very much like exalting reason, or the testimony of nature, above Scripture. And Unitarians generally in this country, if we have not greatly misunderstood their more recent statements on this subject, now regard the Epistles as of less authority than the Gospels, and receive the Bible, *not as itself a revelation from God*, but only as *a history or account of such a revelation*; a history written indeed with candor and fairness, and by persons in most respects well qualified for the work, but still a history liable, like every other, to contain errors and mistakes. "A great part," says one of their most esteemed writers, "of the perplexing and unhappy consequences arising from unintelligible and superstitious doctrine, and from misapprehension of Scripture, have sprung from this very source—the leaning on the apostles instead of on Jesus—the learning Christianity from the obscure discussions of particular questions at Rome, or Corinth, or Galatia, instead of taking it from the plain exposition of their Master, who spoke for the edification of all men, in all ages, and under all circumstances." "The spirit preserved them," the Apostles, "from injurious error in recording truth; but still they are not to be put on a level with their infallible Master."* And in the religious journal of greatest authority among Unitarians in this country, it was not long since said, the Bible is to be "considered as *containing* a revelation from God, and giving a complete *account* of the divine dispensations."

* Discourses on the Offices and Character of Jesus Christ, by Henry Ware, jun.; published in 1825, pp. 15, 14.

“It is also to be regarded as *consisting wholly of human compositions, like other writings of equal antiquity*, the fair subjects of criticism.”*

In 1808, Dr. Channing believed and preached the doctrine of depravity. In a sermon of his, delivered in December of that year, at the ordination of Mr. now Dr. Codman, are the following statements in relation to the character of unregenerate men. “To whom is he,” the minister of the Gospel, “sent to preach? To men of upright hearts, disposed to receive and obey the truth which guides to heaven? To men before whom the future is arrayed in light, and who are surrounded only with objects friendly to peace and improvement? Ah, no! He is called to guide a wandering flock, through a thorny, rugged wilderness, beset with snars and beasts of prey, and on this side and on that, terminated by abrupt and hidden precipices. He is sent to *a world of sinners, in whose hearts lurk idolatry, sensuality, pride, and EVERY CORRUPTION.*”† “Behold that man, so mild, so heavenly, *once he was a CHILD OF SATAN.*”‡ And from these statements we suppose very few, if any, of the Congregational clergy, at that time in Boston and the vicinity, would have dissented. How different are the present views of Dr. Channing and his brethren in relation to the native character of man. “For ourselves,” says Dr. Channing in the discourse now before us, pp. 27, 26, 31, 32, “We look *with horror and grief* on the views of God’s government, which are naturally and intimately united with Trinitarianism.” “It teaches, that the Infinite Father saw fit to put into the hands of our first pa-

* Christian Examiner for January and February, 1824, p. 6.

† P. 16.

‡ P. 18.

rents the character and condition of their whole progeny, and that through one act of disobedience the whole race bring with them into being a corrupt nature, or are born depraved." "Some of the most affecting tokens of God's love within and around us are obscured by this gloomy theology. The glorious faculties of the soul, its high aspirations, its sensibility to the great and good in character, its sympathy with disinterested and suffering virtue, its benevolent and *religious instincts*, its thirst for a happiness not found on earth, these are overlooked or thrown into the shade, that they may not disturb the persuasion of man's natural corruption." And Dr. Ware has said, "Man is by nature no more inclined or disposed to vice than virtue." "I insist that, if we take a fair and full view, we shall find that wickedness, far from being the prevailing part of the human character, makes but an inconsiderable part of it."*

When Unitarianism first made its appearance in this country, and for some time after, its advocates generally believed, or at least disclaimed a disbelief, in a vicarious atonement. In 1808, Dr. Channing said, "The importance of ministerial earnestness will be seen, if we consider what concern God has expressed, what *infinite means* he has employed to that great end which the Christian ministry is designed to advance. The salvation of man is the leading object of the providence of God....For this the Son of God himself left the abodes of glory, and expired a *victim* on the cross."† In 1815, he said in behalf of himself, and his brethren, "It is indeed very true,

* *Letters to Trinitarians and Calvinists*, pp. 20, 24.

† *Sermon at the ordination of Dr. Codman*, p. 12.

that Unitarians *say nothing* about *infinite* atonement." But, "with respect to the atonement, the great body of Liberal Christians seem to me to accord precisely with the author of 'Bible News;' or rather, both agree very much with the profound Butler."* And what were the views of Bishop Butler on this subject? After a conclusive argument in favor of the reasonableness and credibility of the doctrine, he says, "The particular manner in which Christ interposed in the redemption of the world, or his office as Mediator, in the largest sense, between God and man, is thus represented to us in the Scripture. *He is the light of the world*; the revealer of the will of God in the most eminent sense. He is A PROPITIATORY SACRIFICE, the Lamb of God; and as he voluntarily offered himself up, he is styled our High Priest. And, which seems of peculiar weight, he is described beforehand in the Old Testament, under the same character of a priest, and AN EXPIATORY VICTIM."† In 1819, Dr. Channing and many of his brethren seem to have still regarded the death of Christ as in some way vicarious, though other Unitarians had then come to a different conclusion. "We have no desire," he said in his sermon at Baltimore, "to conceal the fact, that a difference of opinion exists among us, in regard to an interesting part of Christ's mediation; I mean in regard to the precise influence of his death on our forgiveness. Some suppose that this event contributes to our pardon, as it was a principal means of confirming his religion, and of giving it a power over the mind; in other words, that it pro-

* Remarks on Dr. Worcester's Second Letter, pp. 17, 13.

† Analogy, part ii. chap. v. sect. 6.

cures forgiveness by leading to that repentance and virtue, which is the great and only condition on which forgiveness is bestowed. Many of us are dissatisfied with this explanation, and think that the Scriptures ascribe the remission of sins to Christ's death with an emphasis so peculiar, that we ought to consider this event as having a special influence in removing punishment, as a condition or method of pardon, without which repentance would not avail us, at least to the extent which is now promised by the Gospel."* But in 1826, Dr. Channing and his brethren generally, have concluded that the doctrine of an infinite atonement does infinite wrong to the divine mercy, and that the sufferings and death of Christ have no meritorious influence on our pardon. "I know," says he, in the discourse before us, pp. 47, 48, "that some will say, that in giving up an infinite atonement I deprive myself of all hope of divine favor. To such I would say, You do infinite wrong to God's mercy." And p. 41, "Trinitarianism obscures God's mercy, by the manner in which it supposes pardon to be communicated. It teaches that God remits the punishment of the offender, in consequence of receiving an equivalent from an innocent person; that the sufferings of the sinner are removed by a full satisfaction made to divine justice in the sufferings of a substitute." "And is mercy, which means free and undeserved love, made more manifest, more resplendent by the introduction of *merit* and right as the ground of our salvation? Could a surer expedient be invented for obscuring its freeness?" And in a note appended to the dis-

* P. 33.

course, he says, that, while he has “not undertaken to state the way or method by which Christ’s sufferings contribute to human salvation, on” which “point there is a diversity of opinion,” he has stated “the general principle in which Unitarian Christians agree.”

In 1808, Dr. Channing believed and preached the doctrine of the endless punishment of the wicked. The minister, he then said, “sees immortal beings committed to his care, advancing with rapid steps to the brink of an abyss from which they are *never* to arise. And can he be unconcerned? Can he read of that fire which is *never* quenched, of that worm which *never* dies; and yet see, without emotion, fellow beings, with whom he sustains the tenderest connexions, hastening forward to this indescribable ruin? My Christian brethren! when we look on the people of our charge, can we hope that every soul is safe? that the sigh of acceptable penitence has ascended from every heart? Are none living without God? And is it not a thought unutterably affecting, that these are all trembling on the verge of the grave; that soon, very soon, one or another will be *forever* removed from the reach of our warning voice, to receive an *irreversible* sentence from the righteous Judge? Negligent minister, look forward to the tribunal of God. Behold a human being there condemned, whom thy neglect has helped to *destroy*.” “Need I describe to you his,” the negligent minister’s, “anguish on that day, which will prove him a false, heartless minister of Jesus Christ, which shall discover to him many souls *lost* through his neglect, in which the searching eyes of Jesus shall be fixed

on him with righteous indignation, in which he shall hear the voice of the Saviour saying to him, ‘Behold the inestimable souls for which my blood was shed, which I committed to your care, but which your negligence has helped to *destroy*. Depart, *with them*, far from me, into *everlasting* fire.’ Oh, scene of agony ! Let us, my friends, hold it to our minds, till it shall have exerted its full power.”* The same views, substantially, we are warranted in asserting, were at that time entertained by most Congregational ministers in this region. But in 1819, Dr. Channing, speaking in the name of Unitarians, said, “We agree in rejecting” the doctrine, “that a single transgression merits the eternal pains of hell,” and that “an infinite penalty is due from every human being.”† And in 1826, he employed, in relation to this subject, in the discourse before us, the following language : “We find Trinitarianism connecting itself with a scheme of administration *exceedingly derogatory to the divine character*. It teaches that the offences of a short life, though begun and spent under this disastrous influence,” the influence of depravity, “merit *endless punishment*.” p. 26. “We object to Trinitarianism that it obscures, if it does not annul, the mercy of God. . . . Mercy to the sinner is the principle of love or benevolence in its highest form ; and surely this cannot be expected from a being who brings us into existence burdened with hereditary guilt, and who threatens with *endless punishment and* wo the heirs of so frail and feeble a nature.” pp. 40, 41. “The horrible thought, of a large proportion of

* Sermon at Codman’s ordination, pp. 16, 17, 19, 20.

† See Baltimore sermon, p. 34.

our fellow creatures being cast, by an angry God into tortures unutterable by human tongue, and sentenced to spend eternity in shrieks of agony, which never reach the ear or touch the heart of their Creator ; this dreadful anticipation, which would shroud the universe in more than sepulchral gloom, and is enough to break every heart which is not stone, *this forms no part of our conception* of the purposes and government of the God and Father of Jesus Christ.” p. 54. And as to the sentiments of Unitarians generally on this important point, we are assured from the highest authority, that, “If by ‘everlasting punishment’ is meant the ‘proper eternity of hell torments,’ it is a doctrine which *most Unitarians of the present day concur in rejecting* ; some understanding by that everlasting destruction to which the wicked are to be consigned, an absolute annihilation ; others conceiving of their sufferings as consequential, and indefinite as to their duration ; and others, that all punishment will be necessarily remedial, and will end at last in a universal restoration to goodness and happiness.”*

VI. MOST OF THE REASONINGS EMPLOYED BY THE AUTHOR OF THIS DISCOURSE IN FAVOR OF HIS OWN SENTIMENTS AND AGAINST TRINITARIANISM, MIGHT, WITH EQUAL PERTINENCY, BE EMPLOYED BY A DEIST OF THE CLASS WHICH ACKNOWLEDGED A FUTURE STATE, IN FAVOR OF HIS SENTIMENTS, AND AGAINST THE DOCTRINES OF EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANITY.

Deists, says Leland, “are classed by some of their own writers, into two sorts, mortal and immortal Deists. The latter acknowledge a future state :

* Christian Disciple, New Series, vol. iii. p. 451.

the former deny it, or at least represent it as a very uncertain thing.”* The latter of these professed to believe, “that there is one eternal, infinite, intelligent, all-powerful, and wise being, the creator, preserver, and governor of all things ; that this supreme cause is a being of infinite justice, goodness, and truth, and all moral as well as natural perfections ; that he made the world for the manifestation of his power and wisdom, and to communicate his goodness and happiness to his creatures ; that he preserves it by his continual, all-wise providence, and governs it according to the eternal rules of infinite justice, equity, goodness, mercy, and truth ; that all created, rational beings, depending continually upon him, are bound to adore, worship, and obey him, to praise him for all things they enjoy ; and to pray to him for every thing they want ; that they are obliged to promote, in their proportion, and according to the extent of their several powers and abilities, the general good and welfare of those parts of the world wherein they are placed ; that in like manner as the divine goodness is continually promoting the universal benefit of the whole, men, in particular, are every where obliged to make it their business, by an universal benevolence, to promote the happiness of all others ; and that, according as men regard or neglect these obligations, so they are proportionably acceptable or displeasing unto God, who, being supreme Governor of the world, cannot but testify his favor or displeasure at some time or other ; and, consequently, since this is not done in the present state, there must be a future state of rewards and punishments in a life to

* View of the Deistical Writers, Let. 1.

come.”* They denied the doctrines of the Trinity, depravity, regeneration, atonement, and *eternal* punishment, and the inspiration of the Scriptures, and held, that reason is to be our guide in matters of religion, and that pardon and eternal life are to be obtained by repentance merely, and admitted that the Bible inculcates an excellent system of morals, and that Jesus Christ was a person of singular virtue and benevolence.†

Now let us suppose a Deist of this class to understand the doctrines of Evangelical Christianity as Dr. Channing has represented them in this discourse, and to attempt to show the “superior tendency” of his own system “to form an elevated religious character.” And suppose him to allege in support of this claim the following arguments.‡ 1. Deism “is a system most favorable to piety, because it presents to the mind one, and only one Infinite Person, to whom supreme homage is to be paid,” and thus “condenses the impressions and emotions of piety into one glowing thought, one thrilling love.” But Evangelical Christianity, by “scattering the attention among three equal persons, impairs the power of each,” and

* Dr. Samuel Clarke’s “Discourse of the unchangeable obligation of Natural Religion, and the truth and certainty of the Christian Revelation,” as quoted in Tindal’s “Christianity as old as the Creation.”

† This is, in substance, the system maintained by Tindal in the work just referred to. We have ourselves formerly, when the avowal of deistical principles was less disreputable than at present, known individuals who professed these sentiments, and styled themselves Immortal Deists.

‡ There is here, the reader will perceive, no ground for the remark, often made by Unitarians, that ‘Deists object to the inspiration of the Scriptures only because they have been led to suppose that the Bible contains the irrational doctrines which the Orthodox profess to found on its testimony;’ for it is not against the inspiration of the Scriptures, that we, in this case, suppose the Deist to argue, but against the *doctrines themselves* of Evangelical Christians as affecting human character.

thus weakens the impressions and emotions of piety.

2. Deism "is the system most favorable to piety, because it holds forth, and preserves inviolate, the spirituality of God:" while "the direct influence of" Evangelical Christianity, by its doctrine of incarnation, must be "to materialize men's conceptions of God."

3. Deism "is a system most favorable to piety, because it presents a distinct and intelligible object of worship:" Evangelical Christianity, "on the other hand, is a riddle;" its "one God consisting of three persons is a being so incongruous, so contradictory, that he cannot be apprehended with that distinctness, and that feeling of reality, which belong to the opposite system."

4. Deism "promotes a fervent and enlightened piety, by asserting the absolute and unbounded perfection of God's character." But Evangelical Christianity "has a fatal tendency to degrade the character of the Supreme being; by multiplying divine persons, and thus taking from each the glory of independent, all-sufficient, absolute perfection; by laying its disciples under the necessity of making such a distribution of offices and relations among the three persons as will serve to designate and distinguish them, thus interfering with the sublime conception of one Infinite Person in whom all glories are centred; and by connecting itself with a scheme of administration exceedingly derogatory to the divine character," teaching that men are by nature entirely depraved, and that the wicked will be doomed to endless punishment.

5. Deism "is peculiarly favorable to piety, because it accords with nature, which, the more it is explored, teaches one Father." But Evangelical Christianity "is a confined system, shut up in a few written lines," four

in a single volume called the Bible, while "nature gives it not a whisper of evidence." 6. Deism, "teaching, as it does, the same God with nature, favors piety by opening the mind to new and ever enlarging views of God." Evangelical Christianity, "on the other hand, tends to confine the mind, to shut it up in what is written, to diminish its interest in the universe," and, by the gloomy doctrines before mentioned, "to throw gloom over God's works."

7. Deism "promotes piety by the high place which it assigns to piety in the character and work of Jesus Christ," whom it allows to have been an eminent pattern of virtue, and a teacher deserving a high regard. It makes piety or virtue "his prominent and crowning attribute." But "on the supposition of the supreme divinity of Jesus, his piety" or virtue "is a subordinate and incongruous attribute." "Our views of Jesus Christ are also more interesting than those of" Evangelical Christians; for, "according to" Deism, "he is a being who may be understood, one mind, one conscious nature;" but "according to the opposite faith, he is an inconceivable compound of two most dissimilar minds, joining in one person a finite and infinite nature, a soul weak and ignorant, and a soul almighty and omniscient." 8. Deism "promotes piety by meeting the wants of man as a sinner." This it does, by the "assurances" it gives him "of mercy in his Creator," the "pledges" it affords "that God is love in its purest form, that is, that He is goodness so disinterested, free, full, strong, and immutable, that the ingratitude and disobedience of his creatures cannot overcome it," that he will pardon

them simply on the ground of repentance, and will ultimately bring them all to eternal happiness in heaven. But Evangelical Christianity "obscurities, if it does not annul, the mercy of God. This it does in various ways. It gives, as we have already seen, such views of God's government, that we can hardly conceive of this attribute as entering into his character. It teaches that God remits the punishment of the offender, in consequence of receiving an equivalent from an innocent person, and thus, investing the Saviour with a claim of *merit*, with a *right* to the remission of the sins of his followers," it utterly precludes the exercise of mercy in pardoning them, for "mercy means free and undeserved love." If it be said that the Evangelical system magnifies God's mercy, because it teaches that he himself provided the substitute for the guilty, I reply, that the work here ascribed to mercy is not, "in my view, the most appropriate, nor most fitted to manifest it and impress it on the heart." And to the plea, that Evangelical Christianity, by "providing an infinite substitute for the sinner, is peculiarly fitted to give peace and hope, and consequently to promote gratitude and love," I reply, "first, this doctrine of infinite satisfaction subverts, instead of building up, hope, because it argues infinite severity in the government which requires it," and, secondly, "when examined minutely, and freed from ambiguous language, it vanishes into air," for "it was only the human body and soul of Christ that bore the suffering for our sins." 9. Deism "promotes piety, because it is a rational religion. It is a religion coincident with reason." But the Evangelical system, "contradicts and degrades reason, and thus exposes

the mind to the worst delusions.”—Suppose a Deist of the class above described thus to reason ; would not all his arguments be in consistency with *his* principles ? But they are the arguments, and nearly all the arguments, employed in this discourse, and have been stated mostly in the very words of the discourse. Indeed, if any one will keep in mind the principles of the class of Deists referred to, and read the discourse throughout, substituting Deism for Unitarianism wherever the latter occurs, he will find, two or three passages excepted, no inconsistency or inappropriateness of reasoning.

There are, moreover, several instances of a singular coincidence in the *mode of representation*, and of *expression* in this discourse, and in the statements and reasoning of certain Deistical writers, in relation to the doctrines of evangelical Christianity.

DEISTICAL WRITERS.

DR. CHANNING'S DISCOURSE.

The Scriptures.

“ I do not assert that God has made no other revelation of himself and his will to mankind,” beside that made in the constitution of things and the order of his providence ; “ but this I will assert, that if he has made any such, the original and universal revelation must be the foundation and criterion of them all.” Bolingbroke's Works, vol. viii. p. 440. Lond. edit. 1809. “ How can we affirm any one thing in revelation to be true, until we perceive, by that understanding which God hath given us to discern the truth of things, whether or not it agrees with the immutable law of reason.” Tindal, Christianity as old as the Creation ; chap. xi.

“ Trinitarianism reveals a God whom we meet no where in the universe. It is not inscribed on the heavens and the earth, not borne on every wind, not resounding and echoing through the universe. The sun and stars say nothing of a God of three persons. They all speak of the One Father whom we adore. Three Divine Persons are found only in a few texts. Nature gives them not a whisper of evidence.” pp. 28, 29. Unitarianism is “ a religion coincident with reason ;” but “ Trinitarianism contradicts and degrades reason.” p. 49.

Trinity.

“ The three co-equal persons in one Godhead, which no reason can comprehend, which no revelation affirms explicitly.” Bolingbroke, vol. v. p. 57. “ There are, indeed, among a multitude of vague and obscure ex-

“ One God consisting of three persons is so misty, so incongruous, so contradictory, that he cannot be apprehended with that distinctness, and that feeling of reality which belong to the opposite system.” p. 22. “ Tri-

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pressions in the books of the Old Testament, some that seem to intimate a plurality of divine beings, and these have been hauled to signify the Christian Trinity, though they were too equivocal and too dark to serve the purpose of leading men to discover it." vol. vii. p. 63. "It was impossible to show by any subtilty of logic, that this doctrine was not polytheistical. There remained, therefore, nothing to be done but to make a mystery where they found none; and, having decreed that there are three Gods, to decree at the same time, that there is but one; for so the Athanasian doctrine must sound to every man who does not comprehend (and that is every man living,) all the profound metaphysics that have been employed to distinguish away the apparent contradiction, unless he gives his understanding up to a jargon of words, and can fancy he believes without any clear and distinct ideas." vol. vii. p. 98.

Law of God.

"The laws referred to," the laws of Moses, "and written in blood, like those of Draco." Bolingbroke, vol. vii. p. 507.

Fall and Depravity of Man.

"Where is the difference in relation to the goodness of God and the happiness of mankind, between God's creating them in a state of universal degeneracy and corruption; or causing them, by the folly of Adam, which infinite wisdom could not but foresee, to fall unavoidably into this bad state?" Tindal, chap. xiv. "The hypothesis of the fall of man will serve the purpose as little, since it is impossible to render that assumed indulgence of God to the free will of man, which defeated the original design of God, plunged man into a state of misery as soon as he was created, and obliged the divine goodness to have recourse to the expedient of a redemption by the blood of his Son,—since it is impossible, I say, to render this agreeable to our ideas of goodness, or even of wisdom." Bolingbroke, vol. viii. pp. 225, 226.

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nitarianism is shut up in a few texts, where many of the wisest minds have failed to discover it; a few texts so dark, that the gifted minds of Milton, Newton, and Locke could not find them there." pp. 28, 29. "Its three persons who constitute its God, must either be frittered away into three unmeaning distinctions, into sounds signifying nothing, or they are three conscious agents, who cannot, by any human art or metaphysical device, be made to coalesce into one being." p. 49. "Men call it" Trinitarianism, "a mystery; but it is mysterious, not like the great truths of religion, by its vastness and grandeur, but by the irreconcilable ideas which it involves." "Such a heterogeneous being, who is at the same moment one and many, is certainly the most puzzling and distracting object ever presented to human thought." p. 22.

"Did I believe what Trinitarianism teaches, I should feel myself living under laws written, like Draco's, in blood." p. 44.

"We find Trinitarianism connecting itself with a scheme of administration exceedingly derogatory to the divine character. It teaches that the Infinite Father saw fit to put into the hands of our first parents the character and condition of their whole progeny; and that, through one act of disobedience, the whole race bring with them into being a corrupt nature, or are born depraved: and that man, by the offences of a short life, though begun and spent under this disastrous influence, is burdened with a guilt which no sufferings of the created universe can expiate, which nothing but the sufferings of an Infinite Being can purge away." pp. 26, 27. "Thus "Trinitarianism obscures, if it does not annul, the mercy of God. It places man on the ground of an injured being. The wrong lies on the side of the Creator." pp. 40, 41.

Atonement.

"Could these" the ancient "philosophers conceive that all was mere

"Trinitarianism obscures God's mercy, by teaching that God remits

DEISTICAL WRITERS.

mercy, and pure forgiveness, after a full equivalent paid, and adequate satisfaction given?" Tindal, chap. xiv. "Nothing in the reason of the thing, nor in the most superstitious of their prejudices, could lead them," the most ignorant and savage of the ancient heathen, "to imagine so much rigor in one God, as to exact that another should be sacrificed, even by men who meant no expiation, and in whom it was a murder, not a sacrifice; nor so much humility and condescension in another, as to make him submit to be this divine victim. They could not imagine any thing so repugnant as this to all their ideas of order, of justice, of goodness." Bolingbroke, vol. viii. pp. 126, 127. "Christian theology discovers in this mysterious proceeding, the love of God to man, his infinite justice and goodness. But reason will discover" a different character in the whole proceeding. "This justice will appear injustice, in all the circumstances of the fall, and in the redemption of man by the propitiatory sacrifice of an innocent person. This goodness will appear cruelty, when it is considered that the propitiation was made by tormenting and spilling the blood of the victim." vol. viii. p. 425.

Eternal Punishment.

"With what front can the last of these divines insist on all the trifling reasons they bring to reconcile an eternity of torments to the goodness and justice of an all perfect Being?" Bolingbroke, vol. viii. p. 381. "If we reject this doctrine, as I think we ought to do with horror." p. 397. "By some such hypothesis they endeavored to soften a doctrine, that shocked their reason, and could not be reconciled with any moral attribute, no, nor to the physical attributes of God, not to his wisdom, at least. But the general tide of artificial theology ran the other way, and time and dogmatical affirmation established absurdity in this case, as they had done in many. Fathers and councils decreed, and Christians believed, that the Supreme Being dooms almost all his rational creatures, all whom these men do not think fit to save, to eternal torments for what they have done in this life." p. 407.

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the punishment of the offender, in consequence of receiving an equivalent from an innocent person; that the sufferings of the sinner are removed by a full satisfaction made to divine justice in the sufferings of a substitute." p. 41. "This doctrine of an infinite satisfaction subverts, instead of building up hope, because it argues infinite severity in the government which requires it. Did I believe what Trinitarianism teaches, that not the least transgression would be remitted without an infinite expiation, I should feel myself living under a legislation unspeakably dreadful, and instead of thanking the sovereign for providing an infinite substitute, I should shudder at the attributes which render this expedient necessary. He who framed all souls, and gave them their susceptibilities, ought not to be thought so wanting in goodness and wisdom, as to have constituted a universe which demands so dreadful and degrading a method of enforcing obedience as the penal sufferings of a God." p. 44.

"We find Trinitarianism connecting itself with a scheme of administration, exceedingly derogatory to the divine character. It teaches that the offences of a short life merit endless punishment, and that God's law threatens this infinite penalty." p. 26. "The horrible thought of a large proportion of our fellow creatures being cast by an angry God into tortures unutterable by human tongue, and sentenced to spend eternity in shrieks of agony which will never reach the ear or touch the heart of their Creator; this dreadful anticipation, which would shroud the universe in more than sepulchral gloom, and is enough to break every heart which is not stone, this forms no part of our conception of the purposes and government of the God and Father of Jesus Christ." p. 54.

VII. THIS DISCOURSE IS OF GREAT VALUE AS A DEVELOPEMENT OF UNITARIANISM. It is of the utmost importance that the distinctive features of a religious system, which claims to be the true system, and aims to supplant every other, should be clearly exhibited, that its pretensions may be fairly investigated and understandingly admitted or rejected. For a long time this was a desideratum in respect to Unitarianism in this country. As we have already heard one of its distinguished advocates assert, previously to 1815, "though Boston was full of Unitarian sentiment and feeling, there was no open profession of it. A dead silence was maintained in the pulpit on doctrinal subjects,—a silence which was not disturbed by the press." And another witness of the highest credibility said, in relation to the same period, of himself and his brethren of the Unitarian clergy then in Boston, "We seldom or never refer to any different sentiments, embraced by other Christians, on the nature of God or of Jesus Christ." "Many of us have been disinclined, not only to assail systems which we do not believe, but even to enforce the views we have given of the rank and character of Jesus Christ." "We urge perpetually those great truths and precepts *about which there is little contention*, and which have an immediate bearing on the temper and life."* In 1815 commenced the Unitarian controversy. But the advocates of Unitarianism still concealed, as much as possible, its distinctive features, and exerted all their ingenuity and eloquence in attempting to make and continue the im-

* Rev. William E. Channing's Letter to the Rev. S. G. Thatcher, pp. 13, 16.

pression, that there was no material difference between them and the Orthodox. This policy was pursued till 1819, when the Baltimore sermon was preached and published by Dr. Channing; one of the avowed objects of which was, to exhibit those features of doctrine "which distinguish Unitarians most widely from others." From that time, the publications and discourses of Unitarians have been constantly assuming a more definite character, avowing with greater distinctness the reality, and stating with greater precision the particulars of, a wide difference between the two systems. At length the individual of, perhaps, the highest standing among the Unitarian clergy, has come before the public with a *formal comparison of the doctrines of the two systems* as to their tendency. He moreover professes to speak in the name of Unitarians as a religious sect, in this country; and his production, though, as we have been informed, on many accounts disapproved by not a few individuals commonly classed with the Unitarians, has received the unqualified approbation of every Unitarian publication by which it has been noticed. It may, therefore, be regarded as making a fair and an authorized exhibition of the real character of Unitarianism as now existing in this country. And what are its prominent features as here exhibited?

1. Its spirit is the very reverse of the meekness in which those set for the defence of the Gospel are directed to instruct the opposers of the truth.* While the distinguishing characteristics of Unitarianism were carefully concealed by those who had embraced its doctrines, great forbearance and gentleness to-

* 2 Tim. ii. 25.

wards the advocates of opposite sentiments were exhibited. "Our method is," said Dr. Channing in 1815, "to state what we conceive to be more honorable, and ennobling, and encouraging views of God's character and government, and to leave these to have their effect, without holding up other Christians to censure or contempt. We esteem it a solemn duty, to disarm, instead of exciting, the bad passions of our people. We wish to promote among them a spirit of universal charity. We wish to make them condemn their own bad practices, rather than the erroneous speculations of their neighbour. We love them too sincerely to imbue them with the spirit of controversy."* How different from this is the aim, and the spirit, of not a small proportion of Unitarian preaching, even on the Sabbath, at the present time, those of our readers who attend on the ministrations of Unitarian clergymen need not be informed. How different, how opposite, are the aim and the spirit of the discourse before us, has been seen in the quotations made under our first head of remark. Just in proportion as Unitarianism has exhibited itself more distinctly, have its advocates manifested increased bitterness of spirit, till at length, when concealment is expressly and entirely disclaimed, Dr. Channing writes, and preaches, and publishes the sentences and paragraphs which have been noticed as marring the pages of this discourse! Is that the system of religion taught in the New Testament, which, the more distinctly it developes itself, exhibits greater bitterness of spirit?

2. Unitarianism, if we may trust to the develop-

* Letter to Rev. S. C. Thacher, pp. 14, 15.

ment made in this discourse, rests, in no inconsiderable degree, for support, upon misrepresentations of the sentiments of Trinitarians. Erroneous representations of the doctrines of the Orthodox have often been charged upon Unitarian writers. In proof of the justice of this charge, our readers are referred to Dr. Woods's Letters to Unitarians, Dr. Miller's Letters on Unitarianism, the Review of Norton's Views of Calvinism in the Christian Spectator for 1823, p. 196, the second edition of the Review of the Rev. Mr. Colman's Sermon, written by the Rev. Elias Cornelius, and Dr. Beecher's Reply to the Review of his sermon at Worcester. We have read most of the controversial publications of Unitarians in this country, and heard some of their ministers preach controversial discourses. And we deliberately affirm, that, from neither of these sources, have we ever received any thing like a correct representation of the sentiments of the Orthodox. It has moreover, as many of our readers will recollect, been a fact of frequent occurrence of late in Boston, that persons who have derived their views of Orthodox opinions from Unitarian writers and preachers, after hearing a minister of standing, whose sentiments were Calvinistic, preach a doctrinal discourse, have declared, that "he was not a Calvinist." And no wonder they made this declaration, for they had been taught that Calvinists believe, that three separate agents or beings made and govern the universe; that God creates men with a sinful nature; that unrenewed men are all alike wicked in the sight of God; that fallen men are not free agents; that a chosen number of the human race will certainly be saved

let them do what they may, and the rest will certainly be damned let them do what they may ; that God the Father is a being without mercy, independently of the atonement of Christ, which has purchased or awakened his compassion for the elect only ; that those who have been justified by the righteousness of Christ are released from obligation to obey the law of God ; that eternal punishment is threatened and executed merely from a vindictive spirit of anger against the transgressor, and is inflicted on multitudes of infants who died before they were moral agents. We ask those of our readers who have been conversant with Unitarian publications and attend on Unitarian preaching, if these are not, in substance, the views of Calvinism which have been constantly set before them. But they are not, any of them, doctrines of Calvinism. By the great body of Calvinists they are abhorred as strongly, and opposed as strenuously, as they can be by Unitarians. And in this discourse, which has been pronounced by the Unitarian periodicals, the most thorough exhibition and vindication of Unitarianism that has been published in this country, the argument is to such an extent built on misrepresentations of the opposite faith, that, if this portion of the foundation were removed, the whole fabric would fall to the ground. Can that system be true, which is always found resorting, and seems compelled to resort, to such means of support ?

3. Unitarianism, as developed in this discourse, approaches, in point of doctrine, very near to the more sober kind of Deism. We have, in a former part of

this review, compared the reasoning employed in the discourse with that which might, with consistency, be employed by a Deist of the class which acknowledged a future state. The comparison was instituted, not for the purpose of fixing upon Dr. Channing and the opinions he advocates an odious name. We utterly disclaim so unworthy a motive. Our object was to assist our readers to form a correct estimate of the character of the reasoning by which he has maintained those opinions. And the result of the comparison is, that nearly every argument employed by Dr. Channing has been, or might, with equal pertinency, have been employed by more sober Deists. Unitarianism, as exhibited in this discourse, and Deism of the kind referred to, oppose the Evangelical system, and defend, each its own, by the same course of reasoning. They cannot, then, we should be inclined to suspect, be widely different from each other. And such we find to be the fact, upon an examination of their respective doctrines. Deism of the species described, taught, that God is one, and only one Infinite Person, possessing all natural and moral perfections; and so does Unitarianism as exhibited in this discourse. Deism taught, that reason is our ultimate guide in matters of religion. Its advocates maintained, that if a written revelation were given, its instructions must be regarded as subordinate to those of the light of nature, the first and universal revelation of God to men. And Unitarianism as now held in this country, though it receives the Bible as an authentic *account* of certain revelations which God has made to men, seems to

require that its instructions be regarded as subordinate to those of nature. Deism denied the doctrines of the Trinity, depravity; regeneration, justification by the merits of Christ, and *eternal* punishment; and so does Unitarianism as exhibited in this discourse. Deism, of the species referred to, asserted the obligation of men to lead virtuous and pious lives, and the certainty of a future retribution, and acknowledged Jesus Christ to have been a person of singular virtue, whose instructions we ought to regard, and whose example we should carefully imitate; and so does Unitarianism as exhibited in this discourse. The only points of difference which can be supposed to be of any consequence, are the admission, by Unitarianism, of a *degree* of authority in the Bible, as a standard of faith and practice, and a belief in the Messiahship of Jesus Christ, and in the resurrection of the body. And yet these differences, upon examination, almost entirely disappear. The truth of the doctrines of the resurrection of the body, and of Jesus of Nazareth being the Messiah predicted in the Old Testament, depends exclusively upon the authority of the Scriptures. But the testimony of Scripture, according to what we have seen to be the present views of leading Unitarians, as well as according to those of the class of Deists referred to, is to bow to the testimony of reason. But the reason of the Deist testifies, that the resurrection of the body, and inspiration enabling men to predict future contingent events, are absurd and impossible. He is therefore, according to the principles of Unitarianism as now held in this country, authorized and bound to reject those doctrines. And thus the two systems

become almost entirely coincident.* Is that the Christian system which is so nearly the same with the more sober species of Deism?

In conclusion, we request the reader carefully to examine, and seriously to consider, the statements made in the preceding pages; and then, as a believer in revelation, as a lover of his country, as an heir of immortality, as a parent, if he be a parent, decide in what estimation he shall hold, and what shall be his conduct in regard to, Unitarianism as now existing among us.

We say 'as a believer in revelation;' for we are fully persuaded, that, notwithstanding all the efforts, covert and open, which have been made in this country, and especially in Boston and the vicinity, to turn the descendants of the Puritans from the religious principles of their fathers, the great body of the people in New England and in its metropolis still reverence the Scriptures as the word of God, and the ultimate and infallible standard of religious truth. But Unitarianism, in proportion as it has developed itself, has constantly exhibited less and less respect for the simple authority of the Scriptures; till, at

* Since the above was written, we have met with a striking confirmation of our remarks, in the following statement, from the *Columbian Star* printed at Washington city. "A friend of ours some days since, called at the house of an intelligent Deist, who has long been known as a determined and avowed opposer of the Christian religion, and found him reading Dr. Channing's discourse recently preached at a dedication in the city of New York. The conversation turned on the merits of the sermon, and the distinguished ability of its author, when our friend inquired of the gentleman how he liked the production. 'I like it much,' said he, with particular animation. 'It strikes a broad blow at the Christian system, and will prove a decisive triumph for the religion of nature. Dr. Channing differs from me in a very few points; and I am satisfied that, within five years, he will preach the doctrines which I believe.'"

length, it is,—rather covertly, indeed, but really,—put below the authority of reason. What is “shut up in a few *written* lines,” though these lines are inscribed on the pages of the Bible, is of inferior authority to what is “proclaimed” by the voice of “the outward creation.” The Bible is to be regarded merely as giving an “*account* of the divine dispensations ;” and the doctrines which, according to its plain and obvious meaning, it seems to teach, are to be received or rejected by each individual as they shall be approved or disapproved by his reason ; so that, in fact, every man’s reason is to him, the *ultimate* standard of religious belief, and the Scriptures are of but *secondary* authority ! Reader, do you respect the Bible ? do you regard it as the word of the living God ? Can you, then, adopt, or in any way countenance, such a system ?

You love your country. You feel that the only security, under God, for the preservation of its invaluable institutions, is in the virtue of its citizens. To remove the barriers of vice is, in your view, one of the most direct and certain means of effecting our political ruin, and thus putting out the light of the world. But Unitarianism, its ablest advocates have told you, in terms not to be misunderstood, holds out to all, the assurance, that, however vicious their conduct may be, even to the end of life, they shall ultimately be delivered from all the injurious consequences of their iniquities, either by the termination of their existence, or by being fitted for and raised to the endless enjoyment of the happiness of heaven ! Where would be the salutary influence of an oath, where would be the order and morality of our com-

munity, should this sentiment become universal? Shall any system which inculcates it, receive from you countenance and support?

You are an immortal being, soon to stand before God in judgment. You are a sinner; you know that this is your character. Unitarianism, as now taught among us, you have seen, entirely takes away the atonement of Christ as a ground of hope of acceptance with God, and sends you into his presence, to rely solely on your imperfect repentance to procure for you forgiveness from the divine mercy; on your imperfect virtues to obtain for you the reward of heaven. God, remember, is infinitely holy; he "cannot look upon iniquity," and "will by no means clear the guilty." Imagine *yourself*, as you may be the next moment, summoned before him, to receive your final doom; and decide, whether you can trust to such a system the safety of your imperishable spirit.

Perhaps you are a parent. Young immortals, whom you love more tenderly than life, have been committed to your care, to be formed for society, and for eternity. You think, with anxiety, of the temptations to which they are exposed; and you feel that they need the most powerful moral restraints, to *secure* their virtue and respectability and usefulness in the present life. And will you educate them in a religious system which teaches, that, however they may disregard your paternal counsels, and wander from the paths of virtue, even till the termination of their earthly existence, they shall ultimately receive the same endless reward as those who through life fear God and do his will? Your beloved children,

as well as yourself, have precious souls, soon to stand in judgment before a holy God. And can you teach them, or suffer them to be taught, to confide in a religious system which *forbids* them to trust in Christ as the propitiatory sacrifice for sin, and directs them to hazard their all for eternity upon the claim which their goodness can present before the mercy of Jehovah ?

Lovers of the Bible, lovers of your country, candidates for eternity, fathers and mothers of our future citizens and heirs of immortality, think of these things. Ponder them in your hearts. Look up to God for wisdom to direct. And then decide, whether Unitarianism shall have your confidence and support.

REMARKS
ON THE
CHARACTER AND WRITINGS
OF
JOHN MILTON;
OCCASIONED BY THE
PUBLICATION OF HIS LATELY DISCOVERED
‘TREATISE ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.’

By W. E. CHANNING, LL.D.

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LITERARY NOTICES

OR

DR. CHANNING'S PUBLICATIONS.

" Analysis of the Character of Napoleon."

" It is refreshing to turn from our state turmoils and anomalies to the perusal of the wise and candid estimate of a character which has excited the extremes of aversion and admiration—written with that purity and freshness of feeling, spirit, and eloquence, that nothing but the love of liberty and virtue can so well inspire."—*Times*, Jan. 29, 1828.

" A pamphlet which does honour to the name it bears."—*London Mag.* Feb. 1828.

" It is a very clever production, written with considerable eloquence, and by one who is evidently capable of looking steadily at the inequalities in a great man's character, and tracing them, as far as may be, to their source."—*Athenæum*, Feb. 5, 1828.

" This is a just and admirable appreciation of the character of Napoleon. That Dr. Channing is not dazzled by the splendour of despotism we are not surprised, since, in his character of Milton, a more glorious name than ever belonged to tyrant or satrap, he exhibited the capacity to comprehend and pourtray the majesty of republican virtue. We recommend this pamphlet to the attentive perusal of every man in England."—*London Weekly Review*, Feb. 9, 1828.

" It is characterized by the same splendour of eloquence, the same soundness of judgment, the same nobility of feeling, and the same general impartiality for which all his writings are at once so conspicuous and so valuable."—*Literary Chronicle*, Feb. 16, 1828.

" Dr. Channing is already well known by his eloquent and able review of Milton's character and writings; and the ' Character of Napoleon' is executed with equal ability and effect. If our recommendation be worth any thing at all, let Dr. Channing's analysis be carefully read."—*Monthly Mag.* March, 1828.

" The tone of Dr. Channing has the calmness of security, the earnestness of philanthropic integrity, the chastised confidence of intelligence ripened into wisdom;—it is that of a mind which fears nothing but error, suppresses nothing but the promptings of inconsiderate feeling, desires nothing but the good of its kind. This incomparable essay, for the combination of intellectual and moral excellence it presents, rises in our estimation immeasurably above any recent production in the literature of this country."—*Scotsman*.

"Remarks on the Character and Writings of Milton."

"Dr. Channing is manifestly a man of considerable discernment and eloquent powers, capable of taking comprehensive views, and of conveying them distinctly and fully to his readers. He is no common person, and we welcome his writings to this side of the Atlantic. Every one who reads the Edinburgh, must have been pleased with Macauley's Article on Milton ; the present is superior, as it is more complete ; it gives a more elevated and inspiring view of his character."—*Monthly Mag. N. S. Sept. 1826.*

"This is a clever pamphlet, and one which does credit to the taste of those concerned in introducing it to English readers. Milton's character and writings are ably and impartially examined, and the spirit and tendency of his productions powerfully developed. Indeed, we have rarely seen so much important and valuable information and comment crowded into so small a space. Dr. Channing commences with a consideration of Milton's poetical genius, and in asserting his dignity as a poet, enters into so glowing and eloquent a description of poetry itself, that we cannot forbear extracting it."—*Literary Chronicle, Sept. 1826.*

"A man of sound judgment and clear understanding ; equally correct in feeling, and refined in taste."—*Blackwood's Mag. Aug. 1825. Review of Discourse on the Evidences of the Christian Religion.*

"Dr. Channing, one of those men who are a blessing and an honour to their generation and their country."—*Quarterly Review, No. 56, p. 335.—Incidental Notice of ditto.*

CHARACTER AND WRITINGS

OF

JOHN MILTON.

THE discovery of a work of Milton, unknown to his own times, is an important event in literary history. The consideration, that we of this age are the first readers of this treatise, naturally heightens our interest in it; for we seem in this way to be brought nearer to the author, and to sustain the same relation which his cotemporaries bore to his writings. The work opens with a salutation, which, from any other man, might be chargeable with inflation; but which we feel to be the natural and appropriate expression of the spirit of Milton. Endowed with gifts of the soul, which have been imparted to few of our race, and conscious of having consecrated them through life to God and mankind, he rose without effort or affectation to the style of an Apostle.—‘**JOHN MILTON, TO ALL THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST, AND TO ALL WHO PROFESS THE CHRISTIAN FAITH THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, PEACE, AND THE RECOGNITION OF THE TRUTH, AND ETERNAL SALVATION IN GOD THE FATHER, AND IN OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.**’ Our ears are the first to hear this benediction, and it seems not so much to be borne to us from a distant age, as to come immediately from the sainted spirit by which it was indited.

Without meaning to disparage the ‘Treatise on Christian Doctrine,’ we may say that it owes very much of the attention which it has excited, to the fame of its author. We value it chiefly as showing us the mind of Milton on that subject which above all others presses upon men of thought and sensibility. We want to know in what conclusions such a man rested after a life of extensive and profound research, of magnanimous efforts for freedom and his country, and of communion with the most gifted minds of his own and former times. The book derives its chief interest from its author, and accordingly there seems to be a propriety in introducing our re-

marks upon it with some notice of the character of Milton. We are not sure that we could have abstained from this subject, even if we had not been able to offer so good an apology for attempting it. The intellectual and moral qualities of a great man are attractions not easily withstood, and we can hardly serve others or ourselves more, than by recalling to him the attention, which is scattered among inferior topics.

In speaking of the *intellectual* qualities of Milton, we may begin with observing, that the very splendour of his poetic fame has tended to obscure or conceal the extent of his mind, and the variety of its energies and attainments. To many he seems only a poet, when in truth he was a profound scholar, a man of vast compass of thought, imbued thoroughly with all ancient and modern learning, and able to master, to mould, to impregnate with his own intellectual power, his great and various acquisitions. He had not learned the superficial doctrine of a later day,—that poetry flourishes most in an uncultivated soil, and that imagination shapes its brightest visions from the mists of a superstitious age; and he had no dread of accumulating knowledge, lest it should oppress and smother his genius. He was conscious of that within him, which could quicken all knowledge, and wield it with ease and might; which could give freshness to old truths, and harmony to discordant thoughts; which could bind together by living ties and mysterious affinities the most remote discoveries; and rear fabrics of glory and beauty from the rude materials which other minds had collected. Milton had that universality which marks the highest order of intellect. Though accustomed almost from infancy to drink at the fountains of classical literature, he had nothing of the pedantry and fastidiousness which disdain all other draughts. His healthy mind delighted in genius, on whatever soil or in whatever age it burst forth and poured out its fulness. He understood too well the rights, and dignity, and pride of creative imagination, to lay on it the laws of the Greek or Roman school. Parnassus was not to him the only holy ground of genius. He felt that poetry was as a universal presence. Great minds were every where his kindred. He felt the enchantment of Oriental fiction, surrendered himself to the strange creations of 'Araby the blest,' and delighted still more in the romantic spirit of chivalry, and in the tales of wonder in which it was embodied. Accordingly his poetry reminds us of the ocean, which adds to its own boundlessness contributions from all regions under heaven. Nor was it only in the department of imagination, that his acquisitions were vast. He travelled

over the whole field of knowledge, as far as it had then been explored. His various philological attainments were used to put him in possession of the wisdom stored in all countries, where the intellect had been cultivated. The natural philosophy, metaphysics, ethios, history, theology and political science of his own and former times, were familiar to him. Never was there a more unconfined mind, and we would cite Milton as a practical example of the benefits of that universal culture of intellect, which forms one distinction of our times, but which some dread as unfriendly to original thought. Let such remember, that mind is in its own nature diffusive. Its object is the universe, which is strictly one, or bound together by infinite connexions and correspondencies; and accordingly its natural progress is from one to another field of thought; and wherever original power, creative genius exists, the mind, far from being distracted or oppressed by the variety of its acquisitions, will see more and more common bearings and hidden and beautiful analogies in all the objects of knowledge, will see mutual light shed from truth to truth, and will compel, as with a kingly power, whatever it understands, to yield some tribute of proof, or illustration, or splendour, to whatever topic it would unfold.

Milton's fame rests chiefly on his poetry, and to this we naturally give our first attention. By those who are accustomed to speak of poetry as light readings, Milton's eminence in this sphere may be considered only as giving him a high rank among the contributors to public amusement. Not so thought Milton. Of all God's gifts of intellect, he esteemed poetical genius the most transcendent. He esteemed it in himself as a kind of inspiration, and wrote his great works with something of the conscious dignity of a prophet. We agree with Milton in his estimate of poetry. It seems to us the divinest of all arts; for it is the breathing or expression of that principle or sentiment, which is deepest and sublimest in human nature; we mean, of that thirst or aspiration, to which no mind is wholly a stranger, for something purer and lovelier, something more powerful, lofty, and thrilling than ordinary and real life affords. No doctrine is more common among Christians than that of man's immortality; but it is not so generally understood, that the germs or principles of his whole future being are *now* wrapped up in his soul, as the rudiments of the future plant in the seed. As a necessary result of this constitution, the soul, possessed and moved by these mighty though infant energies, is perpetually stretching beyond what is present and visible, struggling against the

bounds of its earthly prison-house, and seeking relief and joy in imaginings of unseen and ideal being. This view of our nature, which has never been fully developed, and which goes further towards explaining the contradictions of human life than all others, carries us to the very foundation and sources of poetry. He, who cannot interpret by his own consciousness what we now have said, wants the true key to works of genius. He has not penetrated those sacred recesses of the soul, where poetry is born and nourished, and inhales immortal vigour, and wings herself for her heavenward flight. In an intellectual nature, framed for progress and for higher modes of being, there must be creative energies, powers of original and ever growing thought; and poetry is the form in which these energies are chiefly manifested. It is the glorious prerogative of this art, that it 'makes all things new' for the gratification of a divine instinct. It indeed finds its elements in what it actually sees and experiences, in the worlds of matter and mind; but it combines and blends these into new forms and according to new affinities; breaks down, if we may so say, the distinctions and bounds of nature; imparts to material objects life, and sentiment, and emotion, and invests the mind with the powers and splendours of the outward creation; describes the surrounding universe in the colours which the passions throw over it, and depicts the mind in those modes of repose or agitation, of tenderness or sublime emotion, which manifest its thirst for a more powerful and joyful existence. To a man of a literal and prosaic character, the mind may seem lawless in these workings; but it observes higher laws than it transgresses, the laws of the immortal intellect; it is trying and developing its best faculties; and in the objects which it describes, or in the emotions which it awakens, anticipates those states of progressive power, splendour, beauty and happiness, for which it was created.

We accordingly believe that poetry, far from injuring society, is one of the great instruments of its refinement and exaltation. It lifts the mind above ordinary life, gives it a respite from depressing cares, and awakens the consciousness of its affinity with what is pure and noble. In its legitimate and highest efforts, it has the same tendency and aim with Christianity; that is, to spiritualize our nature. True; poetry has been made the instrument of vice, the pander of bad passions; but when genius thus stoops, it dims its fires, and parts with much of its power; and even when poetry is enslaved to licentiousness or misanthropy, she cannot wholly forget her true vocation. Strains of pure feeling, touches of

tenderness, images of innocent happiness, sympathies with suffering virtue, bursts of scorn or indignation at the hollowness of the world, passages true to our moral nature, often escape in an immoral work, and show us how hard it is for a gifted spirit to divorce itself wholly from what is good. Poetry has a natural alliance with our best affections. It delights in the beauty and sublimity of the outward creation and of the soul. It indeed portrays with terrible energy the excesses of the passions; but they are passions which show a mighty nature, which are full of power, which command awe, and excite a deep though shuddering sympathy. Its great tendency and purpose is, to carry the mind beyond and above the beaten, dusty, weary walks of ordinary life; to lift it into a purer element, and to breathe into it more profound and generous emotion. It reveals to us the loveliness of nature, brings back the freshness of youthful feeling, revives the relish of simple pleasures, keeps unquenched the enthusiasm which warmed the spring-time of our being, refines youthful love, strengthens our interest in human nature by vivid delineations of its tenderest and loftiest feelings, spreads our sympathies over all classes of society, knits us by new ties with universal being, and through the brightness of its prophetic visions helps faith to lay hold on the future life.

We are aware, that it is objected to poetry, that it gives wrong views and excites false expectations of life, peoples the mind with shadows and illusions, and builds up imagination on the ruins of wisdom. That there is a wisdom, against which poetry wars, the wisdom of the senses, which makes physical comfort and gratification the supreme good, and wealth the chief interest of life, we do not deny; nor do we deem it the least service which poetry renders to mankind, that it redeems them from the thralldom of this earthborn prudence. But, passing over this topic, we would observe, that the complaint against poetry as abounding in illusion and deception, is in the main groundless. In many poems there is more of truth than in many histories and philosophic theories. The fictions of genius are often the vehicles of the sublimest verities, and its flashes often open new regions of thought, and throw new light on the mysteries of our being. In poetry the letter is falsehood, but the spirit is often profoundest wisdom. And if truth thus dwells in the boldest fictions of the poet, much more may it be expected in his delineations of life; for the present life, which is the first stage of the immortal mind, abounds in the materials of poetry, and it is the high office of the bard to detect this divine element among the

grosser labours and pleasures of our earthly being. The present life is not wholly prosaic, precise, tame and finite. To the gifted eye, it abounds in the poetic. The affections which spread beyond ourselves and stretch far into futurity; the workings of mighty passions, which seem to arm the soul with an almost superhuman energy; the innocent and irrepressible joy of infancy; the bloom, and buoyancy, and dazzling hopes of youth; the throbings of the heart, when it first wakes to love, and dreams of a happiness too vast for earth; woman, with her beauty, and grace, and gentleness, and fulness of feeling, and depth of affection, and her blushes of purity, and the tones and looks which only a mother's heart can inspire;—these are all poetical. It is not true that the poet paints a life which does not exist. He only extracts and concentrates, as it were, life's ethereal essence, arrests and condenses its volatile fragrance, brings together its scattered beauties, and prolongs its more refined but evanescent joys; and in this he does well; for it is good to feel that life is not wholly usurped by cares for subsistence, and physical gratifications, but admits, in measures which may be indefinitely enlarged, sentiments and delights worthy of a higher being. This power of poetry to refine our views of life and happiness is more and more needed as society advances. It is needed to withstand the encroachments of heartless and artificial manners, which make civilization so tame and uninteresting. It is needed to counteract the tendency of physical science, which being now sought, not as formerly for intellectual gratification, but for multiplying bodily comforts, requires a new development of imagination, taste and poetry, to preserve men from sinking into an earthly, material, epicurean life.—Our remarks in vindication of poetry have extended beyond our original design. They have had a higher aim than to assert the dignity of Milton as a poet, and that is, to endear and recommend this divine art to all who reverence and would cultivate and refine their nature.

In delineating Milton's character as a *poet*, we are saved the necessity of looking far for its distinguishing attributes. His name is almost identified with sublimity. He is in truth the sublimest of men. He rises, not by effort or discipline, but by a native tendency and a godlike instinct to the contemplation of objects of grandeur and awfulness. He always moves with a conscious energy. There is no subject so vast or terrific, as to repel or intimidate him. The overpowering grandeur of a theme kindles and attracts him. He enters on

the description of the infernal regions with a fearless tread, as if he felt within himself a power to erect the prison-house of fallen spirits, to encircle them with flames and horrors worthy of their crimes, to call forth from them shouts which should 'tear hell's concave,' and to embody in their Chief an Archangel's energies and a Demon's pride and hate. Even the stupendous conception of Satan seems never to oppress his faculties. This character of power runs through all Milton's works. His descriptions of nature show a free and bold hand. He has no need of the minute, graphic skill, which we prize in Cowper or Crabbe. With a few strong or delicate touches, he impresses, as it were, his own mind on the scenes which he would describe, and kindles the imagination of the gifted reader to clothe them with the same radiant hues under which they appeared to his own.

This attribute of power is universally felt to characterize Milton. His sublimity is in every man's mouth. Is it felt that his poetry breathes a sensibility and tenderness hardly surpassed by its sublimity? We apprehend that the grandeur of Milton's mind has thrown some shade over his milder beauties; and this it has done not only by being more striking and imposing, but by the tendency of vast mental energy to give a certain calmness to the expression of tenderness and deep feeling. A great mind is the master of its own enthusiasm, and does not often break out into those tumults, which pass with many for the signs of profound emotion. Its sensibility, though more intense and enduring, is more self-possessed, and less perturbed than that of other men, and is therefore less observed and felt, except by those who understand, through their own consciousness, the workings and utterance of genuine feeling. We might quote pages in illustration of the qualities here ascribed to Milton. Turn to *Comus*, one of his earliest productions. What sensibility breathes in the descriptions of the benighted Lady's singing, by *Comus* and the Spirit!

COMUS.

Can any mortal mixture of earth's mould
Breathe such divine enchanting ravishment?
Sure something holy lodges in that breast,
And with these raptures moves the vocal air
To testify his hidden residence:
How sweetly did they float upon the wings
Of silence, through the empty-vaulted night,
At every fall smoothing the raven down
Of darkness till it smil'd! I have oft heard
My mother Circe with the Sirens three,

Amidst the flow'ry-kirtled Naiades,
 Culling their potent herbs and baleful drugs,
 Who, as they sung, would take the prison'd soul,
 And lap it in Elysium ; Scylla wept,
 And chid her barking waves into attention,
 And fell Charybdis murmur'd soft applause :
 Yet they in pleasing slumber lull'd the sense,
 And in sweet madness robb'd it of itself ;
 But such a sacred and home-felt delight,
 Such sober certainty of waking bliss,
 I never heard till now. Lines 244—264.

SPIRIT.

At last a soft and solemn-breathing sound
 Rose like a steam of rich distill'd perfumes,
 And stole upon the air, that even Silence
 Was took ere she was ware, and wish'd she might
 Deny her nature, and be never more,
 Still to be so displac'd. I was all ear,
 And took in strains that might create a soul
 Under the ribs of Death. Lines 555—563.

In illustration of Milton's tenderness, we will open almost at a venture.

Now morn, her rosy steps in th' eastern clime
 Advancing, sow'd the earth with orient pearl,
 When Adam wak'd, so custom'd, for his sleep
 Was aery-light, from pure digestion bred,
 And temp'rate vapours bland, which th' only sound
 Of leaves and fuming rills, Aurora's fan,
 Lightly dispers'd, and the shrill matin song
 Of birds on every bough ; so much the more
 His wonder was to find unwaken'd Eve
 With tresses discompos'd, and glowing cheek,
 As through unquiet rest : he on his side
 Leaning half-rais'd, with looks of cordial love
 Hung over her enamour'd, and beheld
 Beauty, which, whether waking or asleep,
 Shot forth peculiar graces ; then with voice
 Mild, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,
 Her hand soft touching, whisper'd thus. Awake
 My fairest, my espous'd, my latest found,
 Heav'n's last best gift, my ever new delight,
 Awake : the morning shines, and the fresh field
 Calls us ; we lose the prime, to mark how spring
 Our tender plants, how blows the citron grove,
 What drops the myrrh, and what the balmy reed,
 How nature paints her colours, how the bee
 Sits on the bloom extracting liquid sweet.

Par. Lost, b. v. lines 1—25.

So cheer'd he his fair spouse, and she was cheer'd,
 But silently a gentle tear let fall
 From either eye, and wip'd them with her hair;
 Two other precious drops that ready stood,
 Each in their crystal sluice, he ere they fell
 Kiss'd, as the gracious signs of sweet remorse
 And pious awe, that fear'd to have offended.

Ibid. b. v. lines 129—135.

From this very imperfect view of the qualities of Milton's poetry, we hasten to his great work, *Paradise Lost*, perhaps the noblest monument of human genius. The two first books, by universal consent, stand pre-eminent in sublimity. Hell and Hell's King have a terrible harmony, and dilate into new grandeur and awfulness, the longer we contemplate them. From one element, 'solid and liquid fire,' the poet has framed a world of horror and suffering, such as imagination had never traversed. But fiercer flames than those which encompass Satan, burn in his own soul. Revenge, exasperated pride, consuming wrath, ambition though fallen, yet unconquered by the thunders of the Omnipotent, and grasping still at the empire of the universe,—these form a picture more sublime and terrible than Hell. Hell yields to the spirit which it imprisons. The intensity of its fires reveals the intenser passions and more vehement will of Satan; and the ruined Archangel gathers into himself the sublimity of the scene which surrounds him. This forms the tremendous interest of these wonderful books. We see mind triumphant over the most terrible powers of nature. We see unutterable agony subdued by energy of soul. We have not indeed in Satan those bursts of passion, which rive the soul as well as shatter the outward frame of Lear. But we have a depth of passion which only an Archangel could manifest. The all-enduring, all-defying pride of Satan, assuming so majestically Hell's burning throne, and coveting the diadem, which scorches his thunder-blasted brow, is a creation requiring in its author almost the spiritual energy with which he invests the fallen seraph. Some have doubted whether the moral effect of such delineations of the storms and terrible workings of the soul is good; whether the interest felt in a spirit so transcendently evil as Satan, favours our sympathies with virtue. But our interest fastens, in this and like cases, on what is not evil. We gaze on Satan with an awe not unmixed with mysterious pleasure, as on a miraculous manifestation of the *power of mind*. What chains us, as with a resistless spell, in such a character, is spiritual might made visible by the racking pains which it

overpowers. There is something kindling and ennobling in the consciousness, however awakened, of the energy which resides in mind; and many a virtuous man has borrowed new strength from the force, constancy, and dauntless courage of evil agents.

Milton's description of Satan attests in various ways the power of his genius. Critics have often observed, that the great difficulty of his work was to reconcile the spiritual properties of his supernatural beings with the human modes of existence, which he was obliged to ascribe to them; and the difficulty is too great for any genius wholly to overcome, and we must acknowledge that our enthusiasm is in some parts of the poem checked by a feeling of incongruity between the spiritual agent, and his sphere and mode of agency. But we are visited with no such chilling doubts and misgivings in the description of Satan in Hell. Imagination has here achieved its highest triumph, in imparting a character of reality and truth to its most daring creations. That world of horrors, though material, is yet so remote from our ordinary nature, that a spiritual being, exiled from heaven, finds there an appropriate home. There is, too, an indefiniteness in the description of Satan's person, which incites without shocking the imagination, and aids us to combine in our conception of him the massiness of a real form with the vagueness of spiritual existence. To the production of this effect, much depends on the first impression given by the poet; for this is apt to follow us through the whole work; and here we think Milton eminently successful. The first glimpse of Satan is given us in the following lines, which, whilst too indefinite to provoke the scrutiny of the reason, fill the imagination of the reader with a form which can hardly be effaced.

Thus Satan, talking to his nearest mate
With head up-lift above the wave, and eyes
That sparkling blaz'd, his other parts besides
Prone on the flood, extended long and large
Lay floating many a rood, * * *

Par. Lost, b. i. lines 192—196.

Forthwith upright he rears from off the pool
His mighty stature; on each hand the flames,
Driv'n backward, slope their pointing spires, and roll'd
In billows, leave i' th' midst a horrid vale. Ibid. 221—224.

We have more which we should gladly say of the delineation of Satan; especially of the glimpses which are now and then given of his deep anguish and despair, and of the touches

of better feelings which are skilfully thrown into the dark picture, both suited and designed to blend with our admiration, dread, and abhorrence, a measure of that sympathy and interest with which every living, thinking being ought to be regarded, and without which all other feelings tend to sin and pain. But there is another topic which we cannot leave untouched. From Hell we flee to Paradise, a region as lovely as Hell is terrible, and which to those who do not know the universality of true genius, will appear doubly wonderful, when considered as the creation of the same mind which had painted the infernal world.

Paradise and its inhabitants are in sweet accordance, and together form a scene of tranquil bliss, which calms and soothes, whilst it delights the imagination. Adam and Eve, just moulded by the hand, and quickened by the breath of God, reflect in their countenances and forms, as well as minds, the intelligence, benignity, and happiness of their author. Their new existence has the freshness and peacefulness of the dewy morning. Their souls, unsated and untainted, find an innocent joy in the youthful creation, which spreads and smiles around them. Their mutual love is deep, for it is the love of young, unworn, unexhausted hearts, which meet in each other the only human objects on whom to pour forth their fulness of affection; and still it is serene, for it is the love of happy beings, who know not suffering even by name, whose innocence excludes not only the tumults but the thought of jealousy and shame, who, 'imparadised in one another's arms,' scarce dream of futurity, so blessed is their present being. We will not say that we envy our first parents; for we feel that there may be higher happiness than theirs, a happiness won through struggle with inward and outward foes, the happiness of power and moral victory, the happiness of disinterested sacrifices and wide-spread love, the happiness of boundless hope, and of 'thoughts which wander through eternity.' Still there are times, when the spirit, oppressed with pain, worn with toil, tired of tumult, sick at the sight of guilt, wounded in its love, baffled in its hope, and trembling in its faith, almost longs for the 'wings of a dove, that it might fly away' and take refuge amidst the 'shady bowers,' the 'vernal airs,' the 'roses without thorns,' the quiet, the beauty, the loveliness of Eden. It is the contrast of this deep peace of Paradise with the storms of life, which gives to the fourth and fifth books of this poem a charm so irresistible, that not a few would sooner relinquish the two first books with all their

sublimity, than part with these. It has sometimes been said, that the English language has no good pastoral poetry. We would ask, in what age or country has the pastoral reed breathed such sweet strains as are borne to us on 'the odoriferous wings of gentle gales' from Milton's *Paradise*?

We should not fulfil our duty, were we not to say one word on what has been justly celebrated, the harmony of Milton's versification. His numbers have the prime charm of expressiveness. They vary with, and answer to the depth, or tenderness, or sublimity of his conceptions, and hold intimate alliance with the soul. Like Michael Angelo, in whose hands the marble was said to be flexible, he bends our language, which foreigners reproach with hardness, into whatever forms the subject demands. All the treasures of sweet and solemn sound are at his command. Words, harsh and discordant in the writings of less gifted men, flow through his poetry in a full stream of harmony. This power over language is not to be ascribed to Milton's musical ear. It belongs to the soul. It is a gift or exercise of genius, which has power to impress itself on whatever it touches, and finds or frames in sounds, motions, and material forms, correspondences and harmonies with its own fervid thoughts and feelings.

We close our remarks on Milton's poetry with observing, that it is characterized by seriousness. Great and various as are its merits, it does not discover all the variety of genius, which we find in Shakespeare, whose imagination revelled equally in regions of mirth, beauty, and terror, now evoking spectres, now sporting with fairies, and now 'ascending the highest heaven of invention.' Milton was cast on times too solemn and eventful, was called to take part in transactions too perilous, and had too perpetual need of the presence of high thoughts and motives, to indulge himself in light and gay creations, even had his genius been more flexible and sportive. But Milton's poetry, though habitually serious, is always healthful, and bright, and vigorous. It has no gloom. He took no pleasure in drawing dark pictures of life; for he knew by experience, that there is a power in the soul to transmute calamity into an occasion and nutriment of moral power and triumphant virtue. We find no where in his writings that whining sensibility and exaggeration of morbid feeling, which makes so much of modern poetry effeminating. If he is not gay, he is not spirit-broken. His *L'Allegro* proves, that he understood thoroughly the bright and joyous aspects of nature; and in his *Penseroso*, where he was tempted to

accumulate images of gloom, we learn that the saddest views which he took of creation, are such as inspire only pensive musing or lofty contemplation.

From Milton's poetry, we turn to his *prose*. We rejoice that the dust is beginning to be wiped from his prose writings, and that the public are now learning, what the initiated have long known, that these contain passages hardly inferior to his best poetry, and that they are throughout marked with the same vigorous mind, which gave us *Paradise Lost*. The attention to these works has been discouraged by some objections, on which we shall bestow a few remarks.

And first, it is objected to his prose writings, that the style is difficult and obscure, abounding in involutions, transpositions and latinisms; that his protracted sentences exhaust and weary the mind, and too often yield it no better recompense, than confused and indistinct perceptions. We mean not to deny that these charges have some grounds; but they seem to us much exaggerated; and when we consider that the difficulties of Milton's style have almost sealed up his prose writings, we cannot but lament the fastidiousness and effeminacy of modern readers. We know that simplicity and perspicuity are important qualities of style; but there are vastly nobler and more important ones; such as energy and richness, and in these Milton is not surpassed. The best style is not that which puts the reader most easily and in the shortest time in possession of a writer's naked thoughts; but that which is the truest image of a great intellect, which conveys fully and carries furthest into other souls the conceptions and feelings of a profound and lofty spirit. To be universally intelligible is not the highest merit. A great mind cannot without injurious constraint, shrink itself to the grasp of common passive readers. Its natural movement is free, bold and majestic, and it ought not to be required to part with these attributes, that the multitude may keep pace with it. A full mind will naturally overflow in long sentences; and in the moment of inspiration, when thick-coming thoughts and images crowd upon it, will often pour them forth in a splendid confusion, dazzling to common readers, but kindling to congenial spirits. There are writings which are clear through their shallowness. We must not expect in the ocean the transparency of the calm inland stream. For ourselves, we love what is called easy reading perhaps too well, especially in our hours of relaxation; but we love too to have our faculties tasked by master spirits. We delight in long

sentences, in which a great truth, instead of being broken up into numerous periods, is spread out in its full proportions, is irradiated with variety of illustration and imagery, is set forth in a splendid affluence of language, and flows like a full stream, with a majestic harmony which fills at once the ear and the soul. Such sentences are worthy and noble manifestations of a great and far-looking mind, which grasps at once vast fields of thought, just as the natural eye takes in at a moment wide prospects of grandeur and beauty. We would not indeed have all compositions of this character. Let abundant provision be made for the common intellect. Let such writers as Addison (an honoured name) 'bring down philosophy from heaven to earth.' But let inspired genius fulfil its higher function of lifting the prepared mind from earth to heaven. Impose upon it no strict laws, for it is its own best law. Let it speak in its own language, in tones which suit its own ear. Let it not lay aside its natural port, or dwarf itself that it may be comprehended by the surrounding multitude. If not understood and relished now, let it place a generous confidence in other ages, and utter oracles, which futurity will expound. We are led to these remarks not merely for Milton's justification, but because our times seem to demand them. Literature we fear is becoming too popular. The whole community is now turned into readers, and in this we heartily rejoice; and we rejoice too that so much talent is employed in making knowledge accessible to all. We hail the general diffusion of intelligence as the brightest feature of the present age. But good and evil are never disjoined; and one bad consequence of the multitude of readers is, that men of genius are too anxious to please the multitude, and prefer a present shout of popularity to that less tumultuous, but deeper, more thrilling note of the trump of fame, which resounds and grows clearer and louder through all future ages.

We now come to a much more serious objection to Milton's prose writings, and that is, that they are disfigured by party spirit, coarse invective, and controversial asperity; and here we are prepared to say, that there are passages in these works which every admirer of his character must earnestly desire to expunge. Milton's alleged virulence was manifested towards private and public foes. The first, such as Salmasius and Morus, deserved no mercy; they poured out on his spotless character torrents of calumny, charging him with the blackest vices of the heart and the foulest enormities of the life. It ought to be added, that the manners and spirit of Milton's age justified a retaliation on such offenders,

which the more courteous, and, we will hope, more christian spirit of the present times will not tolerate. Still we mean not to be his apologists. Milton, raised as he was above his age, and fortified with the consciousness of high virtue, ought to have been both to his own and future times an example of christian equanimity. In regard to the public enemies whom he assailed, we mean the despots in church and state, and the corrupt institutions which had stirred up a civil war, the general strain of his writings, though strong and stern, must exalt him, notwithstanding his occasional violence, among the friends of civil and religious liberty. That liberty was in peril. Great evils were struggling for perpetuity, and could only be broken down by great power. Milton felt, that interests of infinite moment were at stake; and who will blame him for binding himself to them with the whole energy of his great mind, and for defending them with fervour and vehemence? We must not mistake christian benevolence, as if it had but one voice, that of soft entreaty. It can speak in piercing and awful tones. There is constantly going on in our world a conflict between good and evil. The cause of human nature has always to wrestle with foes. All improvement is a victory won by struggles. It is especially true of those great periods which have been distinguished by revolutions in government and religion, and from which we date the most rapid movements of the human mind, that they have been signalized by conflict. Thus Christianity convulsed the world and grew up amidst storms; and the reformation of Luther was a signal to universal war; and Liberty in both worlds has encountered opposition, over which she has triumphed only through her own immortal energies. At such periods, men gifted with great power of thought and loftiness of sentiment are especially summoned to the conflict with evil. They hear, as it were, in their own magnanimity and generous aspirations, the voice of a divinity; and thus commissioned, and burning with a passionate devotion to truth and freedom, they must and will speak with an indignant energy; and they ought not to be measured by the standard of ordinary men in ordinary times. Men of natural softness and timidity, of a sincere but effeminate virtue, will be apt to look on these bolder, hardier spirits, as violent, perturbed, and uncharitable; and the charge will not be wholly groundless. But that deep feeling of evils, which is necessary to effectual conflict with them, and which marks God's most powerful messengers to mankind, cannot breathe itself in soft and tender accents. The deeply moved soul

will speak strongly, and ought to speak so as to move and shake nations.

We have offered these remarks as strongly applicable to Milton. He revered and loved human nature, and attached himself to its great interests with a fervour of which only such a mind was capable. He lived in one of those solemn periods which determine the character of ages to come. His spirit was stirred to its very centre by the presence of danger. He lived in the midst of the battle. That the ardour of his spirit sometimes passed the bounds of wisdom and charity, and poured forth unwarrantable invective, we see and lament. But the purity and loftiness of his mind break forth amidst his bitterest invectives. We see a noble nature still. We see that no feigned love of truth and freedom was a covering for selfishness and malignity. He did indeed love and adore uncorrupted religion, and intellectual liberty, and let his name be enrolled among their truest champions.

Milton has told us in his own noble style, that he entered on his principal controversy with episcopacy reluctantly and only through a deep conviction of duty. The introduction to the second book of his 'Reasons of Church Government,' shows us the workings of his mind on this subject, and is his best vindication from the charge we are now repelling. He says—

'Surely to every good and peaceable man, it must in nature needs be a hateful thing, to be the displeaser and molester of thousands; much better would it like him, doubtless, to be the messenger of gladness and contentment, which is his chief intended business to all mankind, but that they resist and oppose their own true happiness. But when God commands to take the trumpet, and blow a dolorous or a jarring blast, it lies not in man's will what he shall say, or what he shall conceal. * * * This I foresee, that should the church be brought under heavy oppression, and God have given me ability the while to reason against that man that should be the author of so foul a deed; or should she, by blessing from above on the industry and courage of faithful men, change this her distracted estate into better days, without the least furtherance or contribution of those few talents, which God at that present had lent me; I foresee what stories I should hear within myself, all my life after, of discouragement and reproach. Timorous and ungrateful, the church of God is now again at the foot of her insulting enemies, and thou bewailest; what matters it for thee or thy bewailing? When time was, thou couldst not find a syllable of all that thou hast read, or studied, to utter in her behalf. Yet ease and leisure was given thee for thy retired thoughts, out of the sweat of other men. Thou hadst the diligence, the parts, the language of a man, if a vain subject were to be adorned or beautified; but when the cause of God and his church

was to be pleaded, for which purpose that tongue was given thee which thou hast, God listened if he could hear thy voice among his zealous servants, but thou wert dumb as a beast ; from henceforward be that which thine own brutish silence hath made thee. * * * But now by this little diligence, mark what a privilege I have gained with good men and saints, to claim my right of lamenting the tribulations of the church, if she should suffer, when others that have ventured nothing for her sake, have not the honour to be admitted mourners. But if she lift up her drooping head and prosper, among those that have something more than wished her welfare, I have my charter and freehold of rejoicing to me and my heirs. Concerning therefore this wayward subject against prelacy, the touching whereof is so distasteful and disquietous to a number of men, as by what hath been said I may deserve of charitable readers to be credited, that neither envy nor gall hath entered me upon this controversy, but the enforcement of conscience only, and a preventive fear lest the omitting of this duty should be against me, when I would store up to myself the good provision of peaceful hours.—Vol. I. p. 115—117. *

He then goes on to speak of his consciousness of possessing great poetical powers, which he was most anxious to cultivate. Of these he speaks thus magnificently.

‘These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift of God rarely bestowed, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every nation ; and are of power,—to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue, and public civility ; to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections in right tune ; to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God’s Almightiness, and what he works, and what he suffers to be wrought with high providence in his church ; to sing victorious agonies of martyrs and saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations, doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ ; to deplore the general relapses of kingdoms and states from justice and God’s true worship ; lastly, whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in virtue amiable or grave, whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is called fortune from without : or the wily subtleties and reflexes of man’s thoughts from within ; all these things with a solid and treatable smoothness to paint out and describe.’—Vol. I. p. 120.

He then gives intimations of his having proposed to himself a great poetical work ; ‘a work,’ he says,

‘Not to be raised from the heat of youth, or the vapours of wine, like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amourist, or the trencher fury of a rhyming parasite ; nor to be obtained by the

* From the Introduction to the second book of ‘The Reason of Church Government,’ &c. Vol. I. p. 114, &c. of Symmons’s edition of Milton’s Prose Works, to which all our references are made.

invocation of dame memory and her siren daughters, but by devout prayer to that eternal spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases.'—Vol. I. p. 122.

He then closes with a passage, showing from what principles he forsook these delightful studies for controversy.

'I trust hereby to make it manifest with what small willingness I endure to interrupt the pursuit of no less hopes than these, and leave a calm and pleasing solitariness, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to embark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes, put from beholding the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies. * * * But were it the meanest under-service, if God by his secretary conscience enjoin it, it were sad for me if I should draw back; for me especially, now when all men offer their aid to help, ease and lighten the difficult labours of the church, to whose service, by the intentions of my parents and friends I was destined of a child, and in mine own resolutions; till coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded the church, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which unless he took with a conscience that would retch, he must either strait perjure, or split his faith; I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing.'—Vol. I. p. 123.

These passages, replete with Milton's genius and greatness of soul, show us the influences and motives under which his prose works were written, and help us to interpret passages which, if taken separately, might justify us in ascribing to him a character of excessive indignation and scorn.

Milton's most celebrated prose work is his 'Areopagitica, or a Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing,' a noble work indeed, a precious manual of freedom, an arsenal of immortal weapons for the defence of man's highest prerogative, intellectual liberty. His 'Reformation in England' and 'Reasons of Church Government,' are the most important theological treatises published during his life. They were his earliest prose compositions, and thrown off with much haste, and on these accounts are more chargeable with defects of style than any other of his writings. But these, with all their defects, abound in strong and elevated thought, and in power and felicity of expression. Their great blemish is an inequality of style, often springing from the conflict and opposition of the impulses under which he wrote. It is not uncommon to find in the same sentence his affluent genius pouring forth magnificent images and expressions, and sud-

denly his deep scorn for his opponents, suggesting and throwing into the midst of this splendour, sarcasms and degrading comparisons altogether at variance with the general strain. From this cause, and from negligence, many powerful passages in his prose writings are marred by an incongruous mixture of unworthy allusions and phrases.—In the close of his first work, that on ‘Reformation in England,’ he breaks out into an invocation and prayer to the Supreme Being, from which we extract a passage containing a remarkable intimation of his having meditated some great poetical enterprise from his earliest years, and giving full promise of that grandeur of thought and language, which characterizes *Paradise Lost*. Having ‘lifted up his hands to that eternal and propitious throne, where nothing is readier than grace and refuge to the distresses of mortal suppliants,’ and besought God to perfect the work of civil and religious deliverance begun in England, he proceeds thus:

‘Then, amidst the hymns and hallelujahs of saints, *some one may perhaps be heard* offering at high strains in new and lofty measures, to sing and celebrate thy divine mercies and marvellous judgments in this land throughout all ages ; whereby this great and warlike nation, instructed and inured to the fervent and continual practice of truth and righteousness, and casting far from her the rags of her old vices, may press on hard to that high and happy emulation to be found the soberest, wisest, and most christian people, at that day, when Thou, the eternal and shortly expected King, shalt open the clouds to judge the several kingdoms of the world, and distributing national honours and rewards to religious and just commonwealths, shalt put an end to all earthly tyrannies, proclaiming thy universal and mild monarchy through heaven and earth ; where they undoubtedly, that by their labours, counsels, and prayers, have been earnest for the common good of religion and their country, shall receive above the inferior orders of the blessed, the regal addition of principalities, legions, and thrones into their glorious titles ; and in supereminence of beatific vision, progressing the dateless and irrevoluble circle of eternity, shall clasp inseparable hands with joy and bliss, in over-measure for ever.’—Vol. I. pp. 58, 59.

We have not time to speak of Milton’s political treatises. We close our brief remarks on his prose writings, with recommending them to all, who can enjoy great beauties in the neighbourhood of faults, and who would learn the compass, energy, and richness of our language ; and still more do we recommend them to those, who desire to nourish in their breasts magnanimity of sentiment and an unquenchable love of freedom. They bear the impress of that seal, by which genius distinguishes its productions from works of learning and taste.

The great and decisive test of genius is, that it calls forth *power* in the souls of others. It not merely gives knowledge, but breathes energy. There are authors, and among these Milton holds the highest rank, in approaching whom we are conscious of an access of intellectual strength. A 'virtue goes out' from them. We discern more clearly, not merely because a new light is thrown over objects, but because our own vision is strengthened. Sometimes a single word, spoken by the voice of genius, goes far into the heart. A hint, a suggestion, an undefined delicacy of expression, teaches more than we gather from volumes of less gifted men. The works which we should chiefly study, are not those which contain the greatest fund of knowledge, but which raise us into sympathy with the intellectual energy of the author, and in which a great mind multiplies itself, as it were, in the reader. Milton's prose works are imbued as really, if not as thoroughly, as his poetry, with this quickening power, and they will richly reward those who are receptive of this influence.

We now leave the writings of Milton to offer a few remarks on his *moral* qualities. His moral character was as strongly marked as his intellectual, and it may be expressed in one word, *magnanimity*. It was in harmony with his poetry. He had a passionate love of the higher, more commanding, and majestic virtues, and fed his youthful mind with meditations on the perfection of a human being. In a letter written to an Italian friend before his thirtieth year, and translated by Hayley, we have this vivid picture of his aspirations after virtue.

'As to other points, what God may have determined for me I know not; but this I know, that if he ever instilled an intense love of moral beauty into the breast of any man, he has instilled it into mine. Ceres in the fable pursued not her daughter with a greater keenness of inquiry, than I day and night the idea of perfection. Hence, wherever I find a man despising the false estimates of the vulgar; and daring to aspire in sentiment, language and conduct, to what the highest wisdom, through every age, has taught us as most excellent, to him I unite myself by a sort of necessary attachment; and if I am so influenced by nature or destiny, that by no exertion or labours of my own I may exalt myself to this summit of worth and honour, yet no powers of heaven or earth will hinder me from looking with reverence and affection upon those, who have thoroughly attained this glory, or appeared engaged in the successful pursuit of it.'

His *Comus* was written in his twenty-sixth year; and on reading this exquisite work our admiration is awakened, not

so much by observing how the whole spirit of poetry had descended on him at that early age, as by witnessing, how his whole youthful soul was penetrated, awed and lifted up by the austere charms, 'the radiant light,' the invincible power, the celestial peace of saintly virtue. He revered moral purity and elevation, not only for its own sake, but as the inspirer of intellect, and especially of the higher efforts of poetry. 'I was confirmed,' he says, in his usual noble style,

'I was confirmed in this opinion, that he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem; that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honourablest things; not presuming to sing of high praises of heroic men, or famous cities, unless he have in himself the experience and the practice of all that which is praiseworthy.'—Vol. I. p. 224.

We learn from his works, that he used his multifarious reading to build up within himself this reverence for virtue. Ancient history, the sublime musings of Plato, and the heroic self-abandonment of chivalry, joined their influences with prophets and apostles, in binding him 'everlastingly in willing homage' to the great, the honourable, and the lovely in character. A remarkable passage to this effect we quote from his account of his youth.

'I betook me among those lofty fables and romances, which recount in solemn cantos, the deeds of knighthood founded by our victorious kings, and from hence had in renown over all christendom. There I read it in the oath of every knight, that he should defend to the expense of his best blood, or of his life, if it so befel him, the honour and chastity of virgin or matron; from whence even then I learned what a noble virtue chastity sure must be, to the defence of which so many worthies, by such a dear adventure of themselves, had sworn; *** So that even these books, which to many others have been the fuel of wantonness and loose living, I cannot think how, unless by divine indulgence, proved to me so many incitements, as you have heard, to the love and stedfast observation of virtue.'—Ibid.

All Milton's habits were expressive of a refined and self-denying character. When charged by his unprincipled slanderers with licentious habits, he thus gives an account of his morning hours.

'Those morning haunts are where they should be, at home; not sleeping, or concocting the surfeits of an irregular feast, but up and stirring, in winter often ere the sound of any bell awake men to labour, or to devotion; in summer as oft with the bird that first rouses, or not much tardier, to read good authors, or cause them to be read,

till the attention be weary, or memory have its full fraught; then with useful and generous labours preserving the body's health and hardiness to render lightsome, clear, and not lumpish obedience to the mind, to the cause of religion, and our country's liberty, when it shall require firm hearts in sound bodies to stand and cover their stations, rather than to see the ruin of our protestation, and the enforcement of a slavish life.'—Vol. I. p. 220.

We have enlarged on the strictness and loftiness of Milton's virtue, not only from our interest in the subject, but that we may put to shame and silence those men who make genius an apology for vice, and take the sacred fire, kindled by God within them, to inflame men's passions, and to minister to a vile sensuality.

We see Milton's greatness of mind in his fervent and constant attachment to liberty. Freedom in all its forms and branches was dear to him, but especially freedom of thought and speech, of conscience and worship, freedom to seek, profess and propagate truth. The liberty of ordinary politicians, which protects men's outward rights, and removes restraints to the pursuit of property and outward good, fell very short of that, for which Milton lived and was ready to die. The tyranny which he hated most, was that which broke the intellectual and moral power of the community. The worst feature of the institutions which he assailed was, that they fettered the mind. He felt within himself, that the human mind had a principle of perpetual growth, that it was essentially diffusive and made for progress, and he wished every chain broken that it might run the race of truth and virtue with increasing ardour and success. This attachment to a spiritual and refined freedom, which never forsook him in the hottest controversies, contributed greatly to protect his genius, imagination, taste, and sensibility from the withering and polluting influences of public station, and of the rage of parties. It threw a hue of poetry over politics, and gave a sublime reference to his service of the commonwealth. The fact that Milton, in that stormy day, and amidst the trials of public office, kept his high faculties undepraved, was a proof of no common greatness. Politics, however they make the intellect active, sagacious, and inventive, within a certain sphere, generally extinguish its thirst for universal truth, paralyse sentiment and imagination, corrupt the simplicity of the mind, destroy that confidence in human virtue, which lies at the foundation of philanthropy and generous sacrifices, and end in cold and prudent selfishness. Milton passed through a revolution, which, in its last stages and issue, was peculiarly fitted to

damp enthusiasm, to scatter the visions of hope, and to infuse doubts of the reality of virtuous principle; and yet the ardour, and moral feeling, and enthusiasm of his youth came forth unhurt, and even exalted from the trial.

Before quitting the subject of Milton's devotion to liberty, it ought to be recorded, that he wrote his celebrated 'Defence of the People of England' after being distinctly forewarned by his physicians, that the effect of this exertion would be the utter loss of sight. His reference to this part of his history in a short poetical effusion is too characteristic to be withheld. It is inscribed to Cyriac Skinner, the friend to whom he appears to have confided his lately discovered 'Treatise on Christian Doctrine.'

'Cyriac, this three years day these eyes, though clear,
To outward view, of blemish or of spot,
Bereft of light their seeing have forgot,
Nor to their idle orbs doth sight appear
Of sun, or moon, or star throughout the year,
Or man, or woman. Yet I argue not
Against Heaven's hand or will, nor bate a jot
Of heart or hope; but still bear up and steer
Right onward. What supports me, dost thou ask?
The conscience, Friend, to have lost them overply'd
In liberty's defence, my noble task,
Of which all Europe rings from side to side.
This thought might lead me through the world's vain mask,
Content though blind, had I no better guide.'—*Sonnet XXII.*

We see Milton's magnanimity in the circumstances under which *Paradise Lost* was written. It was not in prosperity, in honour, and amidst triumphs, but in disappointment, desertion, and in what the world calls disgrace, that he composed that work. The cause, with which he had identified himself, had failed. His friends were scattered; liberty was trodden under foot; and her devoted champion was a by-word among the triumphant royalists. But it is the prerogative of true greatness to glorify itself in adversity, and to meditate and execute vast enterprises in defeat. Milton, fallen in outward condition, afflicted with blindness, disappointed in his best hopes, applied himself with characteristic energy to the sublimest achievement of intellect, solacing himself with great thoughts, with splendid creations, and with a prophetic confidence, that however neglected in his own age, he was framing in his works a bond of union and fellowship with the illustrious spirits of a brighter day. We delight to contemplate him in his retreat and last years. To the passing spectator, he seemed

fallen and forsaken, and his blindness was reproached as a judgment from God. But though sightless, he lived in light. His inward eye ranged through universal nature, and his imagination shed on it brighter beams than the sun. Heaven, and Hell, and Paradise were open to him. He visited past ages, and gathered round him ancient sages and heroes, prophets and apostles, brave knights and gifted bards. As he looked forward, ages of liberty dawned and rose to his view, and he felt, that he was about to bequeath to them an inheritance of genius 'which would not fade away,' and was to live in the memory, reverence and love of remotest generations.

We have enlarged on Milton's character not only from the pleasure of paying that sacred debt, which the mind owes to him who has quickened and delighted it, but from an apprehension that Milton has not yet reaped his due harvest of esteem and veneration. The mists, which the prejudices and bigotry of Johnson spread over his bright name, are not yet wholly scattered, though fast passing away. We wish not to disparage Johnson. We could find no pleasure in sacrificing one great man to the manes of another. But we owe it to Milton and to other illustrious names to say, that Johnson has failed of the highest end of biography, which is to give immortality to virtue, and to call forth fervent admiration towards those who have shed splendour on past ages. We acquit Johnson, however, of intentional misrepresentation. He did not and could not appreciate Milton. We doubt whether two other minds having so little in common as those of which we are now speaking, can be found in the higher walks of literature. Johnson was great in his own sphere, but that sphere was comparatively, 'of the earth;' whilst Milton's was only inferior to that of angels. It was customary in the day of Johnson's glory to call him a Giant, to class him with a mighty but still an earth-born race. Milton we should rank among Seraphs. Johnson's mind acted chiefly on man's actual condition, on the realities of life, on the springs of human action, on the passions which now agitate society, and he seems hardly to have dreamed of a higher state of the human mind than was then exhibited. Milton, on the other hand, burned with a deep yet calm love of moral grandeur and celestial purity. He thought not so much of what man is, as of what he might become. His own mind was a revelation to him of a higher condition of humanity, and to promote this he thirsted and toiled for freedom, as the element for the growth and improvement of his nature.—In religion Johnson was gloomy and inclined to superstition, and on the

subject of government leaned towards absolute power; and the idea of reforming either never entered his mind but to disturb and provoke it. The church and the civil polity under which he lived seemed to him perfect, unless he may have thought that the former would be improved by a larger infusion of Romish rites and doctrines, and the latter by an enlargement of the royal prerogative. Hence a tame acquiescence in the present forms of religion and government marks his works. Hence we find so little in his writings, which is electric and soul-kindling, and which gives the reader a consciousness of being made for a state of loftier thought and feeling than the present. Milton's whole soul, on the contrary, revolted against the maxims of legitimacy, hereditary faith, and servile reverence for established power. He could not brook the bondage to which men had bowed for ages. 'Reformation' was the first word of public warning which broke from his youthful lips, and the hope of it was a fire in his aged breast. The difference between Milton and Johnson may be traced not only in these great features of mind, but in their whole characters. Milton was refined and spiritual in his habits, temperate almost to abstemiousness, and refreshed himself after intellectual effort by music. Johnson inclined to more sensual delights. Milton was exquisitely alive to the outward creation, to sounds, motions, and forms, to natural beauty and grandeur. Johnson, through defect of physical organization, if not through deeper deficiency, had little susceptibility of these pure and delicate pleasures, and would not have exchanged the Strand for the vale of Tempe or the gardens of the Hesperides. How could Johnson be just to Milton! The comparison, which we have instituted, has compelled us to notice Johnson's defects. But we trust we are not blind to his merits. His stately march, his pomp and power of language, his strength of thought, his reverence for virtue and religion, his vigorous logic, his practical wisdom, his insight into the springs of human action, and the solemn pathos which occasionally pervades his descriptions of life and his references to his own history, command our willing admiration. That he wanted enthusiasm, and creative imagination, and lofty sentiment, was not his fault. We do not blame him for not being Milton. We love intellectual power in all its forms, and delight in the variety of mind. We blame him only, that his passions, prejudices, and bigotry engaged him in the unworthy task of obscuring the brighter glory of one of the most gifted and virtuous men. We would even treat what we deem the faults of Johnson with a tenderness approaching respect; for they were results, to

a degree which man cannot estimate, of a diseased, irritable, nervous, unhappy physical temperament, and belonged to the body more than to the mind. . We only ask the friends of genius not to put their faith in Johnson's delineations of it. His biographical works are tinged with his notoriously strong prejudices, and of all his 'Lives,' we hold that of Milton to be the most apocryphal.

We here close our general remarks on Milton's intellectual and moral qualities. We venerate him as a man of genius ; but still more as a man of magnanimity and christian virtue ; who regarded genius and poetry as sacred gifts, imparted to him not to amuse men, or to build up a reputation, but that he might quicken and call forth what was great and divine in his fellow-creatures, and might secure the only true fame, the admiration of minds which his writings were to kindle and exalt.

We come now to the examination of the newly discovered 'Treatise on Christian Doctrine.' This work, we have said, owes its chief interest to the character of its author. From its very nature, it cannot engage and fix general attention. It consists very much of collections of texts of scripture, which, however exciting in their proper places, are read with little thought or emotion when taken from their ordinary connexion, and marshalled under systematic heads. Milton aims to give us the doctrines of revelation in its own words. We have them in a phraseology long familiar to us, and we are disappointed ; for we expected to see them, not in the language of the Bible, but as existing in the mind of Milton, modified by his peculiar intellect and sensibility, combined and embodied with his various knowledge, illustrated by the analogies, brightened by the new lights, and clothed with the associations with which they were surrounded by this gifted man. We hoped to see these doctrines as they were viewed by Milton in his moments of solemn feeling and deep contemplation, when they pervaded and moved his whole soul. Still there are passages in which Milton's mind is laid open to us. We refer to the parts of the work, where the peculiarity of his opinions obliges him to state his reasons for adopting them ; and these we value highly, for the vigour and independence of intellect with which they are impressed. The work is plain and unambitious in style. Its characteristics are a calm earnestness, and that profound veneration for scripture, which certain denominations of Christians, who have little congeniality with Milton, seem to claim as a monopoly.

His introduction is worthy every man's attention, as a de-

liberate, mild assertion of the dearest right of human nature, that of free inquiry.

‘If I communicate the result of my inquiries to the world at large ; if, as God is my witness, it be with a friendly and benignant feeling towards mankind, that I readily give as wide a circulation as possible to what I esteem my best and richest possession, I hope to meet with a candid reception from all parties, and that none at least will take unjust offence, even though many things should be brought to light, which will at once be seen to differ from certain received opinions. I earnestly beseech all lovers of truth, not to cry out that the church is thrown into confusion by that freedom of discussion and inquiry, which is granted to the schools, and ought certainly to be refused to no believer, since we are ordered to *prove all things*, and since the daily progress of the light of truth is productive far less of disturbance to the church, than of illumination and edification.’—Vol. I. pp. 5, 6.

‘It has also been my object to make it appear from the opinions I shall be found to have advanced, whether new or old, of how much consequence to the christian religion is the liberty, not only of winnowing and sifting every doctrine, but also of thinking and even writing respecting it, according to our individual faith and persuasion ; an inference which will be stronger in proportion to the weight and importance of those opinions, or rather in proportion to the authority of scripture, on the abundant testimony of which they rest. Without this liberty there is neither religion nor gospel—force alone prevails,—by which it is disgraceful for the christian religion to be supported. Without this liberty we are still enslaved not indeed, as formerly, under the divine law, but, what is worst of all, under the law of man, or to speak more truly, under a barbarous tyranny.’—Vol. I. pp. 7, 8.

On that great subject, the character of God, Milton has given nothing particularly worthy of notice, except that he is more disposed than Christians in general, to conceive of the Supreme Being under the forms and affections of human nature.

‘If God habitually assign to himself the members and form of man, why should we be afraid of attributing to him what he attributes to himself, so long as what is imperfection and weakness, when viewed in reference to ourselves, be considered as most complete and excellent whenever it is imputed to God.’—Vol. I. p. 23.

Milton is not the first Christian, who has thought to render the Supreme Being more interesting by giving him human shape. We doubt the wisdom of this expedient. To spiritualize our conceptions of him, seems to us the true process for strengthening our intimacy with him ; for in this way only can we think of him as immediately present to our minds. As far as we give him a material form, we must assign to him a

place, and that place will almost necessarily be a distant one, and thus we shall remove him from the soul which is his true temple. Besides, a definite form clashes with God's infinity, which is his supreme distinction, and on no account to be obscured; for strange as it may seem to those who know not their own nature, this incomprehensible attribute, is that, which above all things constitutes the correspondence or adaptation, if we may so speak, of God to the human mind.

In treating of God's Efficiency, Milton strenuously maintains human freedom, in opposition to the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. He maintains, that God's decrees do not encroach on moral liberty; for our free agency is the very object decreed and predestined by the Creator. He maintains that some of the passages of scripture, which speak of election, are to be understood of an election to outward privileges, not to everlasting life; and that in other texts, which relate to the future state, the election spoken of is not an arbitrary choice of individuals, but of that class or description of persons, be it large or small, who shall comply with the prescribed terms of salvation; in other words, it is a conditional, not an absolute election, and such that every individual, if he will, may be included in it. Milton has so far told us truth. We wish we could add, that he had thrown new light on free agency. This great subject has indeed baffled as yet the deepest thinkers, and seems now to be consigned with other sublime topics, under the sweeping denomination of metaphysics, to general neglect. But let it not be given up in despair. The time is coming, when the human intellect is to strike into new fields, and to view itself, and its Creator, and the universe from new positions, and we trust that the darkness which has so long hung over our moral nature will be gradually dispersed. This attribute of free agency, through which an intelligent being is strictly and properly a cause, an agent, an originator, of moral good or moral evil, and not a mere machine, determined by outward influences or by a secret yet resistless efficiency of God, which virtually makes Him the author and only author of all human actions,—this moral freedom, which is the best image of the creative energy of the Deity, seems to us the noblest object of philosophical investigation. However questioned and darkened by a host of metaphysicians, it is recognised in the common consciousness of every human being. It is the ground of responsibility, the fountain of moral feeling. It is involved in all moral judgments and affections, and thus gives to social life its whole interest; whilst it is the chief tie between the soul and its

Creator. The fact, that philosophers have attempted to discard free agency from their explanations of moral phenomena, and to subject all human action to necessity, to mechanical causes, or other extraneous influences, is proof enough, that the science of the mind has as yet penetrated little beneath the surface, that the depths of the soul are still unexplored.

Milton naturally passes from his chapter on the Supreme Being to the consideration of those topics, which have always been connected with this part of theology; we mean the character of Jesus Christ, and the nature of the Holy Spirit. All our readers are probably aware that Milton has here declared himself an anti-trinitarian, and strenuously asserted the strict and proper unity of God. His chapter on 'The Son of God' is the most elaborate one in the work. His 'prefatory remarks' are highly interesting, as joining with a manly assertion of his right, an affectionate desire to conciliate the Christians from whom he differed.

'I cannot enter upon subjects of so much difficulty as the *Son of God* and the *Holy Spirit*, without again premising a few introductory words. If indeed I were a member of the church of Rome, which requires implicit obedience to its creed on all points of faith, I should have acquiesced from education or habit in its simple decree and authority, even though it denies that the doctrine of the trinity, as now received, is capable of being proved from any passage of Scripture. But since I enrol myself among the number of those who acknowledge the word of God alone as the rule of faith, and freely advance what appears to me much more clearly deducible from the Holy Scriptures than the commonly received opinion, I see no reason why any one who belongs to the same Protestant or Reformed Church, and professes to acknowledge the same rule of faith as myself, should take offence at my freedom, particularly as I impose my authority on no one, but merely propose what I think more worthy of belief than the creed in general acceptance. I only entreat that my readers will ponder and examine my statements in a spirit which desires to discover nothing but the truth, and with a mind free from prejudice. For without intending to oppose the authority of Scripture, which I consider inviolably sacred, I only take upon myself to refute human interpretations as often as the occasion requires, conformably to my right or rather to my duty as a man. If indeed those with whom I have to contend were able to produce direct attestation from heaven to the truth of the doctrine which they espouse, it would be nothing less than impiety to venture to raise, I do not say a clamour, but so much as a murmur against it. But inasmuch as they can lay claim to nothing more than human powers, assisted by that spiritual illumination which is common to all, it is not unreasonable that they should on their part allow the privileges of diligent research and free discussion to another inquirer, who is seeking truth through the same means and

in the same way as themselves, and whose desire of benefiting mankind is equal to their own.'—Vol. I. pp. 103, 104, 105.

Milton teaches, that the Son of God is a distinct being from God, and inferior to him, that he existed before the world was made, that he is the first of the creation of God, and that afterwards, all other things were made by him, as the instrument or minister of his Father. He maintains, in agreement with Dr. Clarke, that the Holy Spirit is a person, an intelligent agent, but created and inferior to God. This opinion of Milton is the more remarkable, because he admits, that before the time of Christ, the Jews, though accustomed to the phrase, Holy Spirit, never attached to it the idea of personality, and that both in the Old and the New Testament, it is often used to express God himself or his power and agency. It is strange, that after these concessions, he could have found a difficulty in giving a figurative interpretation to the few passages in the New Testament, which speak of the Holy Spirit as a person.

We are unable within our limits to give a sketch of Milton's strong reasoning against the Supreme Divinity of Jesus Christ. We must, however, pause a moment to thank God that he has raised up this illustrious advocate of the long obscured doctrine of the Divine Unity. We can now bring forward the three greatest and noblest minds of modern times, and we may add of the christian era, as witnesses to that Great Truth, of which in an humbler and narrower sphere, we desire to be the defenders. Our Trinitarian adversaries are perpetually ringing in our ears the names of Fathers and Reformers. We take Milton, Locke and Newton, and place them in our front, and want no others to oppose to the whole array of great names on the opposite side. Before these intellectual suns, the stars of self-named orthodoxy 'hide their diminished heads.' To these eminent men, God communicated such unusual measures of light and mental energy, that their names spring up spontaneously, when we think or would speak of the greatness of our nature. Their theological opinions were the fruits of patient, profound, reverent study of the Scriptures. They came to this work, with minds not narrowed by a technical, professional education, but accustomed to broad views, to the widest range of thought. They were shackled by no party connexions. They were warped by no clerical ambition, and subdued by no clerical timidity. They came to this subject in the fulness of their strength, with free minds open to truth, and with unstained purity of life. They came to it, in an age, when the doctrine of the Trinity was instilled by education,

and upheld by the authority of the church, and by penal laws. And what did these great and good men, whose intellectual energy and love of truth have made them the chief benefactors of the human mind,—what, we ask, did they discover in the Scriptures? a triple divinity? three infinite agents? three infinite objects of worship? three persons, each of whom possesses his own distinct offices, and yet shares equally in the godhead with the rest? No! Scripture joined with nature and with that secret voice in the heart, which even idolatry could not always stifle, and taught them to bow reverently before the One Infinite Father, and to ascribe to Him alone supreme, self-existent Divinity.—Our principal object in these remarks has been to show, that as far as great names are arguments, the cause of anti-trinitarianism, or of God's proper Unity, is supported by the strongest. But we owe it to truth to say, that we put little trust in these fashionable proofs. The chief use of great names in religious controversy is to balance and neutralize one another, that the unawed and unfettered mind may think and judge with a due self-reverence, and with a solemn sense of accountableness to God alone.

We have called Milton an anti-trinitarian. But we have no desire to identify him with any sect. His mind was too independent and universal to narrow itself to human creeds and parties. He is supposed to have separated himself in his last years from all the denominations around him; and were he now living, we are not sure that he would find one to which he would be strongly attracted. He would probably stand first among that class of Christians, more numerous than is supposed, and, we hope, increasing, who are too jealous of the rights of the mind, and too dissatisfied with the clashing systems of the age, to attach themselves closely to any party; in whom the present improved state of theology has created a consciousness of defect, rather than the triumph of acquisition; who, however partial to their own creed, cannot persuade themselves, that it is the ultimate attainment of the human mind, and that distant ages will repeat its articles as reverently as the Catholics do the decrees of Trent; who contend earnestly for free inquiry, not because all who inquire will think as they do, but because some at least may be expected to outstrip them, and to be guides to higher truth. With this nameless and spreading class, we have strong sympathies. We want new light, and care not whence it comes; we want reformers worthy of the name; and we should rejoice in such a manifestation of Christianity, as would throw all present systems into obscurity.

We come now to a topic, on which Milton will probably startle a majority of readers. He is totally opposed, as were

most of the ancient philosophers, to the doctrine of God's creating the universe out of nothing. He maintains, that there can be no action without a passive material on which the act is exerted, and that accordingly the world was framed out of a pre-existent matter. To the question, what and whence is this primary matter? he answers, it is from God, 'an efflux of the Deity.' 'It proceeded from God,' and consequently no additional existence was produced by creation, nor is matter capable of annihilation. A specimen of his speculations on this subject is given in the following quotation.

'It is clear then that the world was framed out of matter of some kind or other. For since action and passion are relative terms, and since, consequently, no agent can act externally, unless there be some patient, such as matter, it appears impossible that God could have created this world out of nothing; not from any defect of power on his part, but because it was necessary that something should have previously existed capable of receiving passively the exertion of the divine efficacy. Since, therefore, both Scripture and reason concur in pronouncing that all these things were made, not out of nothing, but out of matter, it necessarily follows, that matter must either have always existed independently of God, or have originated from God at some particular point of time. That matter should have been always independent of God, (seeing that it is only a passive principle, dependent on the Deity, and subservient to him; and seeing, moreover, that as in number, considered abstractly, so also in time or eternity there is no inherent force or efficacy,) that matter, I say, should have existed of itself from all eternity, is inconceivable. If on the contrary it did not exist from all eternity, it is difficult to understand from whence it derives its origin. There remains, therefore, but one solution of the difficulty, for which moreover we have the authority of Scripture, namely, that all things are of God.'—Vol. I. pp. 236, 237.

This doctrine naturally led Milton to another, viz. that there is no ground for the supposed distinction between body and soul; for if matter is an 'efflux of the Deity,' it is plainly susceptible of intellectual functions. Accordingly our author affirms,

'That man is a living being, intrinsically and properly one and individual, not compound or separable, not, according to the common opinion, made up and framed of two distinct and different natures, as of soul and body,—but the whole man is soul, and the soul man, that is to say, a body, or substance individual, animated, sensitive, and rational.'—Vol. I. pp. 250, 251.

We here learn that a passage in *Paradise Lost*, which we have admired as poetry, was deemed by Milton sound philosophy.

'O Adam, one Almighty is, from whom
All things proceed, and up to him return,
If not depraved from good, created all

Such to perfection, *one first matter all*,
 Indued with various forms, various degrees
 Of substance, and in things that live, of life ;
 But more refined, more spiritous, and pure,
 As nearer to him plac'd, or nearer tending
 Each in their several active spheres assign'd,
Till body up to spirit work, in bounds
 Proportion'd to each kind. So from the root
 Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves
 More aery, last the bright consummate flower
 Spirits odorous breathes ; flow'ra and their fruit,
 Man's nourishment, by gradual scale sublimed,
 To vital spirits aspire, to animal,
 To *intellectual*.' Par. Lost, b. v. lines 469—485.

These speculations of Milton will be received in this age with more favour or with less aversion, than in his own ; for, from the time of Locke, the discussions of philosophers have tended to unsettle our notions of matter, and no man is hardy enough now to say, what it is, or what it may not be. The idealism of Berkeley, though it has never organized a sect, has yet sensibly influenced the modes of thinking among metaphysicians ; and the coincidence of this system with the theory of certain Hindoo philosophers, may lead us to suspect, that it contains some great latent truth, of which the European and Hindoo intellect, so generally at variance, have caught a glimpse. Matter is indeed a Proteus, which escapes us at the moment we hope to seize it. Priestley was anxious to make the soul material ; but for this purpose, he was obliged to change matter from a substance into a power, that is, into no matter at all ; so that he destroyed in attempting to diffuse it. We have thrown out these remarks, to rescue Milton's memory from the imputation, which he was the last man to deserve, of irreverence towards God ; for of this some will deem him guilty in tracing matter to the Deity as its fountain. Matter, which seems to common people so intelligible, is still wrapt in mystery. We know it only by its relation to mind, or as an assemblage of powers to awaken certain sensations. Of its relation to God, we may be said to know nothing. Perhaps, as knowledge advances, we shall discover that the Creator is bound to his works by stronger and more intimate ties, than we now imagine. We do not then quarrel with such suggestions as Milton's, though we cannot but wonder at the earnestness with which he follows out such doubtful speculations.

Milton next proceeds to the consideration of man's state in Paradise, and as marriage was the only social relation then subsisting, he introduces here his views of that institution, and of polygamy, and divorce. These views show, if not the soundness, yet the characteristic independence of his mind.

No part of his book has given such offence as his doctrine of the lawfulness of polygamy, and yet no where is he less liable to reproach. It is plain that his error was founded on his reverence for Scripture. He saw that polygamy was allowed to the best men in the Old Testament, to patriarchs before the law, who, he says, were the objects of God's special favour, and to eminent individuals in subsequent ages; and finding no prohibition of it in the New Testament, he believed, that not only holy men would be traduced, but Scripture dishonoured, by pronouncing it morally evil. We are aware that some will say, that the practice is condemned in the New Testament; and we grant that it is censured by implication in these words of Christ, 'Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery.*' But we believe it to be an indisputable fact, that although Christianity was first preached in Asia, which had been from the earliest ages the seat of polygamy, the Apostles never denounced it as a crime, and never required their converts to put away all wives but one. What then? some may say, 'are you too the advocates of the lawfulness of polygamy?' We answer, No. We consider our religion as decidedly hostile to this practice; and we add, what seems to us of great importance, that this hostility is not the less decided, because no express prohibition of polygamy is found in the New Testament; for Christianity is not a system of precise legislation, marking out with literal exactness every thing to be done, and every thing to be avoided; but an inculcation of broad principles, which it entrusts to individuals and to society to be applied according to their best discretion. It is through this generous peculiarity, that Christianity is fitted to be a universal religion. Through this, it can subsist and blend itself with all stages of society, and can live in the midst of abuses, which it silently and powerfully overcomes, but against which it would avail little, were it immediately to lift up the voice of denunciation. We all know, that long-cherished corruptions, which have sent their roots through the whole frame of a community, cannot be torn up at once, without dissolving society. To Christianity is committed the sublime office of eradicating all the errors and evils of the world; but this it does by a process corresponding with man's nature, by working a gradual revolution in the mind, which in its turn works a safe and effectual revolution in manners and life. No argument, therefore, in favour of a practice can be adduced from the fact, that it is not explicitly reprobated in the New Testament.

For example, Christianity went forth into communities, where multitudes were held in slavery, and all ranks were ground and oppressed by despotism; abuses on which the spirit of our religion frowns as sternly as on any which can be named. Yet Christianity did not command the master to free his slaves, or the despot to descend from his absolute throne; but satisfied itself with proclaiming sublime truths in regard to God's paternal character and administration, and broad and generous principles of action: leaving to these the work of breaking every chain by a gradual, inward, irresistible influence, and of asserting the essential equality and unalienable rights of the whole human race.—We cannot leave this topic, without adding, that not only Milton's error on polygamy, but many other noxious mistakes, have resulted from measuring Christianity by the condition of the primitive church, as if *that* were the standard of faith and practice, as if every thing allowed then were wise and good, as if the religion were then unfolded in all its power and extent. The truth is, that Christianity was then in its infancy. The Apostles communicated its great truths to the rude minds of Jews and Heathens; but the primitive church did not and could not understand all that was involved in those principles, all the applications of which they are susceptible, all the influences they were to exert on the human mind, all the combinations they were to form with the new truths which time was to unfold, all the new lights in which they were to be placed, all the adaptations to human nature and to more advanced states of society, which they were progressively to manifest. In the first age the religion was administered with a wise and merciful conformity to the capacities of its recipients. With the progress of intelligence, and the developement of the moral faculties, Christianity is freeing itself, and ought to be freed, from the local, temporary and accidental associations of its childhood. Its great principles are coming forth more distinctly and brightly, and condemning abuses and errors, which have passed current for ages. This great truth, for such we deem it, that Christianity is a growing light, and that it must be more or less expounded by every age for itself, was not sufficiently apprehended by Milton; nor is it now understood as it will be. For want of apprehending it, Christianity is administered now too much as it was in ages, when nothing of our literature, philosophy, and spirit of improvement existed; and consequently it does not, we fear, exert that entire and supreme sway over strong and cultivated minds which is its due, and which it must one day obtain.

Milton has connected with polygamy the subject of divorce,

on which he is known to have differed from many Christians. He strenuously maintains in the work under review, and more largely in other treatises, that the violation of the marriage bed is not the sole ground of divorce, but that 'the perpetual interruption of peace and affection by mutual differences and unkindness is a sufficient reason,' for dissolving the conjugal relation. On this topic we cannot enlarge.

We now arrive at that part of Milton's work, in which his powerful mind might have been expected to look beyond the prevalent opinions of his day, but in which he has followed the beaten road almost without deviation, seldom noticing difficulties, and hardly seeming to know their existence. We refer to the great subjects of the moral condition of mankind, and of redemption by Jesus Christ. The doctrine of original sin he has assumed as true, and his faith in it was evidently strengthened by his doctrine of the identity of the soul with the body, in consequence of which he teaches, that souls are propagated from parents to children, and not immediately derived from God, and that they are born with an hereditary taint, just as the body contracts hereditary disease. It is humiliating to add, that he supports this doctrine of the propagation of sin by physical contagion, on the ground, that it relieves the Creator from the charge of originating the corruption which we are said to bring into life; as if the infinitely pure and good God could, by a covert agency, infect with moral evil the passive and powerless mind of the infant, and then absolve himself of the horrible work by imputing it to instruments of his own ordination! Milton does not, however, believe in total depravity, feeling that this would free men from guilt, by taking away all power; and he therefore leaves us a portion of the divine image, not enough to give us a chance of virtue, but enough to take away excuse from sin. Such are the 'tender mercies' of theology! With respect to Christ's mediation, he supposes, that Christ saves us by bearing our punishment and in this way satisfying God's justice. His views indeed are not expressed with much precision, and seem to have been formed without much investigation. On these great subjects, of human nature and redemption, we confess, we are disappointed in finding the spirit of Milton satisfying itself with the degrading notions which prevailed around him. But we remember, that it is the order of Providence, that the greatest minds should sympathize much with their age, and that they contribute the more to the progress of mankind, by not advancing too fast and too far beyond their cotemporaries. In this part of his work, Milton maintains, that the death threatened to sin extends equally to body and soul, which in-

deed he was bound to do, as he holds the soul and body to be one; and he then proceeds to defend with his usual power the necessary inference, that all consciousness is suspended between death and the resurrection. We have no faith in this doctrine, but we respect the courage with which he admits and maintains whatever can be fairly deduced from his opinions.

Having concluded the subject of redemption, he passes to what he calls 'man's renovation, or the change whereby the sinner is brought into a state of grace;' and here, though he is not always perspicuous, yet he seldom deviates from what was then the beaten road. We owe it, however, to Milton, to say, that, although he sometimes approached, he never adopted Calvinism. All the distinguishing articles of that creed, total depravity, election and reprobation, Christ dying for the elect only, irresistible grace, the perseverance of the saints, and justification by mere faith,—all are denied and opposed by him; and some with great strength. Swayed as Milton was by the age in which he lived, his spirit could not be subdued to the heart-withering faith of the Genevan School.

We now come to a subject, in which Milton was deeply interested, we mean Christian Liberty, under which head may be included the discipline of the church, the power of ministers, and the rights of the people. To vindicate the liberty of Christians, and to secure them from all outward impositions and ordinances, he maintains that the whole Mosaic law is abolished, so that no part is binding on Christians; a doctrine which may startle many who believe that the moral precepts of that law are as binding now as ever. But such persons differ little in reality from Milton, whose true meaning is, that these precepts bind Christians, not through the authority of Moses, which is wholly done away, but only because they are taken up and incorporated into Christianity, which is our only law, and which has set forth whatever was permanently valuable in Judaism in a more perfect form, and with more powerful sanctions.

As another branch of the Liberty of Christians, he maintains, as we may well suppose, the right of every believer to consult the Scriptures and to judge of them for himself. Not satisfied with this, he takes the ground of Quakerism, and maintains that the Christian, in addition to the Scriptures, has an inward guide, with which no human authority should interfere.

'Under the Gospel we possess, as it were, a twofold scripture, one external, which is the written word, and the other internal, which is the Holy Spirit, written in the hearts of believers, according to the promise of God, and with the intent that it should by no means be

neglected.' Vol. II. p. 172. 'The external scripture * * * has been liable to frequent corruption, and in some instances has been corrupted, through the number, and occasionally the bad faith of those by whom it has been handed down, the variety and discrepancy of the original manuscripts and the additional diversity produced by subsequent transcripts and printed editions. But the Spirit which leads to truth cannot be corrupted, neither is it easy to deceive a man who is really spiritual.' p. 173. 'It is difficult to conjecture the purpose of Providence in committing the writings of the New Testament to such uncertain and variable guardianship, unless it were to teach us by this very circumstance, that the Spirit which is given to us is a more certain guide than Scripture, whom, therefore, it is our duty to follow.' p. 174. 'Hence it follows, that when an acquiescence in human opinions or an obedience to human authority in matters of religion is exacted, in the name either of the church or of the christian magistrate, from those who are themselves led individually by the Spirit of God, this is in effect to impose a yoke, not on man, but on the Holy Spirit itself.' p. 176.

This, in words, is genuine Quakerism; but whether Milton understood by the Holy Spirit that *immediate* revelation, which forms the leading doctrine of that creed, we doubt. To this doctrine it may be objected, and we think Milton must have felt the objection, that it disparages and discourages our faculties, and produces inaction of mind, leading men to expect from a sudden flash from heaven the truth, which we are taught to seek by the right use of our own powers. We imagine, that Milton believed that the Holy Spirit works with and by our own understandings, and, instead of superseding reason, invigorates and extends it. But this is not the only place where his precise views are obscured by general expressions, or by rapid and superficial notices of subjects.

In Milton's views of the church and the ministry, we have other proofs of his construing the Scriptures in the manner most favourable to Christian Liberty. He teaches that the universal Church has no head but Christ, and that the power arrogated by popes, councils, and bishops, is gross usurpation. In regard to particular churches, he is a strict congregationalist. Each church, he says, is competent to its own government, and connected with others only by the bond of charity. No others are authorized to interfere with any of its concerns, but in the way of brotherly counsel.

'Every church consisting of the above parts,' (i. e. well instructed believers,) 'however small its numbers, is to be considered as in itself an integral and perfect church, so far as regards its religious rights; nor has it any superior on earth, whether individual, or assembly, or convention, to whom it can be lawfully required to render submission; inasmuch as no believer out of its pale, nor any order or council of men whatever, has a greater right than itself to expect a participation

in the written word and the promises, in the presence of Christ, in the presiding influence of the Spirit, and in those gracious gifts which are the reward of united prayer.'—Vol. II. p. 193.

The choice of the minister, he says, belongs to the people. The minister, if possible, should serve the church gratuitously, and live by the labour of his own hands. This unpaid service he pronounces more noble and consonant to our Lord's example and that of the Apostles. In accordance with these views, he favours the idea of a church consisting of few members.

'All that pertains to the worship of God and the salvation of believers, all, in short, that is necessary to constitute a church, may be duly and orderly transacted in a particular church, within the walls of a private house, and where the numbers assembled are inconsiderable. Nay, such a church, when in compliance with the interested views of its pastor it allows of an increase of numbers beyond what is convenient, deprives itself in a great measure of the advantages to be derived from meeting in common.'—Vol. II. p. 194.

He maintains that ministers are not to monopolize public instruction, or the administration of the ordinances; but that all Christians, having sufficient gifts, are to participate in these services.

'The custom of holding assemblies is to be maintained, not after the present mode, but according to the apostolical institution, which did not ordain that an individual, and he a stipendiary, should have the sole right of speaking from a higher place, but that each believer in turn should be authorized to speak, or prophecy, or teach, or exhort, according to his gifts; insomuch that even the weakest among the brethren had the privilege of asking questions, and consulting the elders and more experienced members of the congregation.'—Vol. II. p. 203. 'Any believer is competent to act as an *ordinary minister*, according as convenience may require, provided only he be endowed with the necessary gifts; these gifts constituting his mission.' p. 153. 'If therefore it be competent to any believer whatever to preach the gospel, provided he be furnished with the requisite gifts, it is also competent to him to administer the rite of baptism; inasmuch as the latter office is inferior to the former.' p. 157. 'With regard to the Lord's supper also, it has been shown, in the preceding chapter, that all are entitled to participate in that rite, but that the privilege of dispensing the elements is confined to no particular man, or order of men.' p. 158.

We entirely accord with the spirit of freedom which these passages breathe; but from some of the particular views we dissent. The great error of Milton lies in supposing that the primitive church was meant to be a model for all ages. But can we suppose, that the church at its birth, when it was poor, persecuted, hemmed in by Judaism and Heathenism, supplied imperfectly with written rules and records, dependent for in-

struction chiefly on inspired teachers, and composed of converts who had grown up and been steeped in Jewish and Heathen errors,—can we imagine, that in these circumstances the church took a form which it ought to retain as sacred and unalterable, in its triumphs, and prosperity, and diffusion, and in ages of greater light and refinement? We know that in the first ages there were no ministers with salaries, or edifices for public worship. Christians met in private houses, and sometimes in the obscurest they could find. On these occasions, the services were not monopolized by an individual, but shared by the fraternity; nor is there a hint in the New Testament that the administration of the Lord's Supper and Baptism was confined to the minister. But in all this we have no rule for the present day. Indeed it seems to us utterly repugnant to the idea of a universal religion, intended for all ages and nations, and for all the progressive states of society to the end of the world, to suppose that in its infancy it established an order of worship, instruction and discipline, which was to remain inviolable in all future times. This doctrine of an inflexible form, seems to us servile, superstitious, and disparaging to Christianity. Our religion is too spiritual and inward, and cares too little about its exterior, to bind itself in this everlasting chain. The acknowledged indefiniteness of the New Testament in regard to this subject, is no mean proof of the enlarged and prospective wisdom of its founder. We believe, that with the diffusion of liberal views, the question will arise, whether our religion cannot be taught and administered in methods and forms more adapted, than those which now prevail, to its spirit and great design, to the principles of human nature, and to the condition and wants of society. Among the changes which may grow from this discussion, we do not anticipate the adoption of Milton's plan of sentencing ministers to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow; for we think that we see reasons in the general spread of knowledge, for enlarging their means and opportunities of study and intellectual culture, that they may meet the increasing demand for more enlightened inculcation of Christian truth. At the same time, it seems to us not unlikely, that, in conformity to Milton's suggestion, public instruction, instead of continuing to be a monopoly of ministers, may be extended freely to men of superior intelligence and piety, and that the results of this arrangement may be, the infusion of new life, power, and practical wisdom into religious teaching, and the substitution of a more natural, free and various eloquence for the technical and monotonous mode of treating subjects, which clings so often and so obstinately to the performances of the pulpit.—Again, we do not expect,

among the changes of forms and outward worship, that Christians, to meet our author's views, will shut their churches and meet in private houses ; for large religious edifices, and large congregations seem to us among the important means of collecting and interesting in Christianity the mass of the community. But perhaps narrower associations for religious improvement may be formed, in which the formalities of public worship will be relaxed, and Christians may reap the benefits of the more familiar and confidential meetings of the primitive converts. It is indeed a great question, how the public administration of Christianity, including modes of discipline, instruction and worship, may be rendered more impressive and effectual. This field is almost untrodden ; but if we read aright the signs of the times, the day for exploring it draws nigh.

We have said that whilst we dissent from some of Milton's views on the subject of our present remarks, we agree in their spirit. It was evidently the aim of all his suggestions to strip the clergy, as they are called, of that peculiar, artificial sanctity, with which superstition had long arrayed them, and which had made their simple, benignant office one of the worst instruments of ambition and despotism. We believe that this institution will never exert its true and full power on the church and on the world, until the childish awe, with which it has been viewed, shall be exchanged for enlightened esteem ; and until men, instead of expecting from it certain mysterious, undefined influences, shall see in it a rational provision for conveying important truth, and for promoting virtue and happiness, not by magic, but according to the fixed laws of human nature.

The remainder of the 'Treatise on Christian Doctrine' furnishes topics on which we should willingly remark ; but we have only time to glance at the opinions in which Milton differs from the majority. He rejects infant baptism, and argues against it with his usual earnestness and strength. He not only affirms with many other Christians, that the fourth commandment relating to the Sabbath is abolished with the rest of the Mosaic system, but maintains, what few have done, that under the Gospel no time is appointed for public worship, but that the observance of the first day of the week rests wholly on expediency, and on the agreement of Christians. He believes, that Christ is to appear visibly for the judgment of the world, and that he will reign a thousand years on earth, at the end of which period Satan will assail the church with an innumerable confederacy, and be overwhelmed with everlasting ruin. He speaks of the judgment as beginning with Christ's second advent, and as comprehending his whole go-

vernment through the millenium, as well as the closing scene, when sentence will be pronounced on evil angels, and on the whole human race.—We have now given, we believe, all the peculiarities of Milton's faith. As for that large part of his work, in which he has accumulated scriptural proofs of doctrines and duties in which all Christians are agreed, its general tenour may be understood without further remarks.

It may now be asked, what is the value of this book? We prize it chiefly as a testimony to Milton's profound reverence for the christian religion, and an assertion of the freedom and rights of the mind. We are obliged to say, that the work throws little new light on the great subjects of which it treats. Some will say, that this ought not to surprise us; for new light is not to be looked for in the department of theology. But if this be true, our religion may be charged with the want of adaptation to our nature in an essential point; for one of the most striking features of the human mind is its thirst for constantly enlarging knowledge, and its proneness to lose its interest in subjects which it has exhausted. The chief cause of Milton's failure was, that he sought truth too exclusively in the past, and among the dead. He indeed called no man master, and disclaimed the authority of Fathers, and was evidently dissatisfied with all the sects which had preceded or were spread around him. Still he believed in the perfection of the primitive church, and that Christianity, instead of being carried forward, was to be carried *back* to its original purity. To use his own striking language, 'the lovely form of truth,' which Christians at first embraced, 'had been hewn into a thousand pieces, like the mangled body of Osiris, and scattered to the four winds;' and consequently he believed, that the great duty of her friends was 'to gather up limb by limb, and bring together every joint and member.' In conformity with this doctrine, he acted too much as an eclectic theologian, culling something from almost every sect, and endeavouring to form an harmonious system from materials 'gathered from the four winds.' He would have done better, had he sought truth less in other minds, and more in the communion of his own soul with Scripture, Nature, God, and itself. The fact is, that the church, from its beginning, has been imperfect in knowledge and practice, and our business is, not to rest in the past, but to use it as a means of a purer and brighter futurity. Christianity began to be corrupted at its birth, to be debased by earthly mixtures, as soon as it touched the earth. The seeds of that corruption which grew and shot up into the overshadowing despotism of papal Rome, were sown in the age of the Apostles, as we learn in the Epistles; and we

infer from the condition of the world, that nothing but a stupendous moral miracle, subverting all the laws of the human mind, could have prevented their developement. Who, that understands human nature, does not know, that old associations are not broken up in a moment; that to minds, plunged in a midnight of error, truth must gradually open like the dawning day; that old views will mingle with the new; that old ideas, which we wish to banish, will adhere to the old words to which they were formerly attached; and that the sudden and entire eradication of long-rooted errors would be equivalent to the creation of a new intellect? How long did the Apostles, under Christ's immediate tuition, withstand his instructions? Even Peter, after the miraculous illumination of the day of Pentecost, remained ignorant, until the message from Cornelius, of that glorious feature of Christianity, the abolition of the Jewish peculiarity, and the equal participation of the Gentiles with the Jews in the blessings of the Messiah. As soon as Christianity was preached, it was blended with Judaism, which had power to neutralize the authority of Paul in many churches. In like manner, it soon began to be 'spoiled' of its simplicity 'by philosophy and science falsely so called,' and to be encumbered by pagan ceremonies. The first Christians were indeed brought into 'wonderful light,' if their christian state be compared with the darkness from which they had emerged; but not if compared with the perfection of knowledge to which Christ came to exalt the human race. The earliest Fathers, as we learn from their works, were not receptive of large communications of truth. Their writings abound in puerilities and marks of childish credulity, and betray that indistinctness of vision, which is experienced by men, who issue from thick darkness into the light of day. In the ages of barbarism, which followed the fall of the Roman empire, Christianity, though it answered wise purposes of Providence, was more and more disfigured and obscured. The Reformation was indeed a glorious era; but glorious for its reduction of papal and clerical power, and for the partial liberation of the mind, rather than for immediate improvements of men's apprehensions of Christianity. Some of the reformers invented or brought back as injurious errors as those they overthrew. Luther's consubstantiation differed from the pope's transubstantiation by a syllable, and that was all the gain; and we may safely say, that transubstantiation was a less monstrous doctrine than the five points of Calvin. How vain, therefore, was Milton's search for 'the mangled Osiris,' for 'the lovely form and immortal features of truth,' in the history of the church!

Let us not be misunderstood, as if we would cut off the pre-

sent age from the past. We mean not, that Milton should have neglected the labours of his predecessors. He believed justly, that all the periods and generations of the human family are bound together by a sublime connexion, and that the wisdom of each age is chiefly a derivation from all preceding ages, not excepting the most ancient, just as a noble stream, through its whole extent and in its widest overflowings, still holds communication with its infant springs, gushing out perhaps in the depths of distant forests, or on the heights of solitary mountains. We only mean to say, that the stream of religious knowledge is to swell and grow through its whole course, and to receive new contributions from gifted minds in successive generations. We only regret that Milton did not draw more from the deep and full fountains of his own soul. We wish only to teach, that antiquity was the infancy of our race, and that its acquisitions, instead of being rested in, are to bear us onward to new heights of truth and virtue. We mean not to complain of Milton for not doing more. He rendered to mankind a far greater service than that of a teacher of an improved theology. He taught and exemplified that spirit of intellectual freedom, through which all the great conquests of truth are to be achieved, and by which the human mind is to attain to a new consciousness of its sublime faculties, and to invigorate and expand itself forever.

We here close our remarks on Milton. In offering this tribute, we have aimed at something higher than to express and gratify our admiration of an eminent man. We believe that an enlightened and exalted mind is a brighter manifestation of God than the outward universe; and we have set forth, as we have been able, the praises of an illustrious servant of the Most High, that, through him, glory may redound to the Father of all spirits, the Fountain of all wisdom and magnanimous virtue. And still more; we believe that the sublime intelligence of Milton was imparted, not for his own sake only, but to awaken kindred virtue and greatness in other souls. Far from regarding him as standing alone and unapproachable, we believe that he is an illustration of what all, who are true to their nature, will become in the progress of their being; and we have held him forth, not to excite an ineffectual admiration, but to stir up our own and others' breasts to an exhilarating pursuit of high and ever-growing attainments in intellect and virtue.

REMARKS

ON THE

CHARACTER

OF

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE,

OCCASIONED

BY THE PUBLICATION OF

SCOTT'S LIFE OF NAPOLEON.

By W. E. CHANNING, LL. D.

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NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

THE Life of Napoleon Bonaparte by Sir Walter Scott has been anticipated with an eagerness, proportioned to the unrivalled power of the author, and to the wonderful endowments and fortunes of the hero. That the general expectation has been satisfied, we cannot affirm. But few will deny, that the writer has given us a monument of his great talents. The rapidity with which such a work has been thrown off astonishes us. We think, however, that the author owed to himself and to the public a more deliberate execution of this important undertaking. He should either have abandoned it, or have bestowed on it the long and patient labour which it required. The marks of negligence and haste, which are spread through the work, are serious blemishes, perhaps inextinguishable defects. It wants compression and selection throughout. Many passages are encumbered with verbiage. Many thoughts are weakened by useless expansion and worse than useless repetition. Comparisons are accumulated to excess, and whilst many are exquisite, perhaps as many are trite and unworthy of history. The remarks are generally just, but obvious, and, we fear we must add, often superficial. We state these defects plainly, that we may express the more freely our admiration of the talents, which have executed so rapidly, a work so extensive and various, so rich in information, so fresh and vivid in description, and furnishing such abundant specimens of a free, graceful, and vigorous style.

The work has the great merit of impartiality. It is probably inaccurate in many of its details, but singularly free from prejudice and passion. Not a few, who considered that the author was both a Briton and a friend of the principles and policy of Pitt, were expecting from his pen a discoloured delineation of the implacable foe of England and of that great minister. But the rectitude of his mind, and his reverence for historical truth, have effectually preserved him from abusing the great power, conferred on him by his talents, over public opinion. We think that his laudable fear of wronging the enemy of his country,

joined to an admiration of the dazzling qualities of Napoleon, has led him to soften unduly the crimes of his hero, and to give more favourable impressions than truth will warrant.

But enough of the author, who needs not our praise, and can suffer little by our censure. Our concern is with his subject. A just estimate of the late emperor of France seems to us important. That extraordinary man, having operated on the world with unprecedented power during his life, is now influencing it by his character. That character, we apprehend, is not viewed as it should be. The kind of admiration which it inspires, even in free countries, is a bad omen. The greatest crime against society, that of spoiling it of its rights and loading it with chains, still fails to move that deep abhorrence, which is its due ; and which, if really felt, would fix on the usurper a brand of indelible infamy. Regarding freedom as the chief interest of human nature, as essential to its intellectual, moral, and religious progress, we look on men who have signalized themselves by their hostility to it, with an indignation at once stern and sorrowful, which no glare of successful war, and no admiration of the crowd, can induce us to suppress. We mean then to speak freely of Napoleon. But if we know ourselves, we could on no account utter one unjust reproach. We speak the more freely, because conscious of exemption from every feeling like animosity. We war not with the dead. We would resist only what we deem the pernicious influence of the dead. We would devote ourselves to the cause of freedom and humanity, a cause perpetually betrayed by the admiration lavished on prosperous crime and all-grasping ambition. Our great topic will be the Character of Napoleon ; and with this we shall naturally intersperse reflections on the great interests which he perpetually influenced.

We begin with observing, that it is an act of justice to Bonaparte to remember, that he grew up under disastrous influences, in a troubled day, when men's minds were convulsed, old institutions overthrown, old opinions shaken, old restraints snapped asunder ; when the authority of religion was spurned, and youth abandoned to unwonted license ; when the imagination was made feverish by visions of indistinct good, and the passions swelled by the sympathy of millions to a resistless torrent. A more dangerous school for the character cannot well be conceived. That Allseeing Being, who knows the trials of his creatures and the secrets of the heart, can alone judge to what

degree crimes are extenuated by circumstances so inauspicious. This we must remember in reviewing the history of men, who were exposed to trials unknown to ourselves. But because the turpitude of an evil agent is diminished by infelicities of education or condition, we must not therefore confound the immutable distinctions of right and wrong, and withhold our reprobation from atrocities which have spread misery and slavery far and wide.

It is also due to Napoleon to observe, that there has always existed, and still exists, a mournful obtuseness of moral feeling in regard to the crimes of military and political life. The wrongdoing of public men on a large scale, has never drawn upon them that sincere, hearty abhorrence which visits private vice. Nations have seemed to court aggression and bondage, by their stupid, insane admiration of successful tyrants. The wrongs, from which men have suffered most, in body and mind, are yet unpunished. True, Christianity has put into our lips censures on the aspiring and the usurping. But these reproaches are as yet little more than sounds, and unmeaning commonplaces. They are repeated for form's sake. When we read or hear them, we feel that they want depth and strength. They are not inward, solemn, burning convictions, breaking from the indignant soul with a tone of reality, before which guilt would cower. The true moral feeling in regard to the crimes of public men is almost to be created. We believe, then, that such a character as Bonaparte's, is formed with very little consciousness of its turpitude; and society, which contributes so much to its growth, is responsible for its existence, and merits in part the misery which it spreads.

Of the early influences, under which Bonaparte was formed, we know little. He was educated in a military school, and this, we apprehend, is not an institution to form much delicacy or independence of moral feeling; for the young soldier is taught, as his first duty, to obey his superior without consulting his conscience; to take human life at another's bidding; to perform that deed, which above all others requires deliberate conviction, without a moment's inquiry as to its justice, and to place himself a passive instrument in hands, which, as all history teaches, often reek with blood causelessly shed.

His first political association was with the Jacobins, the most

sanguinary of all the factions which raged in France, and whose sway is emphatically called 'the reign of terror.' The service which secured his command in Italy, was the turning of his artillery on the people, who, however dangerous when acting as a mob, happened in the present case to understand their rights, and were directing their violence against manifest usurpation.

His first campaign was in Italy, and we have still a vivid recollection of the almost rapturous admiration, with which we followed his first triumphs ; for then we were simple enough to regard him as the chosen guardian of liberty. His peculiar tactics were not then understood ; the secret of his success had not reached us ; and his rapid victories stimulated the imagination to invest him with the mysterious powers of a hero of romance. We confess that we cannot now read the history of his Italian wars without a quickened movement in the veins. The rapidity of his conceptions ; the inexhaustibleness of his invention ; the energy of his will ; the decision which suffered not a moment's pause between the purpose and its execution ; the presence of mind, which, amidst sudden reverses and on the brink of ruin, devised the means of safety and success ; these commanding attributes, added to a courage which, however suspected afterwards, never faltered then, compel us to bestow, what indeed we have no desire to withhold, the admiration which is due to superior power.

Let not the friends of peace be offended. We have said, and we repeat it, that we have no desire to withhold our admiration from the energies, which war often awakens. Great powers, even in their perversion, attest a glorious nature, and we may feel their grandeur, whilst we condemn, with our whole strength of moral feeling, the evil passions by which they are depraved. We are willing to grant that war, abhor it as we may, often develops and places in strong light, a force of intellect and purpose, which raises our conceptions of the human soul. There is perhaps no moment in life, in which the mind is brought into such intense action, in which the will is so strenuous, and in which irrepressible excitement is so tempered with self-possession, as in the hour of battle. Still the greatness of the warrior is poor and low, compared with the magnanimity of virtue. It vanishes before the greatness of principle. The martyr to humanity, to freedom, or religion ; the unshrinking adherent of despised and deserted truth ; who, alone, unsupported, and

scorned, with no crowd to infuse into him courage, no variety of objects to draw his thoughts from himself, no opportunity of effort or resistance to rouse and nourish energy, still yields himself calmly, resolutely, with invincible philanthropy, to bear prolonged and exquisite suffering, which one retracting word might remove, such a man is as superior to the warrior, as the tranquil and boundless heavens above us, to the low earth we tread beneath our feet.

We have spoken of the energies of mind called forth by war. If we may be allowed a short digression, which however bears directly on our main subject, the merits of Napoleon, we would observe, that military talent, even of the highest order, is far from holding the first place among intellectual endowments. It is one of the lower forms of genius ; for it is not conversant with the highest and richest objects of thought. We grant that a mind, which takes in a wide country at a glance, and understands almost by intuition the positions it affords for a successful campaign, is a comprehensive and vigorous one. The general, who disposes his forces so as to counteract a greater force ; who supplies by skill, science, and genius, the want of numbers ; who dives into the counsels of his enemy, and who gives unity, energy, and success to a vast sphere of operations, in the midst of casualties and obstructions which no wisdom could foresee, manifests great power. But still the chief work of a general is to apply physical force ; to remove physical obstructions ; to avail himself of physical aids and advantages ; to act on matter ; to overcome rivers, ramparts, mountains, and human muscles ; and these are not the highest objects of mind, nor do they demand intelligence of the highest order ; and accordingly nothing is more common than to find men, eminent in this department, who are almost wholly wanting in the noblest energies of the soul ; in imagination and taste, in the capacity of enjoying works of genius, in large views of human nature, in the moral sciences, in the application of analysis and generalization to the human mind and to society, and in original conceptions on the great subjects which have absorbed the most glorious understandings. The office of a great general does not differ widely from that of a great mechanician, whose business it is to frame new combinations of physical forces, to adapt them to new circumstances, and to remove new obstructions. Accordingly, great generals, away from the camp, are commonly no greater men than the

mechanician taken from his workshop. In conversation they are often dull. Works of profound thinking on general and great topics, they cannot comprehend. The conqueror of Napoleon, the hero of Waterloo, undoubtedly possesses great military talents ; but we have never heard of his eloquence in the senate, or of his sagacity in the cabinet ; and we venture to say, that he will leave the world, without adding one new thought on the great themes, on which the genius of philosophy and legislature has meditated for ages. We will not go down for illustration to such men as Nelson, a man great on the deck, but debased by gross vices, and who never pretended to enlargement of intellect. To institute a comparison in point of talent and genius between such men and Milton, Bacon, and Shakspeare, is almost an insult on these illustrious names. Who can think of these truly great intelligences ; of the range of their minds through heaven and earth ; of their deep intuition into the soul ; of their new and glowing combinations of thought ; of the energy with which they grasped and subjected to their main purpose, the infinite materials of illustration which nature and life afford ; who can think of the forms of transcendent beauty and grandeur which they created, or which were rather emanations of their own minds ; of the calm wisdom and fervid impetuous imagination which they conjoined ; of the dominion which they have exerted over so many generations, and which time only extends and makes sure ; of the voice of power, in which, though dead, they still speak to nations, and awaken intellect, sensibility, and genius, in both hemispheres ; who can think of such men, and not feel the immense inferiority of the most gifted warrior, whose elements of thought are physical forces and physical obstructions, and whose employment is the combination of the lowest class of objects on which a powerful mind can be employed ?

We return to Napoleon. His splendid victories in Italy spread his name like lightning through the civilized world. Unhappily they emboldened him to those unprincipled and open aggressions, to the indulgence of that lawless, imperious spirit, which marked his future course, and kept pace with his growing power. In his victorious career, he soon came in contact with States, some of which, as Tuscany and Venice, had acknowledged the French Republic, whilst others, as Parma and Modena, had observed a strict neutrality. The old-fashioned

laws of nations, under which such states would have found shelter, seemed never to have crossed the mind of the young victor. Not satisfied with violating the neutrality of all, he seized the port of Leghorn, and ruined the once flourishing commerce of Tuscany ; and having exacted heavy tribute from Parma and Modena, he compelled these powers to surrender, what had hitherto been held sacred in the utmost extremities of war, some of their choicest pictures, the chief ornaments of their capitals. We are sometimes told of the good done by Napoleon to Italy. But we have heard his name pronounced as indignantly there as here. An Italian cannot forgive him for robbing that country of its noblest works of art, its dearest treasures and glories, which had made it a land of pilgrimage to men of taste and genius from the whole civilized world, and which had upheld and solaced its pride under conquest and humiliation. From this use of power in the very dawn of his fortunes, it might easily have been foretold, what part he would act in the stormy day which was approaching, when the sceptre of France and Europe was to be offered to any strong hand, which should be daring enough to grasp it.

Next to Italy, Egypt became the stage for the display of Napoleon ; Egypt, a province of the Grand Seignior, with whom France was in profound peace, and who, according to the long established relations of Europe, was her natural ally. It would seem, that this expedition was Bonaparte's own project. His motives are not very distinctly stated by his biographer. We doubt not that his great aim was conspicuousness. He chose a theatre where all eyes could be turned upon him. He saw that the time for usurpation had not yet come in France. To use his own language, ' the fruit was not yet ripe.' He wanted a field of action which would draw upon him the gaze of the world, and from which he might return at the favourable moment for the prosecution of his enterprises at home. At the same time he undoubtedly admitted into his mind, which success had already intoxicated, some vague wild hope of making an impression on the Eastern world, which might place its destinies at his command, and give him a throne more enviable than Europe could bestow. His course in the East exhibited the same lawlessness, the same contempt of all restraints on his power, which we have already noted. No means, which promised success, were thought the worse for their guilt. It was not enough for him to

boast of his triumphs over the cross, or to profess Mahometanism. He claimed inspiration, and a commission from God, and was anxious to join the character of prophet to that of hero. This was the beginning of the great errors into which he was betrayed by that spirit of self-exaggeration, which, under the influence of past success and of unbounded flattery, was already growing into a kind of insanity. In his own view he was fit to be a compeer with Mahomet. His greatness in his own eyes made him blind to the folly of urging his supernatural claims on the Turk, who contemned, even more than he abhorred, a Frank; and who would sooner have sold himself a slave to Christians, than have acknowledged a renegade Christian as a sharer of the glories of Mahomet. It was not enough for Bonaparte, on this expedition, to insult God, to show an impiety as foolish as it was daring. He proceeded to trample on the sentiments and dictates of humanity with equal hardihood. The massacre of Jaffa is universally known. Twelve hundred prisoners, and probably more, who had surrendered themselves to Napoleon, and were apparently admitted to quarter, were two days afterwards marched out of the fort, divided into small bodies, and then deliberately shot, and, in case the musket was not effectual, were despatched by bayonets. This was an outrage, which cannot be sheltered by the laws and usages of war, barbarous as they are. It was the deed of a bandit and savage, and ought to be execrated by good men, who value and would preserve the mitigations which Christianity has infused into the conduct of national hostilities.

The next great event in Bonaparte's history was the usurpation of the supreme power of the state, and the establishment of military despotism over France. On the particulars of this criminal act we have no desire to enlarge, nor are we anxious to ascertain, whether our hero, on this occasion, lost his courage and self-possession, as he is reported to have done. We are more anxious to express our convictions of the turpitude of this outrage on liberty and justice. For this crime but one apology can be offered. Napoleon, it is said, seized the reins, when, had he let them slip, they would have fallen into other hands. He enslaved France at a moment, when, had he spared her, she would have found another tyrant. Admitting the truth of the plea, what is it but the reasoning of the highwayman, who robs and murders the traveller, because the booty was about to be seized by another hand, or because another dagger was ready to do the

bloody deed? We are aware that the indignation, with which we regard this crime of Napoleon, will find a response in few breasts; for to the multitude a throne is a temptation which no virtue can be expected to withstand. But moral truth is immoveable amidst the sophistry, ridicule, and abject reasonings of men, and the time will come, when it will find a meet voice to give it utterance. Of all crimes against society, usurpation is the blackest. He who lifts a parricidal hand against his country's rights and freedom; who plants his foot on the necks of thirty millions of his fellow creatures; who concentrates in his single hand the powers of a mighty empire, and who wields its powers, squanders its treasures, and pours forth its blood like water, to make other nations slaves and the world his prey; this man, as he unites all crimes in his sanguinary career, so he should be set apart by the human race for their unmingled and unmeasured abhorrence, and should bear on his guilty head a mark as opprobrious as that which the first murderer wore. We cannot think with patience of one man fastening chains on a whole people, and subjecting millions to his single will; of whole regions overshadowed by the tyranny of a frail being like ourselves. In anguish of spirit we exclaim, How long will an abject world kiss the foot which tramples it? How long shall crime find shelter in its very aggravations and excess?

Perhaps it may be said, that our indignation seems to light on Napoleon, not so much because he was a despot, as because he became a despot by usurpation; that we seem not to hate tyranny itself, so much as a particular mode of gaining it. We do indeed regard usurpation as a crime of peculiar blackness, especially when committed, as in the case of Napoleon, in the name of liberty. All despotism, however, whether usurped or hereditary, is our abhorrence. We regard it as the most grievous wrong and insult to the human race. But towards the hereditary despot we have more of compassion than indignation. Nursed and brought up in delusion, worshipped from his cradle, never spoken to in the tone of fearless truth, taught to look on the great mass of his fellow beings as an inferior race, and to regard despotism as a law of nature and a necessary element of social life; such a prince, whose education and condition almost deny him the possibility of acquiring healthy moral feeling and manly virtue, must not be judged severely. Still, in absolving the despot from much of the guilt which seems at first to attach to

his unlawful and abused power, we do not the less account despotism a wrong and a curse. The time for its fall, we trust, is coming. It cannot fall too soon. It has long enough wrung from the labourer his hard earnings; long enough squandered a nation's wealth on its parasites and minions; long enough warred against the freedom of the mind, and arrested the progress of truth. It has filled dungeons enough with the brave and good, and shed enough of the blood of patriots. Let its end come. It cannot come too soon.

We have now followed Bonaparte to the moment of possessing himself of the supreme power. Those who were associated with him in subverting the government of the Directory, essayed to lay restraints on the First Consul, who was to take their place. But he indignantly repelled them. He held the sword, and with this, not only intimidated the selfish, but awed and silenced the patriotic, who saw too plainly, that it could only be wrested from him by renewing the horrors of the revolution.—We now proceed to consider some of the means, by which he consolidated his power, and raised it into the imperial dignity. We consider these as much more important illustrations of his character than his successive campaigns, to which accordingly we shall give little attention.

One of his first measures for giving stability to his power, was certainly a wise one, and was obviously dictated by his situation and character. Having seized the first dignity in the state by military force, and leaning on a devoted soldiery, he was under no necessity of binding himself to any of the parties which had distracted the country,—a vassalage to which his domineering spirit could ill have stooped. Policy and his love of mastery pointed out to him an indiscriminate employment of the leading men of all parties; and not a few of these had become so selfish and desperate in the disastrous progress of the revolution, that they were ready to break up old connexions, and to divide the spoils of the Republic with a master. Accordingly he adopted a system of comprehension and lenity, from which even the emigrants were not excluded, and had the satisfaction of seeing almost the whole talent which the revolution had quickened, leagued in the execution of his plans. Under the able men whom he called to his aid, the finances and the war department, which had fallen into a confusion that threatened ruin to the state, were soon restored to order, and means and forces pro-

vided for retrieving the recent defeats and disgraces of the French armies.

This leads us to mention another and most important and effectual means by which Napoleon secured and enlarged his power. We refer to the brilliant campaign immediately following his elevation to the Consulate, and which restored to France the ascendancy which she had lost during his absence. On his success at this juncture his future fortunes wholly depended. It was in this campaign that he proved himself the worthy rival of Hannibal. The energy which conducted an army, with its cavalry, artillery, and supplies, across the Alps, by untried paths, which only the chamois hunter, born and bred amidst glaciers and everlasting snows, had trodden, gave the impression, which of all others he most desired to spread, of his superiority to nature, as well as to human opposition. This enterprise was in one view a fearful omen to Europe. It showed a power over the minds of his soldiers, the effects of which were not to be calculated. The conquest of St. Bernard by a French army was the boast of the nation; but a still more wonderful thing was, the capacity of the general to inspire into that army the intense force, confidence, resolution, and patience, by which alone the work could be accomplished. The victory of Marengo, gained by one of the accidents of war in the moment of apparent defeat and ruin, secured to Bonaparte the dominion which he coveted. France, who, in her madness and folly, had placed her happiness in conquest, now felt that the glory of her arms was safe only in the hands of the First Consul; whilst the soldiery, who held the sceptre in their gift, became more thoroughly satisfied, that triumph and spoils waited on his standard.

Another important and essential means of securing and building up his power, was the system of *espionage*, called the Police, which, under the Directory, had received a development worthy of those friends of freedom, but which was destined to be perfected by the wisdom of Napoleon. It would seem as if despotism, profiting by the experience of ages, had put forth her whole skill and resources in forming the French police, and had forged a weapon, never to be surpassed, for stifling the faintest breathings of disaffection, and chaining every free thought. This system of *espionage*, (we are proud that we have no English word for the infernal machine,) had indeed been used under all tyrannies. But it wanted the craft of Fouché, and the energy

of Bonaparte, to disclose all its powers. In the language of our author, 'it spread through all the ramifications of society;' that is, every man, of the least importance in the community, had the eye of a spy upon him. He was watched at home as well as abroad, in the boudoir and theatre, in the brothel and gaming house; and these last named haunts furnished not a few ministers of the Argus-eyed police. There was an ear open through all France to catch the whispers of discontent; a power of evil, which aimed to rival, in omnipresence and invisibleness, the benignant agency of the Deity. Of all instruments of tyranny, this is the most detestable; for it chills the freedom and warmth of social intercourse; locks up the heart; infects and darkens men's minds with mutual jealousies and fears; and reduces to system a wary dissimulation, subversive of force and manliness of character. We find, however, some consolation in learning that tyrants are the prey of distrust, as well as the people over whom they set this cruel guard; that tyrants cannot confide in their own spies, but must keep watch over the machinery which we have described, lest it recoil upon themselves. Bonaparte at the head of an army is a dazzling spectacle; but Bonaparte, heading a horde of spies, compelled to doubt and fear these base instruments of his power, compelled to divide them into bands, and to receive daily reports from each, so that, by balancing them against each other and sifting their testimony, he might gather the truth; Bonaparte, thus employed, is any thing but imposing. It requires no great elevation of thought to look down on such an occupation with scorn; and we see, in the anxiety and degradation which it involves, the beginning of that retribution which tyranny cannot escape.

Another means by which the First Consul protected his power can excite no wonder. That he should fetter the press, should banish or imprison refractory editors, should subject the journals and more important works of literature to jealous superintendence, these were things of course. Free writing and despotism are such implacable foes, that we hardly think of blaming a tyrant for keeping no terms with the press. He cannot do it. He might as reasonably choose a volcano for the foundation of his throne. Necessity is laid upon him, unless he is in love with ruin, to check the bold and honest expression of thought. But the necessity is his own choice; and let infamy be that man's portion, who seizes a power which he cannot sustain, but by

dooming the mind, through a vast empire, to slavery, and by turning the press, that great organ of truth, into an instrument of public delusion and debasement.

We pass to another means of removing obstructions to his power and ambition, still worse than the last. We refer to the terror which he spread by his severities, just before assuming the imperial power. The murder of the Duke d'Enghien was justified by Napoleon as a method of striking fear into the Bourbons, who, as he said, were plotting his death. This may have been one motive; for we have reason to think that he was about that time threatened with assassination. But we believe still more, that he intended to awe into acquiescence the opposition, which, he knew, would be awakened in many breasts, by the prostration of the forms of the republic, and the open assumption of the imperial dignity. There were times when Bonaparte disclaimed the origination of the murder of the Duke d'Enghien. But no other could have originated it. It bears internal marks of its author. The boldness, decision, and overpowering rapidity of the crime, point unerringly to the soul where it was conceived. We believe that one great recommendation of this murder was, that it would strike amazement and terror into France and Europe, and show that he was prepared to shed any blood, and to sweep before him every obstruction, in his way to absolute power. Certain it is, that the open murder of the Duke d'Enghien, and the justly suspected assassinations of Pichegru and Wright, did create a dread, such as had not been felt before; and whilst on previous occasions some faint breathings of liberty were to be heard in the legislative bodies, only one voice, that of Carnot, was raised against investing Bonaparte with the imperial crown, and laying France, an unprotected victim, at his feet.

There remain for our consideration other means employed by Bonaparte for building up and establishing his power, of a different character from those we have named, and which on this account we cannot pass without notice. One of these was the Concordat which he extorted from the Pope, and which professed to re-establish the Catholic religion in France. Our religious prejudices have no influence on our judgment of this measure. We make no objections to it, as the restoration of a worship which on many accounts we condemn. We view it now simply as an instrument of policy, and in this light, it seems to us no proof of the sagacity of Bonaparte. It helps to confirm in us an

impression, which other parts of his history give us, that he did not understand the peculiar character of his age, and the peculiar and original policy which it demanded. He always used common-place means of power, although the unprecedented times in which he lived, required a system, which should combine untried resources, and touch new springs of action. Because old governments had found a convenient prop in religion, Napoleon imagined that it was a necessary appendage and support of his sway, and resolved to restore it. But at this moment there were no foundations in France for a religious establishment, which could give strength and a character of sacredness to the supreme power. There was comparatively no faith, no devout feeling, and, still more, no superstition to supply the place of these. The time for the reaction of the religious principle had not yet arrived ; and a more likely means of retarding it could hardly have been devised, than the nursing care extended to the church by Bonaparte, the recent Mussulman, the known despiser of the ancient faith, who had no worship at heart but the worship of himself. Instead of bringing religion to the aid of the state, it was impossible that such a man should touch it, without loosening the faint hold which it yet retained on the people. There were none so ignorant as to be the dupes of the First Consul in this particular. Every man, woman, and child knew that he was playing the part of a juggler. Not one religious association could be formed with his character or government. It was a striking proof of the self-exaggerating vanity of Bonaparte, and of his ignorance of the higher principles of human nature, that he not only hoped to revive and turn to his account the old religion, but imagined, that he could, if necessary, have created a new one. ‘ Had the Pope never existed before, he should have been made for the occasion,’ was the speech of this political charlatan ; as if religious opinion and feeling were things to be manufactured by a consular decree. Ancient legislators, by adopting and sympathizing with popular and rooted superstitions, were able to press them into the service of their institutions. They were wise enough to build on a pre-existing faith, and studiously to conform to it. Bonaparte, in a country of infidelity and atheism, and whilst unable to refrain from sarcasms on the system which he patronized, was weak enough to believe that he might make it a substantial support of his government. He undoubtedly congratulated himself on the terms, which he exacted from the Pope, and

which had never been conceded to the most powerful monarchs ; forgetting that his apparent success was the defeat of his plans ; for just as far as he severed the church from the supreme pontiff, and placed himself conspicuously at its head, he destroyed the only connexion which could give it influence. Just so far its power over opinion and conscience ceased. It became a coarse instrument of state, contemned by the people, and serving only to demonstrate the aspiring views of its master. Accordingly the French bishops in general refused to hold their dignities under this new head, preferred exile to the sacrifice of the rights of the church, and left behind them a hearty abhorrence of the Concordat among the more zealous members of their communion. Happy would it have been for Napoleon, had he left the Pope and the church to themselves. By occasionally recognizing and employing, and then insulting and degrading the Roman pontiff, he exasperated a large part of Christendom, fastened on himself the brand of impiety, and awakened a religious hatred which contributed its full measure to his fall.

As another means employed by Bonaparte for giving strength and honour to his government, we may name the grandeur of his public works, which he began in his consulate and continued after his accession to the imperial dignity. These dazzled France, and still impress travellers with admiration. Could we separate these from his history, and did no other indication of his character survive, we should undoubtedly honour him with the title of a beneficent sovereign ; but connected as they are, they do little or nothing to change our conceptions of him as an all-grasping, unprincipled usurper. Paris was the chief object of these labours ; and surely we cannot wonder, that he who aimed at universal dominion, should strive to improve and adorn the metropolis of his empire. It is the practice of despots to be lavish of expense on the royal residence and the seat of government. Travellers in France, as in other countries of the continent, are struck and pained by the contrast between the magnificent capital and the mudwalled village, and uninteresting province. Bonaparte had a special motive for decorating Paris, for 'Paris is France,' as has often been observed ; and in conciliating the vanity of the great city, he secured the obedience of the whole country. The boasted internal improvements of Napoleon scarcely deserve to be named, if we compare their influence with the operation of his public measures. The conscription, which

drew from agriculture its most effective labourers, and his continental system, which sealed up every port and annihilated the commerce of his empire, drained and exhausted France to a degree, for which his artificial stimulants of industry, and his splendid projects afforded no compensation. Perhaps the most admired of all his public works, is the road over the Simplon, to which all travellers concur in giving the epithet, stupendous. But it ought not to amaze us, that he, who was aspiring at unlimited dominion, should establish communications between the different provinces of his empire. It ought not to amaze us, that he, who had scaled the glaciers of St. Bernard, should covet some easier passage for pouring his troops into Italy ; nor is it very wonderful, that a sovereign, who commanded the revenues of Europe, and who lived in an age when civil engineering had been advanced to a perfection before unknown, should accomplish a bolder enterprise than his predecessors. We would add, that Napoleon must divide with Fabbroni the glory of the road over the Simplon ; for the genius, which contrived and constructed, is more properly its author, than the will which commanded it.

There is however one great work, which gives Bonaparte a fair claim on the gratitude of posterity, and entitles him to an honourable renown. We refer to the new code of laws, which was given to France under his auspices. His participation in this work has indeed been unwarrantably and ridiculously magnified. Because he attended the meetings of the commissioners to whom it was assigned, and made some useful and sagacious suggestions, he has been praised, as if he had struck out, by the miraculous force of his genius, a new code of laws. The truth is, that he employed for this work, as he should have done, the most eminent civilians of the empire ; and it is also true that these learned men have little claim to originality ; for, as our author observes, the code 'has few peculiarities making a difference betwixt its principles and those of the Roman law.' In other words, they preferred wisdom to novelty. Still Bonaparte deserves great praise for his interest in the work, for the impulse he gave to those to whom it was committed, and for the time and thought, which, amidst the cares of a vast empire, he bestowed upon it. That his ambition incited him to this labour, we doubt not. He meant to entwine the laurels of Justinian with those of Alexander. But we will not quarrel with ambi-

tion, when it is wise enough to devote itself to the happiness of mankind. In the present case, he showed that he understood something of true glory ; and we prize the instance more, because it stands almost alone in his history. We look on the conqueror, the usurper, the spoiler of kingdoms, the insatiable despot, with disgust, and see in all these characters an essential vulgarness of mind. But when we regard him as a Fountain of Justice to a vast empire, we recognise in him a resemblance to the just and benignant Deity, and cheerfully accord to him the praise of bestowing on a nation one of the greatest gifts, and of the most important means of improvement and happiness, which it is permitted to man to confer. It was however the misery of Bonaparte, a curse brought on him by his crimes, that he could touch nothing without leaving on it the polluting mark of despotism. His usurpation took from him the power of legislating with magnanimity, where his own interest was concerned. He could provide for the administration of justice between man and man, but not between the citizen and the ruler. Political offences, the very class which ought to be submitted to a jury, were denied that mode of trial. Juries might decide on other criminal questions ; but they were not to be permitted to interpose between the despot and the ill-fated subjects, who might fall under his suspicion. These were arraigned before ' special tribunals, invested with a half military character,' the ready ministers of nefarious prosecutions, and only intended to cloak by legal forms the murderous purpose of the tyrant.

We have thus considered some of the means by which Bonaparte consolidated and extended his power. We now see him advanced to that imperial throne, on which he had long fixed his eager eye. We see France now awed and now dazzled by the influence we have described, and at last surrendering, by public, deliberate acts, without a struggle or a show of opposition, her rights, liberties, interests, and power to an absolute master and to his posterity for ever. Thus perished the name and forms of the Republic. Thus perished the hopes of philanthropy. The air, which a few years ago resounded with the shouts of a great people casting away their chains, and claiming their birthright of freedom, now rung with the servile cries of long life to a bloodstained usurper. There were indeed generous spirits, true patriots, like our own La Fayette, still left in

France. But few and scattered, they were left to shed in secret the tears of sorrowful and indignant despair. By this base and disastrous issue of their revolution, the French nation not only renounced their own rights, but brought reproach on the cause of freedom, which years cannot wash away. This is to us a more painful recollection, than all the desolations which France spread through Europe, and than her own bitter sufferings, when the hour of retribution came upon her. The fields which she laid waste are again waving with harvest ; and the groans which broke forth through her cities and villages, when her bravest sons perished by thousands and ten thousands on the snows of Russia, have died away, and her wasted population is renewed. But the wounds which she inflicted on freedom by the crimes perpetrated in that sacred name, and by the abject spirit with which that sacred cause was deserted, are still fresh and bleeding. France not only subjected herself to a tyrant, but what is worse, she has given tyranny every where new pleas and arguments, and emboldened it to preach openly, in the face of heaven, the impious doctrines of absolute power and unconditional submission.

Napoleon was now Emperor of France ; and a man unacquainted with human nature, would think that such an empire, whose bounds now extended to the Rhine, might have satisfied even an ambitious man. But Bonaparte obeyed that law of progress, to which the highest minds are peculiarly subjected ; and acquisition inflamed, instead of appeasing, the spirit of dominion. He had long proposed to himself the conquest of Europe, of the world ; and the title of Emperor added intensity to this purpose. Did we not fear, that by repetition we might impair the conviction which we are most anxious to impress, we would enlarge on the enormity of the guilt involved in the project of universal empire. Napoleon knew distinctly the price, which he must pay for the eminence which he coveted. He knew that the path to it lay over wounded and slaughtered millions, over putrefying heaps of his fellow creatures, over ravaged fields, smoking ruins, pillaged cities. He knew that his steps would be followed by the groans of widowed mothers and famished orphans ; of bereaved friendship and despairing love ; and that in addition to this amount of misery, he would create an equal amount of crime, by multiplying indefinitely the instruments and participators of his rapine and fraud. He knew the price, and resolved to pay it. But we do not insist

on a topic, which few, very few as yet, understand or feel. Turning then for the present from the moral aspect of this enterprise, we will view it in another light, which is of great importance to a just estimate of his claims on admiration. We will inquire into the nature and fitness of the measures and policy which he adopted, for compassing the subjugation of Europe and the world.

We are aware, that this discussion may expose us to the charge of great presumption. It may be said that men, having no access to the secrets of cabinets, and no participation in public affairs, are not the best judges of the policy of such a man as Napoleon. This we are not anxious to disprove, nor shall we quarrel with our readers for questioning the soundness of our opinions. But we will say, that though distant, we have not been indifferent observers of the great events of our age, and that though conscious of exposure to many errors, we have a strong persuasion of the substantial correctness of our views. We express then, without reserve, our belief, that the policy of Napoleon was wanting in sagacity, and that he proved himself incapable, as we before suggested, of understanding the character and answering the demands of his age. His system was a repetition of old means, when the state of the world was new. The sword and the police, which had sufficed him for enslaving France, were not the only powers required for his designs against the human race. Other resources were to be discovered or created; and the genius for calling them forth did not, we conceive, belong to Napoleon.

The circumstances under which Napoleon aspired to universal empire, differed in many respects from those under which former conquerors were placed. It was easy for Rome, when she had subdued kingdoms, to reduce them to provinces and to govern by force; for nations at that period were bound together by no tie. They had little communication with each other. Differences of origin, of religion, of manners, of language, of modes of warfare; differences aggravated by long and ferocious wars, and by the general want of civilization, prevented joint action, and almost all concern for one another's fate. Modern Europe, on the other hand, was an assemblage of civilized states, closely connected by commerce, by literature, by a common faith, by interchange of thoughts and improvements, and by a policy which had for ages proposed, as its chief object, the establish-

ment of such a balance of power as would secure national independence. Under these influences the human mind had made great progress ; and in truth the French revolution had resulted from an unprecedented excitement and developement of men's faculties, and from the extension of power and intelligence through a vastly wider class, than had participated in them at any former period. The very power, which Napoleon was wielding, might be traced to an enthusiasm essentially generous, and manifesting a tendency of the civilized world to better institutions. It is plain that the old plans of conquest, and the maxims of comparatively barbarous ages, did not suit such a state of society. An ambitious man was to make his way, by allying himself with the new movements and excitements of the world. The existence of a vast maritime power like England, which, by its command of the ocean and its extensive commerce, was brought into contact with every community, and which at the same time enjoyed the enviable pre-eminence of possessing the freest institutions in Europe, was of itself a sufficient motive for a great modification of the policy, by which one state was now to be placed at the head of the nations. The peculiar character and influence of England, Bonaparte seemed indeed never able to comprehend ; and the violent measures by which he essayed to tear asunder the old connections of that country with the continent, only gave them strength, by adding to the ties of interest those of sympathy, of common suffering, and common danger.

Force and corruption were the great engines of Napoleon, and he plied them without disguise or reserve, not caring how far he insulted, and armed against himself, the moral and national feelings of Europe. His great reliance was on the military spirit and energy of the French people. To make France a nation of soldiers was the first and main instrument of his policy ; and here he was successful. The revolution indeed had in no small degree done this work to his hands. To complete it, he introduced a national system of education, having for its plain end to train the whole youth of France to a military life, to familiarize the mind to this destination from its earliest years, and to associate the idea of glory almost exclusively with arms. The conscription gave full efficacy to this system ; for as every young man in the empire had reason to anticipate a summons to the army, the first object in education naturally was, to fit him for

the field. The public honours bestowed on military talent, and a rigorous impartiality in awarding promotion to merit, so that no origin, however obscure, was a bar to what were deemed the highest honours of Europe, kindled the ambition of the whole people into a flame, and directed it exclusively to the camp. It is true, the conscription, which thinned so terribly the ranks of her youth, and spread anxiety and bereavement through all her dwellings, was severely felt in France. But Napoleon knew the race whom it was his business to manage; and by the glare of victory, and the title of the Grand Empire, he succeeded in reconciling them for a time to the most painful domestic privations, and to an unexampled waste of life. Thus he secured, what he accounted the most important instrument of dominion, a great military force. But, on the other hand, the stimulants, which, for this purpose, he was forced to apply perpetually to French vanity, the ostentation with which the invincible power of France was trumpeted to the world, and the haughty vaunting style which became the most striking characteristic of that intoxicated people, were perpetual irritations of the national spirit and pride of Europe, and implanted a deep hatred towards the new and insulting empire, which waited but for a favourable moment to repay with interest the debt of humiliation.

The condition of Europe forbade, as we believe, the establishment of universal monarchy by mere physical force. The sword, however important, was now to play but a secondary part. The true course for Napoleon seems to us to have been indicated, not only by the state of Europe, but by the means which France in the beginning of her revolution had found most effectual. He should have identified himself with some great interests, opinion, or institutions, by which he might have bound to himself a large party in every nation. He should have contrived to make at least a specious cause against all old establishments. To contrast himself most strikingly and most advantageously with former governments, should have been the key of his policy. He should have placed himself at the head of a new order of things, which should have worn the face of an improvement of the social state. Nor did the subversion of republican forms prevent his adoption of this course, or of some other which would have secured to him the sympathy of multitudes. He might still have drawn some broad lines between his own administration and that of other states, tending to throw the old dynasties into the shade. He

might have cast away all the pageantry and forms of courts, distinguished himself by the simplicity of his establishments, and exaggerated the relief which he gave to his people, by saving them the burdens of a wasteful and luxurious court. He might have insisted on the great benefits that had accrued to France from the establishment of uniform laws, which protected alike all classes of men ; and he might have virtually pledged himself to the subversion of the feudal inequalities which still disfigured Europe. He might have insisted on the favourable changes to be introduced into property, by abolishing the entails which fettered it, the rights of primogeniture, and the exclusive privileges of a haughty aristocracy. He might have found abuses enough against which to array himself as a champion. By becoming the head of new institutions, which would have involved the transfer of power into new hands, and would have offered to the people a real improvement, he might every where have summoned to his standard the bold and enterprising, and might have disarmed the national prejudices to which he fell a prey. Revolution was still the true instrument of power. In a word, Napoleon lived at a period, when he could only establish a durable and universal control, through principles and institutions of some kind or other, to which he would seem to be devoted.

It was impossible, however, for such a man as Napoleon, to adopt, perhaps to conceive, a system such as has now been traced ; for it was wholly at war with that egotistical, self-relying, self-exaggerating principle, which was the most striking feature of his mind. He imagined himself able, not only to conquer nations, but to hold them together by the awe and admiration which his own character would inspire ; and this bond he preferred to every other. . An indirect sway, a control of nations by means of institutions, principles, or prejudices, of which he was to be only the apostle and defender, was utterly inconsistent with that vehemence of will, that passion for astonishing mankind, and that persuasion of his own invincibleness, which were his master feelings, and which made force his darling instrument of dominion. He chose to be the great, palpable, and sole bond of his empire ; to have his image reflected from every establishment ; to be the centre, in which every ray of glory should meet and from which every impulse should be propagated. In consequence of this egotism, he never dreamed of adapting himself to the moral condition of the world. The sword was his

chosen weapon, and he used it without disguise. He insulted nations as well as sovereigns. He did not attempt to gild their chains, or to fit the yoke gently to their necks. The excess of his extortions, the audacity of his claims, and the insolent language in which Europe was spoken of as the vassal of the great empire, discovered, that he expected to reign, not only without linking himself with the interests, prejudices, and national feelings of men, but by setting all at defiance.

It would be easy to point out a multitude of instances in which he sacrificed the only policy by which he could prevail, to the persuasion, that his own greatness could more than balance whatever opposition his violence might awaken. In an age in which Christianity was exerting some power, there was certainly a degree of deference due to the moral convictions of society. But Napoleon thought himself more than a match for the moral instincts and sentiments of our nature. He thought himself able to cover the most atrocious deeds by the splendour of his name, and even to extort applause for crimes by the brilliancy of his success. He took no pains to conciliate esteem. In his own eyes he was mightier than conscience; and thus he turned against himself the power and resentment of virtue, in every breast where that divine principle yet found a home.

Through the same blinding egotism, he was anxious to fill the thrones of Europe with men bearing his own name, and to multiply every where images of himself. Instead of placing over conquered countries efficient men, taken from themselves, who, by upholding better institutions, would carry with them large masses of the people, and who would still, by their hostility to the old dynasties, link their fortunes with his own, he placed over nations such men as Jerome and Murat. He thus spread a jealousy of his power, whilst he rendered it insecure; for as none of the princes of his creation, however well disposed, were allowed to identify themselves with their subjects, and to take root in the public heart, but were compelled to act, openly and without disguise, as satellites and prefects of the French Emperor; they gained no hold on their subjects, and could bring no strength to their master in his hour of peril. In none of his arrangements did Napoleon think of securing to his cause the attachment of nations. Astonishment, awe, and force were his weapons, and his own great name the chosen pillar of his throne,

So far was Bonaparte from magnifying the contrast and dis-

tinctions between himself and the old dynasties of Europe, and from attaching men to himself by new principles and institutions, that he had the great weakness, for so we view it, to revive the old forms of monarchy, and to ape the manners of the old court, and thus to connect himself with the herd of legitimate sovereigns. This was not only to rob his government of that imposing character which might have been given to it, and of that interest which it might have inspired, as an improvement on former institutions, but was to become competitor in a race in which he could not but be distanced. He could indeed pluck crowns from the heads of monarchs ; but he could not by any means infuse their blood into his veins, associate with himself the ideas which are attached to a long line of ancestry, or give to his court the grace of manners, which belongs to older establishments. His true policy was, to throw contempt on distinctions, which he could not rival ; and had he possessed the genius and spirit of the founder of a new era, he would have substituted for a crown, and for other long-worn badges of power, a new and simple style of grandeur, and new insignia of dignity, more consonant with an enlightened age, and worthy of one who disdained to be a vulgar king. By the policy which he adopted, if it be worthy of that name, he became a vulgar king, and showed a mind incapable of answering the wants and demands of his age. It is well known, that the progress of intelligence had done much in Europe, to weaken men's reverence for pageantry and show. Nobles had learned to lay aside their trappings in ordinary life, and to appear as gentlemen. Even royalty had begun to retrench its pomp ; and in the face of all this improvement, Bonaparte stooped from his height, to study costumes, to legislate about court dresses and court manners, and to outshine his brother monarchs in their own line. He desired to add the glory of master of ceremonies to that of conqueror of nations. In his anxiety to belong to the caste of kings, he exacted scrupulously the observance and etiquette with which they are approached. Not satisfied with this approximation to the old sovereigns, with whom he had no common interest, and from whom he could not have removed himself too far, he sought to ally himself by marriage with the royal families in Europe, to engraft himself and his posterity on an old imperial tree. This was the very way to turn back opinion into its old channels ; to carry back Europe to its old prejudices ; to facilitate the restoration of its old order ;

to preach up legitimacy; to crush every hope that he was to work a beneficent change among nations. It may seem strange, that his egotism did not preserve him from the imitation of antiquated monarchy. But his egotism was not lofty, nor was it seconded by a genius, rich and inventive, except in war.

We have now followed Napoleon to the height of his power, and given our views of the policy by which he hoped to make that power perpetual and unbounded. His fall is easily explained. It had its origin in that spirit of self-reliance and self-exaggeration, of which we have seen so many proofs. It began in Spain. That country was a province in reality. He wanted to make it one in name; to place over it a Bonaparte; to make it a more striking manifestation of his power. For this purpose, he 'kidnapped' its royal family, stirred up the unconquerable spirit of its people, and after shedding on its plains and mountains the best blood of France, lost it for ever. Next came his expedition against Russia, an expedition against which his wisest counsellors remonstrated, but which had every recommendation to a man who regarded himself as an exception to his race, and able to triumph over the laws of nature. So insane were his self-confidence and impatience of opposition, that he drove by his outrages Sweden, the old ally of France, into the arms of Russia, at the very moment that he was about to throw himself into the heart of that mighty empire. On his Russian campaign we have no desire to enlarge. Of all the mournful pages of history, none are more sad than that which records the retreat of the French army from Moscow. We remember, that when the intelligence of Napoleon's discomfiture in Russia first reached this country, we were among those who exulted in it, thinking only of the results. But when subsequent and minuter accounts brought distinctly before our eyes that unequalled army of France, broken, famished, slaughtered, seeking shelter under snowdrifts, and perishing by intense cold, we looked back on our joy with almost a consciousness of guilt, and expiated by a sincere grief our insensibility to the sufferings of our fellow creatures. We understand that many interesting notices of Napoleon, as he appeared in this disastrous campaign, are given in the *Memoirs of Count Segur*, a book, from which we have been repelled by the sorrows and miseries which it details. We can conceive few subjects more worthy of Shakspeare than the mind of Napoleon, at this moment, when his fate was sealed; when the tide

of his victories was suddenly stopped and rolled backwards ; when his dreams of invincibleness were broken as by a peal of thunder ; when the word, which had awed nations, died away, on the bleak waste, a powerless sound ; and when he, whose spirit Europe could not bound, fled in fear from a captive's dooms. The shock must have been tremendous to a mind so imperious, scornful, and unschooled to humiliation. The intense agony of that moment when he gave the unusual orders, to retreat ; the desolateness of his soul, when he saw his brave soldiers, and his chosen guards, sinking in the snows, and perishing in crowds around him ; his unwillingness to receive the details of his losses, lest self-possession should fail him ; the levity and badinage of his interview with the Abbé de Pradt at Warsaw, discovering a mind labouring to throw off an insupportable weight, wrestling with itself, struggling against misery ; and though last not least, his unconquerable purpose, still clinging to lost empire as the only good of life ; these workings of such a spirit would have furnished to the great dramatist a theme, worthy of his transcendent powers.

By the irretrievable disasters of the Russian campaign, the empire of the world was effectually placed beyond the grasp of Napoleon. The tide of conquest had ebbed, never to return. The spell which had bound the nations was dissolved. He was no longer the Invincible. The weight of military power, which had kept down the spirit of nations, was removed, and their long smothered sense of wrong and insult broke forth like the fires of a volcano. Bonaparte might still, perhaps, have secured the throne of France ; but that of Europe was gone. This, however, he did not, could not, would not understand. He had connected with himself too obstinately the character of the world's master, to be able to relinquish it. Amidst the dark omens which gathered round him, he still saw in his past wonderful escapes, and in his own exaggerated energies, the means of rebuilding his fallen power. Accordingly the thought of abandoning his pretensions does not seem to have crossed his mind, and his irreparable defeat was only a summons to new exertion. We doubt, indeed, whether Napoleon, if he could have understood fully his condition, would have adopted a different course. Though despairing, he would probably have raised new armies, and fought to the last. To a mind, which has placed its whole happiness in having no equal, the thought of descending to the level even of kings,

is intolerable. Napoleon's mind had been stretched by such ideas of universal empire, that France, though reaching from the Rhine to the Alps, seemed narrow to him. He could not be shut up in it. Accordingly, as his fortunes darkened, we see no signs of relenting. He could not wear, he said, 'a tarnished crown,' that is, a crown no brighter than those of Austria and Russia. He continued to use a master's tone. He showed no change, but such as opposition works in the obstinate. He lost his temper and grew sour. He heaped reproaches on his marshals, and the legislative body. He insulted Metternich, the statesman, on whom, above all others, his fate depended. He irritated Murat by sarcasms, which rankled within him, and accelerated, if they did not determine, his desertion of his master. It is a striking example of retribution, that the very vehemence and sternness of his will, which had borne him onward to dominion, now drove him to the rejection of terms which would have left him a formidable power, and thus made his ruin entire. Refusing to take counsel of events, he persevered in fighting with a stubbornness, which reminds us of a spoiled child, who suddenly grasps what he knows he must relinquish, struggles without hope, and does not give over resistance, until his little fingers are one by one unclenched from the object on which he has set his heart. Thus fell Napoleon. We shall follow his history no farther. His retreat to Elba, his irruption into France, his signal overthrow, and his banishment to St. Helena, though they add to the romance of his history, throw no new light on his character, and would of course contribute nothing to our present object. There are indeed incidents in this portion of his life which are somewhat inconsistent with the firmness and conscious superiority which belonged to him. But a man, into whose character so much impulse, and so little principle entered, must not be expected to preserve unblemished, in such hard reverses, the dignity and self-respect of an emperor and a hero.

In the course of these remarks, our views of the Conqueror, of the First Consul, and of the Emperor, have been given plainly and freely. The subject, however, is so important and interesting, that we have thought it worth our while, though at the hazard of some repetition, to bring together, in a narrower compass, what seem to us the great leading features of the intellectual and moral character of Napoleon Bonaparte.

His intellect was distinguished by rapidity of thought. He understood by a glance what most men, and superior men, could learn only by study. He darted to a conclusion rather by intuition than reasoning. In war, which was the only subject of which he was master, he seized in an instant on the great points of his own and his enemy's positions ; and combined at once the movements, by which an overpowering force might be thrown with unexpected fury on a vulnerable part of the hostile line, and the fate of an army be decided in a day. He understood war as a science ; but his mind was too bold, rapid, and irrepressible, to be enslaved by the technics of his profession. He found the old armies fighting by rule, and he discovered the true characteristic of genius, which, without despising rules, knows when and how to break them. He understood thoroughly the immense moral power, which is gained by originality and rapidity of operation. He astonished and paralyzed his enemies by his unforeseen and impetuous assaults, by the suddenness with which the storm of battle burst upon them ; and, whilst giving to his soldiers the advantages of modern discipline, breathed into them, by his quick and decisive movements, the enthusiasm of ruder ages. This power of disheartening the foe, and of spreading through his own ranks a confidence, and exhilarating courage, which made war a pastime, and seemed to make victory sure, distinguished Napoleon in an age of uncommon military talent, and was one main instrument of his future power.

The wonderful effects of that rapidity of thought by which Bonaparte was marked, the signal success of his new mode of warfare, and the almost incredible speed with which his fame was spread through nations, had no small influence in fixing his character and determining for a period the fate of empires. These stirring influences infused a new consciousness of his own might. They gave intensity and audacity to his ambition ; gave form and substance to his indefinite visions of glory, and raised his fiery hopes to empire. The burst of admiration, which his early career called forth, must in particular have had an influence, in imparting to his ambition that modification by which it was characterized, and which contributed alike to its success and to its fall. He began with *astonishing* the world, with producing a sudden and universal *sensation*, such as modern times had not witnessed. To *astonish* as well as to sway by his energies, became the great aim of his life. Henceforth to rule was not enough

for Bonaparte. He wanted to amaze, to dazzle, to overpower men's souls, by striking, bold, magnificent, and unanticipated results. To govern ever so absolutely would not have satisfied him, if he must have governed silently. He wanted to reign through wonder and awe, by the grandeur and terror of his name, by displays of power which would rivet on him every eye, and make him the theme of every tongue. Power was his supreme object, but a power which should be gazed at as well as felt, which should strike men as a prodigy, which should shake old thrones as an earthquake, and by the suddenness of its new creations should awaken something of the submissive wonder which miraculous agency inspires.

Such seems to us to have been the distinction, or characteristic modification of his love of fame. It was a diseased passion for a kind of admiration, which, from the principles of our nature, cannot be enduring, and which demands for its support perpetual and more stimulating novelty. Mere esteem he would have scorned. Calm admiration, though universal, and enduring, would have been insipid. He wanted to electrify and overwhelm. He lived for effect. The world was his theatre, and he cared little what part he played, if he might walk the sole hero on the stage, and call forth bursts of applause, which would silence all other fame. In war the triumphs which he coveted were those, in which he seemed to sweep away his foes like a whirlwind; and the immense and unparalleled sacrifice of his own soldiers, in the rapid marches and daring assaults to which he owed his victories, in no degree diminished their worth to the victor. In peace, he delighted to hurry through his dominions; to multiply himself by his rapid movements; to gather at a glance the capacities of improvement which every important place possessed; to suggest plans which would startle by their originality and vastness; to project in an instant works which a life could not accomplish, and to leave behind the impression of a super-human energy.

Our sketch of Bonaparte would be imperfect indeed, if we did not add, that he was characterized by nothing more strongly than by the spirit of *self-exaggeration*. The singular energy of his intellect and will, through which he had mastered so many rivals and foes, and overcome what seemed insuperable obstacles, inspired a consciousness of being something more than man. His strong original tendencies to pride and self-exaltation, fed and

pampered by strange success and unbounded applause, swelled into an almost insane conviction of superhuman greatness. In his own view, he stood apart from other men. He was not to be measured by the standard of humanity. He was not to be retarded by difficulties to which all others yielded. He was not to be subjected to laws and obligations which all others were expected to obey. Nature and the human will were to bend to his power. He was the child and favourite of fortune, and if not the lord, the chief object of destiny. His history shows a spirit of self-exaggeration, unrivalled in enlightened ages, and which reminds us of an oriental king to whom incense had been burnt from his birth as to a deity. This was the chief source of his crimes. He wanted the sentiment of a common nature with his fellow beings. He had no sympathies with his race. That feeling of brotherhood, which is developed in truly great souls with peculiar energy, and through which they give up themselves willing victims, joyful sacrifices, to the interests of mankind, was wholly unknown to him. His heart, amidst all its wild beatings, never had one throb of disinterested love. The ties which bind man to man he broke asunder. The proper happiness of a man, which consists in the victory of moral energy and social affection over the selfish passions, he cast away for the lonely joy of a despot. With powers, which might have made him a glorious representative and minister of the beneficent Divinity, and with natural sensibilities which might have been exalted into sublime virtues, he chose to separate himself from his kind, to forego their love, esteem, and gratitude, that he might become their gaze, their fear, their wonder; and for this selfish, solitary good, parted with peace and imperishable renown.

This insolent exaltation of himself above the race to which he belonged, broke out in the beginning of his career. His first success in Italy gave him the tone of a master, and he never laid it aside to his last hour. One can hardly help being struck with the *natural* manner with which he arrogates supremacy in his conversation and proclamations. We never feel as if he were putting on a lordly air, or borrowing an imperious tone. In his proudest claims, he speaks from his own mind, and in native language. His style is swollen, but never strained, as if he were conscious of playing a part above his real claims. Even when he was foolish and impious enough to arrogate miraculous powers and a mission from God, his language showed, that he thought

there was something in his character and exploits to give a colour to his blasphemous pretensions. The empire of the world seemed to him to be in a measure his due, for nothing short of it corresponded with his conceptions of himself; and he did not use mere verbiage, but spoke a language to which he gave some credit, when he called his successive conquests 'the fulfilment of his destiny.'

This spirit of self-exaggeration wrought its own misery, and drew down upon him terrible punishments; and this it did by vitiating and perverting his high powers. First, it diseased his fine intellect, gave imagination the ascendancy over judgment, turned the inventiveness and fruitfulness of his mind into rash, impatient, restless energies, and thus precipitated him into projects, which, as the wisdom of his counsellors pronounced, were fraught with ruin. To a man whose vanity took him out of the rank of human beings, no foundation for reasoning was left. All things seemed possible. His genius and his fortune were not to be bounded by the barriers, which experience had assigned to human powers. Ordinary rules did not apply to him. His imagination, disordered by his self-exaggerating spirit and by unbounded flattery, leaped over appalling obstacles to the prize which inflamed his ambition. He even found excitement and motives in obstacles, before which other men would have wavered; for these would enhance the glory of triumph, and give a new thrill to the admiration of the world. Accordingly he again and again plunged into the depths of an enemy's country, and staked his whole fortune and power on a single battle. To be rash was indeed the necessary result of his self-exalting and self-relying spirit; for to dare what no other man would dare, to accomplish what no other man would attempt, was the very way to display himself as a superior being in his own and other's eyes.—To be impatient and restless was another necessary issue of the attributes we have described. The calmness of wisdom was denied him. He, who was next to omnipotent in his own eyes, and who delighted to strike and astonish by sudden and conspicuous operations, could not brook delay or wait for the slow operations of time. A work, which was to be gradually matured by the joint agency of various causes, could not suit a man, who wanted to be felt as the great, perhaps only, cause; who wished to stamp his own agency in the most glaring characters on whatever he performed; and who hoped to rival by a sudden energy the steady and progressive works of nature. Hence so many of his projects were never completed, or only announced. They swelled

however the tide of flattery, which ascribed to him the completion of what was not yet begun, whilst his restless spirit, rushing to new enterprises, forgot its pledges, and left the promised prodigies of his creative genius to exist only in the records of adulation. Thus the rapid and inventive intellect of Bonaparte was depraved, and failed to achieve a growing and durable greatness; through his self-exaggerating spirit. It reared indeed a vast and imposing structure, but disproportioned, disjointed, without strength, without foundations. One strong blast was enough to shake and shatter it, nor could his genius uphold it. Happy would it have been for his fame, had he been buried in its ruins.

One of the striking properties of Bonaparte's character was decision, and this, as we have already seen, was perverted, by the spirit of self-exaggeration, into an inflexible stubbornness, which counsel could not enlighten, nor circumstances bend. Having taken the first step, he pressed onward. His purpose he wished others to regard as a law of nature, or a decree of destiny. It *must* be accomplished. Resistance but strengthened it; and so often had resistance been overborne, that he felt as if his unconquerable will, joined to his matchless intellect, could vanquish all things. On such a mind the warnings of human wisdom and of Providence were spent in vain; and the Man of Destiny lived to teach others, if not himself, the weakness and folly of that all-defying decision, which arrays the purposes of a mortal with the immutableness of the counsels of the Most High.

A still more fatal influence of the spirit of self-exaggeration which characterized Bonaparte, remains to be named. It depraved to an extraordinary degree his moral sense. It did not obliterate altogether the ideas of duty, but, by a singular perversion, it impelled him to apply them exclusively to others. It never seemed to enter his thought, that he was subject to the great obligations of morality, which all others are called to respect. He was an exempted being. Whatever stood in his way to empire, he was privileged to remove. Treaties only bound his enemies. No nation had rights but his own France. He claimed a monopoly in perfidy and violence. He was not naturally cruel; but when human life obstructed his progress, it was a lawful prey, and murder and assassination occasioned as little compunction as war. The most luminous exposition of his moral code was given in his counsels to the king of Holland. 'Never forget, that in the situation to which my political system and the interests of my empire have called you, your first duty is towards

ME, your second towards France. All your other duties, even those towards the people whom I have called you to govern, rank after these.' To his own mind he was the source and centre of duty. He was too peculiar and exalted, to be touched by that vulgar stain, called guilt. Crimes ceased to be such, when perpetrated by himself. Accordingly he always speaks of his transgressions as of indifferent acts. He never imagined that they tarnished his glory, or diminished his claim on the homage of the world. In St. Helena, though talking perpetually of himself, and often reviewing his guilty career, we are not aware that a single compunction escapes him. He speaks of his life as calmly as if it had been consecrated to duty and beneficence, whilst in the same breath he has the audacity to reproach unsparingly the faithlessness of almost every individual and nation, with whom he had been connected. We doubt whether history furnishes so striking an example of the moral blindness and obduracy to which an unbounded egotism exposes and abandons the mind.

His spirit of self-exaggeration was seen in his openness to adulation. Policy indeed prompted him to put his praises into the mouths of the venal slaves, who administered his despotism. But flattery would not have been permitted to swell into exaggerations, now nauseous, now ludicrous, and now impious, if, in the bosom of the chief, there had not lodged a flatterer who sounded a louder note of praise than all around him. He was remarkably sensitive to opinion, and resented as a wrong the suppression of his praises. The press of all countries was watched, and free states were called upon to curb it for daring to take liberties with his name. Even in books published in France on general topics, he expected a recognition of his authority. Works of talent were suppressed, when their authors refused to offer incense at the new shrine. He wished indeed to stamp his name on the literature, as on the legislation, policy, warfare of his age, and to compel genius, whose pages survive statues, columns, and empires, to take a place among his tributaries.

We close our view of Bonaparte's character, by saying, that his original propensities, released from restraint, and pampered by indulgence, to a degree seldom allowed to mortals, grew up into a spirit of despotism as stern and absolute as ever usurped the human heart. The love of power and supremacy absorbed, consumed him. No other passion, no domestic attachment, no private friendship, no love of pleasure, no relish for letters or the arts, no human sympathy, no human weakness, divided his mind.

with the passion for dominion and for dazzling manifestations of his power. Before this, duty, honour, love, humanity fell prostrate. Josephine, we are told, was dear to him ; but the devoted wife, who had stood firm and faithful in the day of his doubtful fortunes, was cast off in his prosperity, to make room for a stranger, who might be more subservient to his power. He was affectionate, we are told, to his brothers and mother ; but his brothers, the moment they ceased to be his tools, were disgraced ; and his mother, it is said, was not allowed to sit in the presence of her imperial son.* He was sometimes softened, we are told, by the sight of the field of battle strewn with the wounded and dead. But if the Moloch of his ambition claimed new heaps of slain to-morrow, it was never denied. With all his sensibility, he gave millions to the sword, with as little compunction as he would have brushed away so many insects, which had infested his march. To him, all human will, desire, power, were to bend. His superiority, none might question. He insulted the fallen, who had contracted the guilt of opposing his progress ; and not even woman's loveliness, and the dignity of a queen, could give shelter from his contumely. His allies were his vassals, nor was their vassalage concealed. Too lofty to use the arts of conciliation, preferring command to persuasion, overbearing and allgrasping, he spread distrust, exasperation, fear, and revenge through Europe ; and when the day of tribulation came, the old antipathies and mutual jealousies of nations were swallowed up in one burning purpose to prostrate the common tyrant, the universal foe.

Such was Napoleon Bonaparte. But some will say, he was still a great man. This we mean not to deny. But we would have it understood, that there are various kinds or orders of greatness, and that the highest did not belong to Bonaparte. There are different orders of greatness. Among these the first rank is unquestionably due to *moral* greatness, or magnanimity ; to that sublime energy, by which the soul, smitten with the love of virtue, binds itself indissolubly, for life and for death, to truth and duty ; espouses as its own the interests of human nature ; scorns all meanness and defies all peril ; hears in its own conscience a voice louder than threatenings and thunders ; withstands all the powers of the universe, which would sever it from the cause of freedom, virtue, and religion ; reposes an unfaltering trust in God in the darkest hour, and is ever ' ready to be

* See 'America,' page 57. We should not give this very unamiable trait of Napoleon's domestic character, but on authority which we cannot question.

offered up' on the altar of its country or of mankind. Of this moral greatness, which throws all other forms of greatness into obscurity, we see not a trace or spark in Napoleon. Though clothed with the power of a God, the thought of consecrating himself to the introduction of a new and higher era, to the exaltation of the character and condition of his race, seems never to have dawned on his mind. The spirit of disinterestedness and self-sacrifice seems not to have waged a moment's war with self-will and ambition. His ruling passions, indeed, were singularly at variance with magnanimity. Moral greatness has too much simplicity, is too unostentatious, too self-subsistent, and enters into others' interests with too much heartiness, to live a day for what Napoleon always lived, to make itself the theme, and gaze, and wonder of a dazzled world. Next to moral, comes *intellectual* greatness, or genius in the highest sense of that word; and by this, we mean that sublime capacity of thought, through which the soul, smitten with the love of the true and the beautiful, essays to comprehend the universe, soars into the heavens, penetrates the earth, penetrates itself, questions the past, anticipates the future, traces out the general and all-comprehending laws of nature, binds together by innumerable affinities and relations all the objects of its knowledge, and, not satisfied with what exists and with what is finite, frames to itself ideal excellence, loveliness, and grandeur. This is the greatness which belongs to philosophers, inspired poets, and to the master spirits in the fine arts. Next comes the greatness of *action*; and by this we mean the sublime power of conceiving and executing bold and extensive plans; of constructing and bringing to bear on a mighty object a complicated machinery of means, energies, and arrangements, and of accomplishing great outward effects. To this head belongs the greatness of Bonaparte, and that he possessed it, we need not prove, and none will be hardy enough to deny. A man, who raised himself from obscurity to a throne, who changed the face of the world, who made himself felt through powerful and civilized nations, who sent the terror of his name across seas and oceans, whose will was pronounced and feared as destiny, whose donatives were crowns, whose ante-chamber was thronged by submissive princes, who broke down the awful barrier of the Alps and made them a highway, and whose fame was spread beyond the boundaries of civilization to the steppes of the Cossack, and the deserts of the Arab; a man, who has left this record of himself in history, has taken out of

our hands the question, whether he shall be called great. All must concede to him a sublime power of action, an energy equal to great effects.

We are not disposed, however, to consider him as pre-eminent even in this order of greatness. War was his chief sphere. He gained his ascendancy in Europe by the sword. But war is not the field for the highest active talent, and Napoleon, we suspect, was conscious of this truth. The glory of being the greatest general of his age, would not have satisfied him. He would have scorned to take his place by the side of Marlborough or Turenne. It was as the founder of an empire, which threatened for a time to comprehend the world, and which demanded other talents besides that of war, that he challenged unrivalled fame. And here we question his claim. Here we cannot award him supremacy. The project of universal empire, however imposing, was not original. The revolutionary governments of France had adopted it before; nor can we consider it as a sure indication of greatness, when we remember that the weak and vain mind of Louis XIV. was large enough to cherish it. The question is; did Napoleon bring to this design the capacity of advancing it by bold and original conceptions, adapted to an age of civilization, and of singular intellectual and moral excitement? Did he discover new foundations of power? Did he frame new bonds of union for subjugated nations? Did he discover, or originate, some common interests by which his empire might be held together? Did he breathe a spirit which should supplant the old national attachments, or did he invent any substitutes for those vulgar instruments of force and corruption, which any and every usurper would have used? Never in the records of time, did the world furnish such materials to work with; such means of modelling nations afresh, of building up a new power, of introducing a new era, as did Europe at the period of the French revolution. Never was the human mind so capable of new impulses. And did Napoleon prove himself equal to the condition of the world? Do we detect one original conception in his means of universal empire? Did he seize on the enthusiasm of his age, that powerful principle, more efficient than arms or policy, and bend it to his purpose? What did he do but follow the beaten track? but apply force and fraud in their very coarsest forms? Napoleon showed a vulgar mind, when he assumed self-interest as the sole spring of human action. With the sword in one hand and bribes in

the other, he imagined himself absolute master of the human mind. The strength of moral, national, and domestic feelings, he could not comprehend. The finest, and after all, the most powerful elements in human nature, hardly entered into his conceptions of it ; and how then could he have established a durable power over the human race ? We want little more to show his want of originality and comprehensiveness as the founder of an empire, than the simple fact, that he chose as his chief counsellors Talleyrand and Fouché, names which speak for themselves. We may judge of the greatness of the master spirit, from the minds which he found most congenial with his own. In war, Bonaparte was great ; for he was bold, original and creative. Beyond the camp he indeed showed talent, but not superior to that of other eminent men.

There have been two circumstances, which have done much to disarm or weaken the strong moral reprobation with which Bonaparte ought to have been regarded, and which we deem worthy of notice. We refer to the wrongs which he is supposed to have suffered at St. Helena, and to the unworthy use which the Allied Powers have made of their triumph over Napoleon. First, his supposed wrongs at St. Helena have excited a sympathy in his behalf, which has thrown a veil over his crimes. We are not disposed to deny, that an unwarrantable, because unnecessary, severity was exercised towards Bonaparte. We think it not very creditable to the British government, that it tortured a sensitive captive by refusing him a title which he had long worn. We think that not only religion and humanity, but self-respect forbids us to inflict a single useless pang on a fallen foe. But we should be weak indeed, if the moral judgments and feelings, with which Napoleon's career ought to be reviewed, should give place to sympathy with the sufferings by which it was closed. With regard to the scruples, which not a few have expressed as to the right of banishing him to St. Helena, we can only say, that our consciences are not yet refined to such exquisite delicacy, as to be at all sensitive on this particular. We admire nothing more in Bonaparte, than the effrontery with which he claimed protection from the laws of nations. That a man, who had set these laws at open defiance, should fly to them for shelter ; that the oppressor of the world should claim its sympathy as an oppressed man, and that his claim should find advocates ; these things are to be set down among the extraordinary events of this extraordinary age.

Truly, the human race is in a pitiable state. It may be trampled on, spoiled, loaded like a beast of burden, made the prey of rapacity, insolence, and the sword; but it must not touch a hair, or disturb the pillow of one of its oppressors, unless it can find chapter and verse in the code of national law, to authorize its rudeness towards the privileged offender. For ourselves, we should rejoice to see every tyrant, whether a usurper, or hereditary prince, fastened to a lonely rock in the ocean. Whoever gives clear, undoubted proof, that he is prepared and sternly resolved to make the earth a slaughter-house, and to crush every will adverse to his own, ought to be caged like a wild beast; and to require mankind to proceed against him according to written laws and precedents, as if he were a private citizen in a quiet court of justice, is just as rational as to require a man, in imminent peril from an assassin, to wait and prosecute his murderer according to the most protracted forms of law. There are great solemn rights of nature, which precede laws, and on which law is founded. There are great exigencies in human affairs, which speak for themselves, and need no precedent to teach the right path. There are awful periods in the history of our race, which do not belong to its ordinary state, and which are not to be governed by ordinary rules. Such a period was that, when Bonaparte, by infraction of solemn engagements, had thrown himself into France, and convulsed all Europe; and they, who confound this with the ordinary events of history, and see in Bonaparte but an ordinary foe to the peace and independence of nations, have certainly very different intellects from our own.

We confess, too, that we are not only unable to see the wrong done to Napoleon in sending him to St. Helena, but that we cannot muster up much sympathy for the inconveniences and privations which he endured there. Our sympathies in this particular are wayward and untractable. When we would carry them to that solitary island, and fasten them on the illustrious victim of British cruelty, they will not tarry there, but take their flight across the Mediterranean to Jaffa, and across the Atlantic to the platform where the Duke d'Enghien was shot, to the prison of Toussaint, and to fields of battle where thousands at his bidding lay weltering in blood. When we strive to fix our thoughts upon the sufferings of the injured hero, other and more terrible sufferings, of which he was the cause, rush upon us; and his complaints, however loud and angry, are drowned by groans, and execrations which fill our ears from every region which he tra-

versed. We have no tears to spare for fallen greatness, when that greatness was founded in crime, and reared by force and perfidy. We reserve them for those on whose ruin it rose. We keep our sympathies for our race, for human nature in its humbler forms, for the impoverished peasant, the widowed mother, the violated virgin; and are even perverse enough to rejoice, that the ocean has a prison-house, where the author of those miseries may be safely lodged. Bonaparte's history is to us too solemn, the wrongs for which humanity and freedom arraign him, are too flagrant, to allow us to play the part of sentimentalists around his grave at St. Helena. We leave this to the more refined age in which we live; and we do so in the hope that an age is coming of less tender mould, but of loftier, sterner feeling, and of deeper sympathy with the whole human race. Should our humble page then live, we trust with an undoubting faith, that the uncompromising indignation with which we plead the cause of our oppressed and insulted nature, will not be set down to the account of our vindictiveness and hardness of heart.

We observed that the moral indignation of many towards Bonaparte had been impaired or turned away, not only by his supposed wrongs, but by the unworthy use which his conquerors made of their triumph. We are told, that bad as was his despotism, the Holy Alliance is a worse one; and that Napoleon was less a scourge, than the present coalition of the continental monarchs, framed for the systematic suppression of freedom. By such reasoning his crimes are cloaked, and his fall made a theme of lamentation. It is not one of the smallest errors and sins of the Allied Sovereigns, that they have contrived, by their base policy, to turn the resentments and moral displeasure of men from the usurper upon themselves. For these sovereigns we have no defence to offer. We yield to none in detestation of the Holy Alliance, profanely so called. To us its doctrines are as false and pestilent, as any broached by Jacobinism. The Allied Monarchs are adding to the other wrongs of despots, that of *flagrant ingratitude*; of ingratitude to the generous and brave nations, to whom they owe their thrones, whose spirit of independence and patriotism, and whose hatred of the oppressor, contributed more than standing armies, to raise up the fallen, and to strengthen the falling monarchies of Europe. Be it never forgotten in the records of despotism, let history record it on her most durable tablet, that the first use made by the principal continental sovereigns of their regained or confirmed power, was,

to conspire against the hopes and rights of the nations by whom they had been saved ; and to combine the military power of Europe against free institutions, against the press, against the spirit of liberty and patriotism which had sprung up in the glorious struggle with Napoleon, against the right of the people to exert an influence on the governments by which their dearest interests were to be controlled. Never be it forgotten, that such was the honour of sovereigns, such their requital for the blood which had been shed freely in their defence. Freedom and humanity send up a solemn, and prevailing cry against them to that tribunal, where kings and subjects are soon to stand as equals.

But still we should be strangely blind, if we were not to feel that the fall of Napoleon was a blessing to the world. Who can look, for example, at France, and not see there a degree of freedom which could never have grown up under the terrible frown of the usurper? True, Bonaparte's life, though it seemed a charmed one, must at length have ended ; and we are told that then his empire would have been broken, and that the general crash, by some inexplicable process, would have given birth to a more extensive and durable liberty than can now be hoped. But such anticipations seem to us to be built on a strange inattention to the nature and inevitable consequences of Napoleon's power. It was wholly a military power. He was literally turning Europe into a camp, and drawing its best talent into one occupation, war. Thus Europe was retracing its steps to those ages of calamity and darkness, when the only law was the sword. The progress of centuries, which had consisted chiefly in the substitution of intelligence, public opinion, and other mild and rational influences, for brutal force, was to be reversed. At Bonaparte's death, his empire must, indeed, have been dissolved ; but military chiefs, like Alexander's lieutenants, would have divided it. The sword alone would have shaped its future communities ; and after years of desolation and bloodshed, Europe would have found, not repose, but a respite, an armed truce, under warriors, whose only title to empire would have been their own good blades, and the weight of whose thrones would have been upheld by military force alone. Amidst such convulsions, during which the press would have been every where fettered, and the military spirit would have triumphed over and swallowed up the spirit and glory of letters and liberal arts, we greatly fear, that the human intellect would have lost its present impulse, its thirst for progress, and would have fallen back towards barbarism.

Let not the friends of freedom bring dishonour on themselves or desert their cause, by instituting comparisons between Napoleon and legitimate sovereigns, which may be construed into eulogies on the former. For ourselves, we have no sympathy with tyranny, whether it bear the name of usurpation or legitimacy. We are not pleading the cause of the allied sovereigns. In our judgment, they have contracted the very guilt against which they have pretended to combine. In our apprehension, a conspiracy against the rights of the human race, is as foul a crime as rebellion against the rights of sovereigns ; nor is there less of treason in warring against public freedom, than in assailing royal power. Still we are bound in truth to confess, that the allied sovereigns are not to be ranked with Bonaparte, whose design against the independence of nations and the liberties of the world, in this age of civilization, liberal thinking and christian knowledge, is in our estimation the most nefarious enterprise recorded in history.

The series of events which it has been our province to review, offers subjects of profound thought and solemn instruction to the moralist and politician. We have retraced it with many painful feelings. It shows us a great people, who had caught some indistinct glimpses of freedom, and of a nobler and a happier political constitution, betrayed by their leaders, and brought back, by a military despot, to heavier chains than they had broken. We see with indignation one man, a man like ourselves, subjecting whole nations to his absolute rule. It is this wrong and insult to our race which has chiefly moved us. Had a storm, of God's ordination, passed over Europe, prostrating its capitals, sweeping off its villages, burying millions in ruins, we should have wept, we should have trembled. But in this there would have been only wretchedness. Now we also see debasement. To us there is something radically, and increasingly shocking, in the thought of one man's will becoming a law to his race ; in the thought of multitudes, of vast communities, surrendering conscience, intellect, their affections, their rights, their interests to the stern mandate of a fellow creature. When we see one word of a frail man on the throne of France, tearing a hundred thousand sons from their homes, breaking asunder the sacred ties of domestic life, sentencing myriads of the young to make murder their calling and rapacity their means of support, and extorting from nations their treasures to extend this ruinous away, we are ready to ask ourselves, Is not this a dream ? And when the sad reality comes

home to us, we blush for a race which can stoop to such an abject lot. At length, indeed, we see the tyrant humbled, stripped of power; but stripped by those who, with one exception, are not unwilling to play the despot on a narrower scale, and to break down the spirit of nations under the same iron sway.

How is it, that tyranny has thus triumphed? that the hopes with which we greeted the French revolution have been crushed? that an usurper plucked up the last roots of the tree of liberty, and planted despotism in its place? The chief cause is not far to seek, nor can it be too often urged on the friends of freedom. France failed through the want of that moral preparation for liberty, without which the blessing cannot be secured. She was not ripe for the good she sought. She was too corrupt for freedom. France had indeed to contend with great political ignorance; but had not ignorance been reinforced by deep moral defect, she might have won her way to free institutions. Her character forbade her to be free; and it now seems strange that we could ever have expected her to secure this boon. How could we believe, that a liberty, of which that heartless scoffer, Voltaire, was a chief apostle, could have triumphed? Most of the preachers of French liberty had thrown off all the convictions which ennoble the mind. Man's connexion with God they broke, for they declared that there was no God in whom to trust in the great struggle for liberty. Human immortality, that truth which is the seed of all greatness, they derided. To their philosophy, man was a creature of chance, a compound of matter, an ephemeron, a worm, who was soon to rot and perish for ever. What insanity was it to expect, that such men were to work out the emancipation of their race! that in such hands the hopes and dearest rights of humanity were secure! Liberty was tainted by their touch, polluted by their breath, and yet we trusted that it was to rise in health and glory from their embrace. We looked to men, who openly founded morality on private interest, for the sacrifices, the devotion, the heroic virtue, which freedom always demands from her assertors.

The great cause of the discomfiture of the late European struggle for liberty, is easily understood by an American, who recurs to the history of his own revolution. This issued prosperously, because it was begun and was conducted under the auspices of private and public virtue. Our liberty did not come to us by accident, nor was it the gift of a few leaders; but its seeds were sown plentifully in the minds of the whole people.

It was rooted in the conscience and reason of the nation. It was the growth of deliberate convictions and generous principles liberally diffused. We had no Paris, no metropolis, which a few leaders swayed, and which sent forth its influences, like 'a mighty heart,' through dependent and subservient provinces. The country was all heart. The living principle pervaded the community, and every village added strength to the solemn purpose of being free. We have here an explanation of a striking fact in the history of our revolution; we mean the want or absence of that description of great men, whom we meet in other countries; men, who, by their distinct and single agency, and by their splendid deeds, determine a nation's fate. There was too much greatness in the American people, to admit this overshadowing greatness of leaders. Accordingly the United States had no liberator, no political saviour. Washington indeed conferred on us great blessings. But Washington was not a hero in the common sense of that word. We never spoke of him as the French did of Bonaparte, never talked of his eagle-eyed, irresistible genius, as if this were to work out our safety. We never lost our self-respect. We felt that, under God, we were to be free through our own courage, energy, and wisdom, under the animating and guiding influences of this great and good mind. Washington served us chiefly by his sublime moral qualities, and not by transcendent talent, which, we apprehend, he did not possess. To him belonged the proud distinction of being the leader in a revolution, without awakening one doubt or solicitude as to the spotless purity of his purpose. His was the glory of being the brightest manifestation of the spirit, which reigned in his country; and in this way he became a source of energy, a bond of union, the centre of an enlightened people's confidence. In such a revolution as that of France, Washington would have been nothing; for that sympathy, which subsisted between him and his fellow-citizens, and which was the secret of his power, would have been wanting. By an instinct, which is unerring, we call Washington, with grateful reverence, the Father of his Country, but not its Saviour. A people, which wants a saviour, which does not possess an earnest and pledge of freedom in its own heart, is not yet ready to be free.

A great question here offers itself, at which we can only glance. If a moral preparation is required for freedom, how, it is asked, can Europe ever be free? How, under the despotisms which now crush the continent, can nations grow ripe for liberty? Is

It to be hoped, that men will learn, in the school of slavery, the spirit and virtues, which, we are told, can alone work out their deliverance? In the absolute governments of Europe, the very instruments of forming an enlightened and generous love of freedom, are bent into the service of tyranny. The press is an echo of the servile doctrines of the court. The schools and seminaries of education are employed to taint the young mind with the maxims of despotism. Even Christianity is turned into a preacher of legitimacy, and its temples are desecrated by the abject teaching of unconditional submission. How then is the spirit of a wise and moral freedom to be generated and diffused? We have stated the difficulty in its full force; for nothing is gained by winking out of sight the tremendous obstacles, with which liberal principles and institutions must contend. We have not time at present to answer the great question now proposed. We will only say, that we do not despair; and we will briefly suggest what seems to us the chief expedient, by which the cause of freedom, obstructed as it is, must now be advanced. In despotic countries, those men, whom God hath inspired with lofty sentiments and a thirst for freedom, (and such are spread through all Europe), must, in their individual capacity, communicate themselves to individual minds. The cause of liberty on the continent cannot now be forwarded by the action of men in masses. But in every country there are those who feel their degradation and their wrongs, who abhor tyranny as the chief obstruction of the progress of nations, and who are willing and prepared to suffer for liberty. Let such men spread around them their own spirit by every channel, which a jealous despotism has not closed. Let them give utterance to sentiments of magnanimity in private conference, and still more by the press; for there are modes of clothing and expressing kindling truths, which, it is presumed, no censorship would dare to proscribe. Let them especially teach that great truth, which is the seminal principle of a virtuous freedom, and the very foundation of morals and religion; we mean, the doctrine, that conscience, the voice of God in every heart, is to be listened to above all other guides and lords; that there is a sovereign within us, clothed with more awful powers and rights than any outward king; and that he alone is worthy the name of a man, who gives himself up solemnly, deliberately, to obey this internal guide through peril and in death. This is the spirit of freedom; for no man is wholly and immutably free but he who has broken every outward yoke, that he may obey

his own deliberate conscience. This is the lesson to be taught alike in republics and despotisms. As yet it has but dawned on the world. Its full application remains to be developed. They who have been baptized, by a true experience, into this vital and all-comprehending truth, must every where be its propagators ; and he who makes one convert to it near a despot's throne, has broken one link of that despot's chain. It is chiefly in the diffusion of this loftiness of moral sentiment, that we place our hope of freedom ; and we have a hope, because we know that there are those who have drunk into this truth, and are ready, when God calls, to be its martyrs. We do not despair, for there is a contagion, we would rather say, a divine power in sublime moral principle. This is our chief trust. We have less and less hope from force and bloodshed, as the instruments of working out man's redemption from slavery. History shows us not a few princes, who have gained or strengthened thrones by assassination or war. But freedom, which is another name for justice, honour, and benevolence, scorns to use the private dagger, and wields with trembling the public sword. The true conspiracy, before which tyranny is to fall, is that of virtuous, elevated minds, which shall consecrate themselves to the work of awakening in men a consciousness of the rights, powers, purposes, and greatness of human nature ; which shall oppose to force the heroism of intellect and conscience, and the spirit of self-sacrifice. We believe that, at this moment, there are virtue and wisdom enough to shake despotic thrones, were they as confiding, as they should be, in God and in their own might, and were they to pour themselves through every channel into the public mind.

We close our present labours, with commending to the protection of Almighty God the cause of human freedom and improvement. We adore the wisdom and goodness of his providence, which has ordained, that liberty shall be wrought out by the magnanimity, courage, and sacrifices of men. We bless him for the glorious efforts which this cause has already called forth ; for the intrepid defenders who have gathered round it, and whose fame is a most precious legacy of past ages ; for the toils and sufferings by which it has been upheld ; for the awakening and thrilling voice which comes to us from the dungeon and scaffold, where the martyrs of liberty have pined or bled. We bless him, that even tyranny has been over-ruled for good by exciting a resistance, which has revealed to us the strength of virtuous principle in the human soul. We beseech this Great and Good Parent,

from whom all pure influences proceed, to enkindle, by his quickening breath, an unquenchable love of virtue and freedom in those favoured men, whom he hath enriched and signalized by eminent gifts and powers, that they may fulfil the high function of inspiring their fellow beings with a consciousness of the birth-right and destination of human nature. Wearied with violence and blood, we beseech him to subvert oppressive governments, by the gentle yet awful power of truth and virtue; by the teachings of uncorrupted Christianity; by the sovereignty of enlightened opinion; by the triumph of sentiments of magnanimity; by mild, rational, and purifying influences, which will raise the spirit of the enslaved, and which sovereigns will be unable to withstand. For this peaceful revolution we earnestly pray. If, however, after long forbearing, and unavailing applications to justice and humanity, the friends of freedom should be summoned, by the voice of God within, and by his providence abroad, to vindicate their rights with other arms, to do a sterner work, to repel despotic force by force, may they not forget, even in this hour of provocation, the spirit which their high calling demands. Let them take the sword with awe, as those on whom a holy function is devolved. Let them regard themselves as ministers and delegates of Him, whose dearest attribute is Mercy. Let them not stain their sacred cause by one cruel deed, by the infliction of one needless pang, by shedding without cause one drop of human blood.

FINIS.

DIALOGUES

ON

ATONEMENT.

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DIALOGUES

ON ATONEMENT.

DIALOGUE I.

Paulinus. I understand that you think it improper to say that Christ died for all men; Is it so?

Aspasio. I do think it improper. I think he died for the elect only.

P. Will you be so kind as to state the arguments on which you rely, to prove that Christ died for the elect only?

A. I will. My first argument is this: "The motive which induced the Father to send the Son, and which induced the Son to undertake to die, was *special love to the elect*. Those therefore who were not elected were not properly the objects of the death of Christ." How can you elude the force of this argument?

P. I shall say, it takes for granted that which ought to be proved, namely, that it was *special love to the elect* which induced Christ to lay down his life. I avoid your conclusion by denying your premises.

A. If you say it was not special love to the elect, which induced Christ to lay down his life, "you will contradict the whole word of God, which represents the death of Christ as the effect of the greatest love ever exhibited."

P. I grant that the scriptures represent the death of Christ as an expression of the greatest love ever exhibited. But what then? Love for whom? That is the question.

A. Love for the elect undoubtedly.

P. Love for the elect, you say; but what saith the scripture? "God so loved the *world* that he gave his only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." *John*, iii. 16. I know that some who advocate your opinion, put in the word *elect* before *world*, in this text, and make it read "God so loved the *elect world*," &c. and then bring it forward to confirm your opinion; but I think you will not venture to make such an interpolation.

A. But what kind of love could God feel for the non-elect?

P. What kind of love could God feel for the elect, before their regeneration, while they were yet enemies? I know of but two kinds of love which God can feel towards his creatures. One is, a love of

esteem or complacency, which he feels for those who are already holy, and cannot feel for any others; for he cannot look with complacency upon those who are totally unlike himself; he cannot esteem those who are totally destitute of any moral goodness; he cannot delight in those who do nothing but sin; he hates all the workers of iniquity. Before regeneration, the elect are the same, in their moral character, as the non-elect. They are by nature, children of wrath, even as others.

A. I grant that God cannot feel this kind of love for the elect, before regeneration, any more than for the non-elect. But what is the other kind of love, of which you speak?

P. It is the love of benevolence or good will. This has for its object all creatures capable of enjoyment or suffering; and regards the happiness of each one according to its real worth. Now the happiness of an individual is not, in itself, any more valuable, if he is elected, than if he is not elected. But God regards things according to their real worth. His regard for the happiness of the non-elect, therefore, is the same as for that of the elect.—When this kind of love is exercised towards the guilty, it is called compassion. It is this which is expressed in the invitations of mercy which are addressed to sinners, in the commands to choose life, in the warnings, exhortations, and entreaties with which God calls upon the wicked to forsake their wickedness and turn to him. It is this compassion for sinners which is expressed in the oath of God. “As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live.” It was this compassion for sinners which led the Saviour to weep over Jerusalem, and to say, “O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!” Finally, it is this compassion for sinners, which is expressed by the Father, in giving his Son to die, and by the Son in laying down his life. And this is the plain import of the text before mentioned, “God so loved the world that he sent his only begotten Son.”

A. But why should the non-elect be considered as the objects of this love? Had they not “forfeited all regard from their Creator?”

P. And had not the elect also forfeited all regard from their Creator? What was there in the elect, before regeneration, to entitle them to this regard from him, any more than the non-elect! I see no force in your question, unless the reason why some are elected rather than others, is, that they are not so guilty; a notion very acceptable to the human heart, because well adapted to flatter its selfishness and pride.

A. But if God really felt such love for all men as to give his Son to die for them, why does he not save them all?

P. Because they reject offered mercy, and refuse to accept the Saviour that is provided; our Lord says, “ye will not come to me, that ye might have life.”

A. But if he loved them enough to give his Son to die for them, did he not also love them enough to change their hearts, and make them willing to accept the offered mercy?

P. If their happiness were the only thing he regarded, he would doubtless change their hearts, and make them all happy. Can you tell me why God chooses to save a part rather than the whole of mankind?

A. I suppose he loved a part, more than he did the rest, and so gave his Son to die for them and not for the rest.

P. But why should he love the elect before regeneration, more than the non-elect? No reason appears. They are no better by nature, nor is their happiness in itself any more valuable. That he does love them any more, is a mere assumption of your own, and has no countenance from the word of God.

A. What reason then can you give, why he saves a part rather than the whole of mankind?

P. If their happiness was the only thing to be regarded, he would save them all. Why does not the humane and compassionate judge acquit the murderer, and set him at liberty, instead of pronouncing upon him the sentence of the law? Is it because he has no compassion for him?

A. No; that cannot be the reason. He cannot be humane and compassionate, if he does not feel strongly for the miserable culprit. I have never heard a good judge pronounce sentence of death upon a criminal without seeing him, at the same time, deeply moved and affected even to tears.—But while he feels strongly for the culprit, and is moved with the tenderest compassion for him, his regard for the *public good* predominates over his regard for the happiness of the criminal, and he gives him up to suffer the punishment he deserves.

P. You have given the true reason why God saves a part, rather than the whole of mankind. He feels as strong and lively a compassion for the non-elect, as for the elect. But while he is moved with the tenderest compassion for them, his regard for the public good predominates over his regard for their happiness, and he gives them up to suffer the punishment they deserve.

It is evident, therefore, that God felt no special love for the elect, no love of a different kind, or of a different degree, from that which he felt for the non-elect. He loved one as much as he did the other; and in the exercise of that love for all, he gave his Son to die for all.

DIALOGUE II.

P. What is your second argument, to prove that Christ died for the elect only?

A. My second argument is this: "Christ in undertaking the office of mediator, had a certain number given to him of the Father,

whose salvation he undertook to accomplish, by dying for them, and preparing them for heaven." Now, "If only a part of the human family were given to Christ, in the eternal counsels of peace, how can it be supposed that he should, *for no important purpose*, die for others?"

P. If I rightly understand your argument, it is this: The great object of Christ in laying down his life, was the salvation of those for whom he died: But as he did not intend to save any but the elect, he could not have died for any others. Do I understand you.

A. You do. "Christ has died on the cross. The question is for whom did he die? Certainly if we can ascertain his own design in this awful transaction, we have an answer to the question. But the death of Christ is a means of salvation. Properly then he may be said to have died for all whom he designed to bring to salvation, and for none else."

P. I grant freely, that only a part of mankind were given to the Son in the covenant of Redemption, and that the salvation of these was one important object he had in view, in laying down his life. But I see not how it follows, that this was his only object, or even his principal object.

A. But if you hold that "he died for those whom he had no intention to save, it is incumbent on" you "to point out for what end. No wise agent performs an important work without having an important end in view." Tell, me, then, if you can, "What was the end of Christ in dying for those whom he had no intention of saving?"

P. The great end of God, in all that he has done, is to promote his own glory. For this he has created angels and men, and for this he has formed, and will carry into effect the whole plan of his administration.—This is an end worthy of himself. To make any thing less than this his ultimate end, would be infinitely unworthy of him. Do you admit this?

A. Certainly. I believe that "For his own glory he hath fore-ordained whatsoever comes to pass."

P. The great end of God then, being his own glory, whatever he has done is to be considered as intended to promote this. Whatever comes to pass was foreordained by infinite wisdom and goodness, in order to promote this great end. Did God determine to create angels? It was to promote his own glory. Did he determine that some of them should persevere in holiness, and be forever happy? It was to promote his own glory. Did he determine that some of them should fall into sin, and be for ever miserable? It was to promote his own glory. Did he determine to make man? It was to promote his own glory. Did he determine that man should fall into sin, and come under the condemnation of his law? It was to promote his own glory. Did he determine to save a part of mankind from sin and misery, through a Redeemer? It was to promote his own glory. Did he determine that a part of mankind should be left to perish in their sins? It was to promote his own glory.

A. But because God makes his own glory his chief end, does it follow that he has no regard to the good of creatures?

P. By no means. He regards the happiness of every creature, according to its real worth. But the happiness of all creatures, taken together, is not worth so much as the glory of God. For, what comparison can there be between finite and infinite? To represent God as disregarding the happiness of any of his creatures, would be to represent him as a cruel, unfeeling, and odious tyrant. But to represent him as regarding the good of creatures more than his own glory, would be to represent him as valuing a less good more than a greater good, which would be inconsistent with infinite goodness. While, therefore, he makes his own glory his primary object, he makes the good of creatures a secondary object. If you ask, then, what was the motive which induced the Father to give his Son to die for the elect? I answer, regard for his own glory, was his chief inducement, and regard for their happiness was a secondary inducement. Each of these had influence with him in proportion to its intrinsic importance.

A. Very well. But what was the motive which induced the Father to give his Son to die for the non-elect?

P. The same answer may be given. Regard for his own glory was his chief inducement, and regard for their happiness was a secondary inducement.

A. How is the glory of God promoted by his giving his Son to die for the non-elect?

P. His mercy is glorified in the offer of forgiveness, which is made to them for Christ's sake; his truth and sincerity are glorified, in his inviting them to turn and live; his patience and long suffering are glorified, in his bearing so long with all their ingratitude and contempt of offered mercy; and finally, his justice is glorified, in their aggravated condemnation for having rejected the Saviour that was provided for them.

A. But why could not his mercy be glorified in the offer of forgiveness to them, if Christ had not died for them?

P. Could mercy have been glorified in the pardon of sinners, if no atonement had been made?

A. By no means. "Without the shedding of blood, there is no remission."—If sinners had been forgiven without an atonement, it would not have been a manifestation of the glorious attribute of mercy, but of a weak and inglorious partiality for the wicked.

P. If, then, where no atonement is made, no forgiveness can be granted, it follows, that where no atonement is made, no forgiveness can be offered; at least, there is no manifestation of mercy in such an offer. For, if the offer should be accepted, the forgiveness could not be granted. What will the non-elect think, in the great day, if they find, that forgiveness was offered them on the part of God, with the greatest appearance of compassion for them, and at the same time discover, that if they had accepted the offer, forgiveness would have been refused? Will their mouths be stopped? Will they not rather be opened wide? Will they not consider it,

and justly too, as so far from being a manifestation of mercy, that it was altogether insincere, and no better than mocking their misery?

A. But you suppose a case that never can happen. "If you suppose a non-elect man may believe, you should suppose, at the same time, that both the decree of election and of redemption, correspond with this event; and then all difficulty will be removed."

P. The non-elect are either *able* or *unable* to accept the offer. If they are *able*, then the case *can* happen; and the appearance of mercy, expressed in the offer, should be judged of accordingly. If they are *unable*, then the difficulty is greatly increased; for they are not only tantalized with the offer of forgiveness which cannot be granted, but they are mocked with proposals which they cannot comply with. It is like calling upon a drowning man to take hold of a rope, and save himself, when there is not only no rope within his reach, but he has no hands to take hold of one if there were.

But if Christ has died for all men, they can all be forgiven, if they will repent and believe. And so the offer of forgiveness can be consistently made to them, on the part of God, and be a real expression of his mercy. And since they are all moral agents, and able to accept the offer, their salvation is, by this means, put entirely at their own option. Should an earthly government offer pardon to a criminal, upon the easy condition of his own voluntary acceptance, and should it appear that every obstacle was removed, so that he might be pardoned if he would, there would be no doubt of the merciful disposition of that government. Even the criminal himself would say, with his dying breath, "The government was merciful, but I would not receive pardon at their hands."

DIALOGUE III.

A. What have you to say respecting the truth and sincerity of God?

P. If Christ has died for all, then, the truth and sincerity of God are glorified, in his inviting all to turn and live. If Christ has died for all, then he has made ample provision for the salvation of all, provided they will comply with the prescribed conditions. When a man makes a feast, and invites twenty persons to come and partake of it, what does the invitation say to all and each of them? Come, for there is provision made to entertain you? or, Come, for there is no provision made for you? Certainly, the invitation amounts to a declaration that there is provision made for every one who is invited; and it is so understood by those who are invited. And if it were not so understood, it would not be considered a sincere invitation, but a gross insult. If the master of the feast should say, I invite twenty when there is only provision made for five: You are all invited to come, but if you come, only five can be received, and the rest must go empty away: What would be thought

of such a man? But the invitations of the gospel are not attended with any such declaration. They say, "Come, for all things are ready." No minister of the gospel is sent to say to the non-elect, Come for there is no provision made for you ; come, for if you do, you will be shut out.

A. But the ministers of the gospel do not know who the elect are, and therefore, they cannot do otherwise than invite all indiscriminately.—When they address a company of sinners, they do not know but that they are all elected ; and therefore, they can sincerely invite them all.

P. But the ministers of the gospel are only servants, sent in their master's name, to proclaim *his* invitation. The invitation is *his*, not theirs. And he knows for how many he has made provision. The question is, how *he* can sincerely invite all to come. The invitation to any one, certainly holds out the idea that there is provision made for him. He so understands it ; and it is intended that he should so understand it. He must so understand it, not to feel himself insulted by the invitation. If he understands that he is invited, while, at the same time, there is no provision made for him, he will feel it as a gross imposition. Or, if he should not discover it till long afterwards ; if he should at the time, suppose the invitation to be sincere ; but should afterwards discover, that no provision was made for him, and that if he had come, he would have been excluded, he cannot look back upon the transaction, and consider it in any other light.

A. But the invitations of the gospel are not in fact, made to all the human race. A great part of the world have never heard the gospel.

P. The ministers of the gospel are commanded to preach it to every creature. That they have not done so, is a fault of theirs, for which they will have to answer to their master, in the great day. The invitations of the gospel are, therefore, in fact, directed to every creature. But, Aspasio, do you think that all are elected, who hear the gospel preached ?

A. No. I have no reason to think that.

P. Then the fact, that the gospel has not been actually preached to every creature, will avail you nothing. It looks like a mere subterfuge, intended to evade coming to the point, and meeting the difficulty fairly.

A. But I think the invitation may be given to all men, as sincerely, upon my plan, as upon yours.

P. How can that be ?

A. I will tell you. Suppose a thousand captives are confined in prison—suppose a person wishes to redeem one hundred of them, and, for that purpose, pays to the authority which holds them in prison, a pearl of great value, "sufficient to redeem all the captives in prison ; but the person paying it has in view only to redeem his own friends ; this intention in the redeemer, and the acceptance of the price by the authority which holds them in bondage, constitutes the pearl a *ransom*, and confines it to the number for whom it was

designed. But the pearl itself is sufficient to ransom all the rest of the captives, if it had been applied to their advantage. To carry on the allusion, suppose that the person undertaking to redeem his friends should say, 'I will have proclamation made in the prison, that every one who will acknowledge me as his deliverer, and will submit himself to my authority, may immediately come forth, on the footing of the ransom which I have paid; for none but my friends will accept these terms: the remainder will prefer their prison to liberty, which can only be had by submission to me, whom they inveterately hate.' Now the person commissioned to carry these tidings to the prison, would feel himself authorised to proclaim deliverance to every one who was willing to accept the terms, and to use arguments and motives to induce them to submit; but the event would be, that none would accept the offer but the real friends of the redeemer. This he knew from the beginning, and therefore he paid the ransom for no others. Is there any thing insincere in this whole transaction?"

P. Was the pearl paid for the whole, or only for a part?

A. It was paid only for the hundred who were intended to be redeemed.—There was nothing paid for the rest.

P. Then its value makes no difference. If the whole price was paid for the hundred, there was nothing paid for the nine hundred. They are in just the same situation as to the possibility of their deliverance, as if no ransom had been paid for any. The great value of the pearl, seems to me to be only a blind, to prevent the true state of the case from being seen. What if some of the nine hundred had accepted the offer, and attempted to come out, would they not have been stopped at the door, by the keepers of the prison? Would they not have been told there is no ransom paid for you; you cannot be released?

A. You ought not to ask such a question; for it was foreseen that none of them would accept the offer.

P. But there is a wide difference between their being hindered only by their own voluntary refusal of the offer, and their being hindered also by the want of a ransom being paid for them. In the one case they *could* come out if they *would*; in the other they *could not* come out if they *would*. In the one case, their liberation is possible, and depends on their own voluntary choice; in the other, their liberation is impossible, for if they should choose to come out, and make the attempt, they would find the doors locked and barred against them. If the ransom had been paid for the whole, and their liberation had been rendered possible, and had been made to depend entirely upon their own voluntary choice, then they could all be sincerely invited to come out; but if the ransom was paid only for the hundred, and nothing was paid for the rest, their liberation was impossible; it did not depend upon their own voluntary choice; they *could not* come out, if they *would*; and therefore to make the offer to them, and call upon them to come out, is just as if one should go to the doors of a prison, and looking through the grates, should call upon the prisoners to rise

and come out, when they are fast bound in chains, and the doors are locked and barred against them ; which would be but mocking their misery.

DIALOGUE IV.

A. I think the patience and forbearance of God, towards the non-elect, appears as great upon my plan as upon yours.

P. How so ?

A. Because " those who are not elected, are, nevertheless, under the government of God, and bound by his laws : if, therefore, they live where the gospel is preached, they cannot but be required to believe in Christ, for it is a reasonable duty. It is required by the moral obligation which they are under ; for the law of God certainly binds all men to the performance of every holy act." When, therefore, they refuse to obey his laws, and provoke him by their transgressions, his patience and forbearance are manifested, in not cutting them off at once, and sending them to the regions of despair, as they deserve.

P. I grant, that the non-elect are under the government of God, and bound by his laws ; and that they are required to love God with all their hearts, and to express that love by all those holy acts which are suited to their condition and circumstances. So are the devils. They are under the government of God too, and bound by his laws ; and they are required to love God with all their hearts, and to express that love by all those holy acts which are suited to their condition and circumstances. But will you say, that the devils are bound to receive Christ as their Saviour ?

A. No. " Devils are confined in chains of darkness. They have no offers of mercy. They receive no benefits ; and their salvation is, in the nature of things, impossible ; for though Christ's merit is of infinite value in relation to the object he had in view, yet we have no right to assert, that obedience to a human law, and suffering the penalty of that law, would be a sufficient atonement for beings of an infinitely different species, of whose sin we have no particular information."

P. But the devils " are, nevertheless, under the government of God, and bound by his laws : " and " the law of God certainly binds all to the performance of every holy act." Why should they not " be required to believe in Christ, for it is a reasonable duty ? "

A. I have given the reason already. It is not a reasonable duty for them, because their condition and circumstances are different.

P. Very well. And for the same reason, upon your plan, the non-elect are not bound to believe in Christ.—He did not die for them. There is no atonement for them. " Their salvation, is, in the nature of things, impossible ; for though Christ's merit is of infinite value in relation to the object he had in view," it was not his object to die for the non-elect. His death is of no value in relation

to them. If they appear to have any offers of mercy, it is only in appearance, and not in reality. It is only because the elect are so mingled with them, that the ministers of the gospel cannot distinguish, and so are compelled to make an indiscriminate offer; it is not because there is any mercy for them, which they can have, for where no atonement is made, no mercy can be exercised. If they receive any benefit now, it is only for the elect's sake, and because they are so mingled with them, that they cannot but partake of common favours, as the barren rock shares in the rain from heaven, which falls on the fruitful field. It is not because they enjoy any of those privileges of a state of probation, which constitutes a fair opportunity for securing their salvation. They have no such opportunity. There is no atonement for them. It is a reasonable duty for all those for whom Christ died, to believe in him, to receive him as their Saviour; but it is not a reasonable duty for devils, because Christ did not die for them; and, for the same reason, it cannot be the duty of the non-elect, upon your plan. They cannot have Christ for their Saviour, for he did not die for them.

A. How then do the patience and forbearance of God appear greater upon your plan than upon mine?

P. The patience and forbearance of God, in sparing the guilty, is great, in proportion to the number and magnitude of their offences. The non-elect are guilty of all those offences against God, upon my plan, which they are upon yours, and others besides, great, and numerous, and aggravated.

A. What are they?

P. On my plan, the non-elect are guilty of rejecting a Saviour that is provided for them; of hating, and persecuting, and crucifying the Son of God, who loved them, and wept over them, and poured out his life's blood for their souls. They are guilty of despising the mercy of the Father, who calls upon them in the most affecting terms, and expostulates with them, and warns them, and entreats them to repent and be saved, declaring with all the solemnity of an oath, "As I live, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live." They are guilty of resisting and grieving the Holy Spirit, who strives with them, and reproves them, and calls upon them to embrace the Saviour who died for them. They are guilty of wasting their period of probation, and sinning away their day of grace; of refusing to secure the salvation of their souls, when it is put in their own power, and of wantonly and wickedly throwing themselves away, when eternal life is brought within their reach. With these sins they are not chargeable, upon your plan; for no salvation is provided, no Saviour has died for them, no mercy can be had, no opportunity for securing eternal life is afforded. Since, therefore, the non-elect, on my plan, are guilty of these great and aggravated sins, with which, on your plan, they cannot be chargeable, the patience and forbearance of God, in sparing them from day to day, is, on my plan, far more gloriously displayed, than they can be upon yours.

DIALOGUE V.

A. You will, at least, acknowledge, that the justice of God is glorified in the condemnation of the non-elect, even though no Saviour died for them.

P. Yes; but in a degree far less.

A. How so?

P. The non-elect, as well as others, are bound to love God with all their hearts, and to keep his commandments perfectly; and for refusing to do this, they are justly condemned. For this they would be justly condemned, though no Saviour had been provided. So far, the justice of God would be glorified in their condemnation, whether Christ died for them or not. But if Christ has not died for them, the justice of God cannot be glorified in condemning them for rejecting a Saviour. There is no Saviour for them, that they can reject. The justice of God cannot be glorified in condemning them for refusing to secure the salvation of their souls. There is no salvation brought within their reach which they can refuse. The justice of God cannot be glorified in condemning them for despising his offered mercy. There is no mercy for them which they can despise. If, therefore, on your plan, the wicked are inexcusable for not loving and serving God, on mine they are doubly inexcusable. If on your plan they are justly condemned for refusing to love and serve God, on mine, they are justly condemned for the same thing, and besides this, they are justly condemned for rejecting a Saviour that was provided for them, for throwing away their souls, when their salvation was put within their power, and for despising the mercy which they might have enjoyed.

A. You also mentioned God's regard for the happiness of the non-elect, as a secondary inducement with him to give his Son to die for them. How does it show any regard for their happiness, when, according to your own representation, their condemnation becomes only more aggravated in consequence?

P. It must be remembered that it becomes so through their own fault. They neglect to improve the privileges put into their hands. They might be saved, if they would, but they will not.

A. But this was known to God, from the beginning; and therefore, it seems to me, that a regard for their happiness would have dictated that no such privileges should be given them, which they might abuse. How can it be any privilege for a man to be put into a situation to increase his guilt, and consequently his misery?

P. Do you believe, then, that the non-elect enjoy no privileges or blessings in this life?

A. I would not say that. I admit that they "are placed here in a condition of comfort, or, at least, in a mixed state, where many blessings and privileges are enjoyed; and this occurs in consequence of the mediation of Christ." And in this, their situation differs from that of the devils. "Devils are confined in chains of darkness. They receive no benefits."

P. How can the common blessings of life, which they enjoy, be

considered any blessings to them, since they abuse them also, to increase their guilt, and aggravate their final condemnation? And how is it any kindness to bestow such blessings upon them, when it was known, from the beginning, that they would so abuse them?

A. That which is, in its own nature, a good, and capable of being improved by us to our advantage, is a blessing, and must be so considered, whether we improve it or not.

P. Then you have answered your own question. That which is, in its own nature, a good, and capable of being improved by us to our advantage, is a blessing; and it is a privilege to have it bestowed upon us, and a kindness in the bestower, whether we improve it to our advantage or not. By Christ's dying for the non-elect, they are placed in a situation very different from that in which they would have been, if he had not died for them. If he had not died for them, they would have been in a situation, at least, substantially the same as that of the devils. They could have had no privileges. No blessings could have been bestowed upon them. They could receive no benefits. For where there is no atonement, no mercy can be shown. But since Christ has died for all, all "are placed in a condition of comfort, or, at least, in a mixed state, where many blessings and privileges are enjoyed." But besides this, those who live where the gospel is preached, non-elect, as well as others, are placed in a situation in which they enjoy the means of grace, and have an opportunity to secure the salvation of their souls. A Saviour is provided, an atonement is offered them, pardon and peace are proclaimed in their ears, the Father invites, the Saviour entreats, the Holy Spirit strives. Eternal life is brought within their reach, and urged upon them. The welfare of their immortal souls is put into their own hands, and they may secure it, if they will. Are these no privileges? Are they not, in themselves, a great good, and capable of being improved by them to their own unspeakable advantage? In this way, therefore, God shows his regard for their happiness; and manifests the strongest solicitude for their welfare. And if they perish, after all this, they will be without excuse, and their blood will be upon their own heads.

Thus, then, Aspasio, I have pointed out "*for what end*" God gave his Son to die for those "whom he had no intention of saving." It was to glorify himself, and to manifest his regard for their happiness. It was to put them into a state in which they might be saved, if they would, and to make it depend entirely upon their own choice whether they were saved or not; that thus, in throwing away their souls, they might be rendered doubly inexcusable, and their blood might be upon their own heads. Till, therefore, you can show, that these things are of no importance, you ought not to conclude that Christ died for the elect only, because he could have "*no important purpose*" in dying for others.

DIALOGUE VI.

P. What is your third argument to prove that Christ died for the elect only?

A. My third argument is this : "The death of Christ was a real atonement, a ransom price, an expiation, and a propitiation for sin ; a full satisfaction to law and justice ; and must therefore be efficacious in behalf of those for whom he died. If he died for all, then all must be saved. Consequently, if only a part of the human race shall certainly be saved, Christ died only for that part."

P. This argument depends entirely upon the nature of the atonement. From your views of its nature, you conclude that it was made for the elect only. My views of its nature are probably different from your's. From my views of the nature of the atonement, I conclude that it was made for all men. Will you state your views of its nature?

A. I will. "The word *atonement*, though often used in the Old Testament, is not found in the New Testament, except in one instance, Rom. v. 11, where it ought to have been *reconciliation*. In the view, however, of our translators, there was but little difference between these two words, for he whose sins are atoned, is reconciled. Of such an atonement, as leaves the person for whom it was made, forever under the guilt of his sins, they had no idea." "The Hebrew word for atonement signifies to *cover* : and when sins in the Old Testament are spoken of as atoned, the meaning always is, that they were *covered, removed*, never to be charged upon the person who committed them." "When, in common language a man is said to have atoned for his fault by any means, what do we mean by the word? Why, that the punishment which he had incurred, is actually removed, or ought to be removed."

"Another word used in the New Testament is *propitiation*." "A propitiation is that which propitiates, which expiates, which procures exemption from punishment, which renders favourable the person to whom it is offered."

"Another set of words, by which the death of Christ is frequently expressed, signify the *price* paid for the redemption of captives." "The life of Christ is called the *ransom*." "Now this ransom being paid and accepted, was considered a sufficient price to obtain the liberation of all those for whom it was offered. When a sufficient price is paid for the redemption of a captive, he cannot with propriety be detained in slavery." "Those, then, for whom Christ has paid a ransom, will surely be actually redeemed."

"Another word which has formerly been in more constant use with orthodox Christians than any other, is *satisfaction*." "Justice is considered as offended, and insists upon the condign punishment of the sinner. A surety offers to make satisfaction for the offence, by obeying the law, and suffering its penalty. The offer is accepted. The satisfaction is made, and acknowledged to be sufficient. Now, the question is, can they for whom this satisfaction has been made, be punished for the same sins, for which justice is

declared to be satisfied? How can the same crimes be punished twice over in a just government?"

P. If I understand your argument, it is this: The satisfaction which Christ has made, consisted partly of his obedience, and partly of his sufferings, and is of such a nature, that those for whom it was made, cannot be justly punished. And, therefore, all those must be saved, for whom it was made. Do I understand you?

A. You do. For, "how can the same crimes be punished twice over, in a just government?" But, will you give me your views of the nature of the atonement, that I may see how you avoid the same conclusion?

P. I will. But let us first inquire for what purpose an atonement was necessary. If we can get clear ideas of the purpose for which an atonement was necessary, it will help us to judge of its nature. If we can find out what end the atonement was intended to answer, we can better understand the nature of the atonement which infinite wisdom contrived to answer that end.

A. Very well. Proceed.

P. First, then, I ask, whether an atonement was necessary to restore man his moral agency? Some think, that, by the fall, man had lost his moral agency, and that an atonement was necessary to be made, that it might be restored. I think it could not be necessary for any such purpose, because man had not lost his moral agency by the fall. A moral agent is one that performs moral actions. Moral actions are those which have moral qualities, that is, are either holy or sinful. If man, by the fall, had lost his moral agency, he had become incapable of moral action, that is, he had become incapable of doing any thing either holy or sinful. But, to suppose that man, by the fall, had become incapable of sinning, is absurd. An atonement, therefore, was not necessary to restore to man his moral agency, for he had not lost it.

2. I ask, whether an atonement was necessary to be made, in order to excite the compassion of God? This, I think, no one will affirm; though some things which you said respecting *propitiation*, seem to look like it. You said, "A propitiation is that which *propitiates*, which *renders favourable* the person to whom it is offered." If you mean that a propitiation is that which renders it consistent for the person to whom it is offered, to show favour, I have no objection to the idea. But if you mean that a propitiation is that which renders the person to whom it is offered *disposed* to show favour; if you mean, it is intended to *move* him to show favour, when, without it, he would have no such inclination, it cannot be correct, as applied to God. He is compassionate in his very nature. "God is love." He who feels no compassion for the miserable, cannot be a good being. To say that an atonement was necessary in order to *move* God to compassion, and *dispose* him to show mercy, represents him as a being destitute of goodness. It represents him as a hard, unfeeling, and cruel tyrant. Instead of representing him as he is, a being of boundless mercy and goodness, every

way worthy to be loved, it represents him as a most odious and implacable being, whom every one ought to hate. And further, to say that an atonement was necessary to excite the compassion of God, would be the same as to say, that the plan of saving sinners did not originate with him. He had no disposition to save them; he felt no compassion for them; he was hard, and unfeeling, and implacable, till the Lord Jesus, who was a more benevolent being, and pitied their miserable condition, undertook for them, and by his sufferings and death, moved the Father to compassion. But such a representation would be very different from that given in the Scriptures. The Scriptures say, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son." It was his compassion for sinners, which moved him to provide a Saviour. It was not necessary, therefore, that an atonement should be made to move him to compassion.

3. I ask, whether an atonement was necessary, to *pay* God for favours to be bestowed upon us? Such an opinion, I think, cannot be consistent with the representations of Scripture. The Scriptures every where speak of the favours we receive from God, as *grace* alone. Grace is favour bestowed upon the ill-deserving. The favours we receive from God, are not only grace to us, who do not deserve them, but it is grace in God to bestow them; and the bestowment of them is spoken of, as a manifestation of the "riches of his grace." Where any good bestowed is *paid* for, there is no room for grace in the bestower. It is frequently thought that Christ obeyed in the room of sinners; and that his obedience created a claim upon God for the blessings he bestows. And that, as this obedience was rendered by Christ in the room of sinners, the merit of it is transferred to them, and they consequently have a just claim to those good things for which it paid. This seems to me to bear too close a resemblance to the old popish notion, upon which the sale of indulgences was founded; which was, that Christ had, by his obedience, created a large fund of merit, which was put at the disposal of the pope, as his representative, and might by him be sold out to those that had need. But the blessings God bestows upon men are entirely of grace, and of course, they were not paid for, by any thing which Christ did. And consequently, an atonement was not necessary to *pay* God for favours to be bestowed upon us.

DIALOGUE VII.

A. You were inquiring why an atonement was necessary. Have you any further inquiries to make?

P. Yes. I ask, fourthly, whether an atonement was necessary to satisfy commutative justice? You speak of the atonement as a satisfaction to justice. So do I. But what kind of justice? There are three kinds of justice, differing from each other as they have

relation to different things. These are, commutative justice, which relates to commercial transactions; distributive justice, which relates to moral character; and public justice, which relates to the public good. Was an atonement necessary to satisfy commutative justice? It is plain that it was not. For atonement "has relation to sins committed." There is nothing here of a commercial nature. I know that some represent the atonement as a payment of a debt. They represent the sinner as owing a debt to God, and being shut up in prison because he has nothing to pay. They represent Christ as taking upon himself the payment of that debt, and thus purchasing his release. If this were literally true, I grant, that the atonement would be necessarily limited; for all those must be discharged whose debt is paid. And not only so, but justice would demand their discharge. The creditor could not hold them any longer, without the greatest injustice and oppression. There could be no grace in their discharge; for where a debt is paid, there is no grace in releasing the debtor. You will say, perhaps, that the grace of the Gospel consists in the gift of a Saviour, and not in the sinner's discharge, after his debt is paid. I grant that it would be grace in the creditor to provide for the debtor the means of paying his debt; but is that all the grace of the Gospel? Is there, indeed, no grace in the sinner's discharge? When Christians go to a throne of grace in prayer, do they go to demand their right? Do they go to claim justice at the hands of God? Do they not go, rather, to sue for favour, as suppliants? Do they not go to ask for grace? And do not the Scriptures uniformly speak of the sinner's discharge as an act of grace? Do they not say, "We are justified *freely* by his *grace*," "We have the *forgiveness* of sins, according to the *riches of his grace*." It is evident, then, that an atonement was not necessary to satisfy commutative justice.

I acknowledge that some of "the words by which the death of Christ is frequently expressed, signify the *price* paid for the redemption of captives, and that the life of Christ is called a *ransom*." But this language is evidently figurative. The blood of Christ was not gold, nor silver, nor any other commercial medium. To take figurative language, and draw conclusions from it, as if it were literal, will certainly lead us into mistakes. If this language were to be understood literally, it would indeed follow, as you say, that, "When a sufficient price is paid for the redemption of a captive, he cannot with propriety be detained in slavery." It would indeed follow, that those for whom the ransom price was paid, will surely be actually redeemed. And it would likewise follow, that they are actually redeemed, from eternity, and are not under condemnation at all; since, from the moment Christ undertook to pay their debt, it was considered as virtually paid. He is considered as the "Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." At any rate, after their ransom was actually paid, by his death, "they could not with propriety be detained in slavery." But the Scriptures represent all who are not actually in Christ by faith, as under condemnation. "He that believeth not is condemned already, and the

wrath of God abideth on him." But all such literal conclusions, drawn from figurative language as if it were literal, are drawn without any foundation, and are a most unwarrantable perversion of the word of God. The atonement, therefore, was not a commercial transaction, and it was not necessary that an atonement should be made to satisfy commutative justice.

5. I ask, whether an atonement was necessary to take away our ill desert? This, I think, cannot be said, with propriety, although some things which you have said seem to imply it. Speaking of the translators of the Bible, you say, "Of such an atonement as leaves the person for whom it was made forever under the *guilt* of his sins, they had no idea." *Guilt* means ill desert. He who has committed a crime is *guilty*. And after he is pardoned, he is still guilty; for it is still true that he has done wrong, and nothing can render it untrue. If he has been pardoned, it is still true that he has done wrong; and as long as it remains true that he has done wrong, so long it will remain true that he is guilty, and deserves punishment. His pardon exempts him from suffering the punishment he deserves, but does not take away his ill desert. The sinner has broken the law of God, and therefore is guilty; and the fact that Christ has died to procure his pardon, cannot alter the fact that he has transgressed, and therefore cannot alter the truth that he deserves to be punished. And if he is penitent, he feels guilty; he feels that he deserves the displeasure of God. And if he is assured that God has forgiven him, that assurance does not diminish his sense of his own unworthiness and ill desert, but rather serves to increase it. The real penitent loathes and abhors himself, as much after he is forgiven, as he does before. He feels just as guilty, after all apprehension of punishment is removed, as he does before. The greatest saint in Heaven must still feel disposed to abase himself before God, for the sins he committed while on earth; and will have the sense of his ill desert continually increasing, as long as he continues, in the light of eternity, to see more and more of the evil and odious nature of sin. An atonement, therefore, was not necessary to take away our ill desert. No atonement could take it away. And no real penitent can ever feel disposed to palliate or diminish his ill desert, or to wish others to think it less than it really is. He feels that he is a monument of grace, and is willing that others should think so too.

6. I ask, whether an atonement was necessary to satisfy distributive justice. Distributive justice has relation to moral character. It demands that every person should be treated according to his moral character. It demands that the guilty should be punished, and the innocent set free. The demands of distributive justice, are the same as the demands of the moral law. The moral law requires perfect obedience, upon pain of eternal death. It requires that those who have disobeyed should be punished. Do you think that the atonement satisfied distributive justice?

A. Yes. I think that the atonement "was a full satisfaction to law and justice." "Justice is considered as offended, and insists

on the condign punishment of the sinner. A surety offers to make satisfaction for the offence, by obeying the law and suffering its penalty. The offer is accepted. The satisfaction is made and acknowledged to be sufficient." This is the atonement.

P. But the law demands, that the soul that sinneth should die. How can the death of another answer that demand?

A. By the *transfer* of the sinner's guilt to the person of the surety. "It deserves to be noticed that in the sacrifices which were typical of the great atonement, the idea of the *transfer* of the sinner's guilt to the expiatory animal is carefully kept up."

P. The law demands that the *soul that sinneth should die*. It does not demand that another should die in his place. The law says nothing of the substitution of another, in the place of the offender. No such substitution, therefore, can answer the demands of the law.

A. But if the sins of an offender can be transferred to the surety, so as to become truly and properly his own, then by his death the demands of the law can be answered, and distributive justice satisfied.

P. If the sins of the offender can be transferred to the surety, so as to become truly and properly his own—but that cannot be done.—What I have done, is my own act, and cannot, by any process, become the act of another.

A. But if another person, of his own accord, offers to bear the punishment of your offences, may he not do it?

P. If another person, of his own accord, offers to bear the *suffering*, which was due to me for my offences, he may do it. But it cannot be *punishment* to him. *Punishment* supposes *guilt*. He cannot take my actions upon himself, so that they shall become his own actions, and cease to be mine. He cannot become *guilty*, without his own personal transgression. If he suffers in my place, therefore, his sufferings are not punishment to him.

I have other objections, however, to the notion of a *transfer* of our sins to Christ.

1. If our sins are so transferred to Christ, as to become his sins, they are no longer ours. We are spotless and holy, in our own persons, as God himself. And how inconsistent this is, with the feelings of all real Christians, and with the representations of Scripture respecting them, I need not take time to show.

2. If our sins are so transferred to Christ as to become his sins, we have no need of repentance, for we have no sins of which to repent. It is perfectly idle to talk of our repenting of sins which are not our own.

3. If our sins are so transferred to Christ, as to become his sins, we cannot be the subjects of *grace*. Grace is favour shown to the guilty. If our guilt is transferred to Christ, we have none left; and it is as improper to talk of our being treated with grace, as it would be to say it of the holy angels who never sinned.

4. If our sins are so transferred to Christ, as to become his sins, and we have none left, we cannot receive pardon at the hands of

God. There is no pardon where there is no guilt. Pardon exempts a criminal from the punishment he deserves. There is no pardon in excusing an innocent person from suffering. He does not deserve to suffer. But the scripture says, "We have the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace."

5. If our sins are so transferred to Christ, as to become his sins, then he suffered justly, as an evil doer, and one that deserved not only to die on the cross, but also deserved eternal damnation, as the greatest sinner in the universe. But the scripture says he died, "the just for the unjust."

DIALOGUE VIII.

A. If the demands of the law are not answered by the death of Christ, if distributive justice is not satisfied, then, when sinners are exempted from punishment, why is not the law dishonoured, and injustice done; and that too, by the authority of God himself? But the scripture teaches, that Christ magnified the law and made it honourable; and it speaks of the death of Christ as taking place, that God might be *just*, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus.

P. The reason why the law is not dishonoured, when sinners are exempted from suffering the punishment it demands, is, that Christ has magnified the law and made it honourable, and it is for his sake that they are exempted from punishment. The reason why no injustice is done, when sinners are exempted from suffering the punishment which distributive justice demands, I will give, after I shall have given my view of the nature of the atonement. And before I do that, I will ask once more, why an atonement was necessary?

A. I have given the reason. The scripture says, it was, "that God might be just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus."

P. Very well. But just to whom? Just to the sinner? No; for, if he treats the sinner according to justice, he will punish him forever. It is, that God might be just to himself, just to his own character, as the righteous Governor of the universe, just to the great interests of the universe, which it belongs to him, as the Supreme Ruler, to promote.

A. How could the atonement accomplish that end, without satisfying distributive justice?

P. By satisfying public justice. Public justice has relation to the great interests of the universe, and demands that they should be secured. It demands that the greatest good of the universe should be promoted, that the greatest possible sum of happiness among intelligent beings, should be brought into existence. The greatest good of the universe comprises the glory of God, and the happiness of all holy creatures. The glory of God forms, by far,

the greatest part. To glorify God, is to display his perfections, to let the universe see what God is. That all God's perfections should be seen to the best advantage, a system must be contrived which would give opportunity for the exercise of them all. That his mercy might be seen, it was necessary that there should be sinners, and that sinners should be pardoned; and raised to a throne of glory in heaven. But how could this be done? How could the sinner be forgiven, and be raised to a throne of glory in heaven? The law had threatened eternal death as the just demerit of sin. By giving a law, with this penalty annexed, God had declared that he was infinitely opposed to sin, and hated it with all his heart. The object of the penalty annexed to the law, was, to show the evil nature of sin, and how the Lawgiver felt towards it. For God to exempt the sinner from punishment, without an atonement, and to exalt him at his own right hand, would be to say, in the strongest language, that sin was not an evil, but a good, and that he did not abhor it, but regarded it with approbation, and was disposed to confer upon it the highest rewards. And for God to do any thing which could be so construed, would be infinitely dishonourable to himself, and subversive of the highest interests of the universe. It would be a violation of public justice. Unless, therefore, something could be done to prevent these consequences, we must conclude that sin could never be forgiven, and that the law must take its course, and be executed upon transgressors.

A. Yes. "If we form honourable ideas of the perfections of God, we must suppose that his treatment of sinners will be uniform, and therefore, that all will suffer exactly in proportion to their demerit, unless some scheme be devised, by which the *ends of punishment can be completely answered, and yet the sinner spared.*"

P. You have brought to view the true reason why an atonement was necessary, and what purpose it was intended to answer. The atonement was a "*scheme devised*" by infinite wisdom, "*by which the ends of punishment can be completely answered, and yet the sinner spared.*" The great end of punishment was to manifest God's hatred of sin. If any expedient could be found out, which would answer that end as well as the actual infliction of the threatened penalty upon transgressors, then that penalty could be dispensed with, and mercy might be exercised in the pardon of sinners. Such an expedient infinite wisdom has devised. The Lord Jesus Christ has laid down his life, "the just for the unjust." By his death, the evil of sin has been made to appear, in a light infinitely stronger than it ever could have appeared in the condemnation of a world. By doing this, he has magnified the law and made it honourable, although the execution of its threatening of death to the sinner is dispensed with. By his death, public justice is satisfied. The evils which would have followed from the pardon of the sinner without an atonement, are effectually guarded against. And now, God can be just, just to himself, just to his own character as the righteous Governor of the universe, and yet forgive sinners for Christ's sake.

A. And yet I should say that the demands of the law are answered by what Christ has done.

P. No. The law did not demand the death of Christ. It demanded the death of the sinner. The death of Christ, therefore, has not met its demand. But by the death of Christ, that has been done, which magnifies the law, and renders it consistent with its honour, that its demands should be dispensed with, as respects all those who will accept of Christ as their Saviour.

A. But if distributive justice is not satisfied in behalf of sinners, then, when they are exempted from punishment, why is not injustice done? You promised to answer this question.

P. I will answer it. Distributive justice demands that the soul that sinneth should die. It demanded that Christ should be honoured, and the sinner punished. By Christ's dying, while the sinner lives, therefore, its demands are not met. No injustice is done, however. Injustice consists in treating persons worse than they deserve. No one is treated worse than he deserves. When persons are treated better than they deserve, that is not injustice, but *grace*. Grace has respect to distributive justice, and suspends its exercise towards the guilty. If you insist that distributive justice must be satisfied in all cases, you shut out the possibility of grace altogether. There can be no grace, unless the guilty are exempted from the punishment which distributive justice demands. Perhaps you will ask, why then was not injustice done to Christ, since he suffered what he did not deserve. To this, I answer, his sufferings were perfectly voluntary. He took them upon himself. If those sufferings had been inflicted upon him, without his consent, he would have been treated with injustice. But distributive justice was not exercised in the infliction of those sufferings upon him, for he was not a sinner.

A. How does it follow, from this view of the nature of the atonement, that it was made for all men?

P. It was a satisfaction to public justice, by which the ends of punishment are answered; and the exercise of mercy, in the pardon of sinners, is rendered consistent with the honour of the law, and the character of God as a righteous governor. In consequence of it, God can be "just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus." It is, from its very nature, as sufficient for one man as for another, and for all men as for one man. And as all men receive some benefits from this atonement, according to your own concessions, for you say, that "in consequence of the mediation of Christ, men are placed here in a condition of comfort, or at least, in a mixed state, where many blessings and privileges are enjoyed;" and as this atonement lays a foundation for the offer of mercy to be sincerely made to all indiscriminately, as you also grant, I see not how you can possibly avoid the conclusion, which I draw from it, that it was actually made for all men."

A. But the atonement was a *cover* for sin. "The Hebrew word for atonement signifies to *cover*." When, therefore, sins are spoken

of as atoned, the meaning is, that they were *covered, removed*, never to be charged upon the person who committed them."

P. Do you believe that the elect are under condemnation till the moment they believe in Christ?

A. Yes. The scripture says, "He that believeth not is condemned already, and the wrath of God abideth on him."

P. The atonement was made eighteen hundred years ago, and those of the elect who have not yet believed, are still under condemnation. But their sins were atoned for, as soon as Christ had laid down his life. According to you, therefore, their sins were actually "*covered, removed*, never to be charged upon" them; and yet they are not covered, nor removed, but are charged upon them, and for them they are condemned already, and the wrath of God abideth on them. This looks very much like a contradiction.

A. How then do you consider the atonement a cover for sin?

P. There is a difference between a cover *for* and a cover *of*. That is a cover *for*, which is prepared and adapted to be a cover *of*. The atonement is a cover *for* sin, because it is adapted to be a cover *of* sin; but it does not become a cover *of* sin, to any individual, till he puts it on, that is, till he actually believes in Christ, and receives his pardon.

A. But atonement means the same as reconciliation. "For he whose sins are atoned is *reconciled*."

P. Reconciled, and yet under condemnation! Reconciled, and yet in his sins! Reconciled to God, and yet hating him with all his heart! No; it is impossible! The apostle prays sinners to be reconciled to God. He does not pray them to make atonement. Sinners never make atonement; that was the work of Christ. Sinners become reconciled, by accepting the atonement which Christ has made. Atonement and reconciliation are therefore very different things.

A. But "the end actually accomplished by the death of Christ, must be learned from the sacred scriptures, and not from the theories of man." Men may theorize very speciously; "But this is a point of too much magnitude to be decided by mere reasoning. Let us hear what God hath spoken: 'To the law and the testimony,' we make an appeal, and by them we are willing it should be decided."

P. I cordially agree with you in this, and beg you will bear it in mind, when we come, by and by, to see "what God hath spoken," as to the extent of the atonement. For the present, I wish merely to consider your arguments.

DIALOGUE IX.

P. What is your fourth argument to prove that Christ died for the elect only?

A. It is this: "Christ offered himself a sacrifice to satisfy di-

vine justice in the office of a priest." Now, "his priestly office is not performed for any by the halves." Therefore, "for whom Christ offered himself a sacrifice, for the same does he intercede. But he intercedes, it is agreed, for none but his own people; therefore, he died for none but his own people."

P. I grant that Christ is the priest of his people, and that he does not perform his priestly office for any "by the halves." But to conclude from this, that he will intercede for the salvation of all those for whom he died, is to take it for granted that he could not possibly die for any but his own people. It is to take it for granted, that he could not have any object in dying for any, unless he intended to save them. To assume this, is to assume the very point of dispute. To assume the point in dispute, is what logicians call *begging the question*. It is usually considered an indication of a weak cause, and that the supporter of it feels it to be so.

A. Do you grant, then, that Christ intercedes for none but his own people?

P. No. I grant that he does not intercede for the salvation of any but his own people; for he did not intend to save any others. But he intended to secure the enjoyment of "many blessings and privileges" to the non-elect, as you grant. Now, if he intended by his death to obtain for the non-elect these blessings, I see not why it should be thought incredible that he should ask the Father to bestow them. He intended by his death, to procure for the non-elect a period of probation and the offer of mercy: and I see not why it should be thought incredible, that after having died to procure for them these blessings, he should ask the Father to bestow them.

A. But does not Christ say, expressly, "I pray for them: I pray not for the world, but for them which thou hast given me?"

P. In that particular prayer, he prayed for his disciples, and for none others. And he prayed for such blessings for them as are never bestowed upon any but his disciples. But this does not prove that when God bestows other blessings upon other men, he does not do it in answer to the requests of his Son. You beg the question, therefore, in both points of your argument. And besides that, you contradict what you had before granted, that "many blessings and privileges" are bestowed upon the non-elect, "in consequence of the mediation of Christ." *Mediation* includes intercession, as well as atonement. According to your own concession, therefore, he does, in some respects, intercede for the non-elect. What is your fifth argument?

A. It is this: "The death of Christ is the cause of all spiritual blessings; it is therefore the cause of the gift of faith. Those, therefore, for whom Christ died, will be made partakers of faith. But none receive the gift of faith but the elect; therefore Christ died for none else."

P. This argument is a mere *sophism*. It has all the formality of a regular syllogism, but nothing more. I will give you one or two like it. 1. God is the giver of all good things; he is therefore the giver of faith. But he gives faith to none but the elect;

therefore he gives no good things to any but the elect. 2. The combined influence of the rain and the sun is the cause of vegetation. But there is no vegetation upon the barren rock ; therefore, the rain never descends, and the sun never shines upon the barren rock. But these conclusions are evidently false, and so is the one you draw. To make your argument correct, it ought to be this : The death of Christ secures the enjoyment of all spiritual blessings to those for whom he died ; it therefore secures to them the gift of faith. But faith is given to none but the elect ; therefore Christ died for none else. This would be a correct syllogism, and the conclusion would follow, if it were true, that the death of Christ does actually secure the enjoyment of all spiritual blessings, to all those for whom he died. To assume that it does, is to assume the very point in dispute. It is begging the question again. This argument, however, is good on the other side, and proves that Christ died for all men.

A. How so ?

P. Thus : the death of Christ is the cause of all the blessings bestowed upon sinful men. No blessings can be bestowed upon sinners without an atonement. Therefore, no blessings can be bestowed upon any of our sinful race for whom Christ did not die. But many blessings are bestowed upon all men ; therefore, Christ died for all men. What is your sixth argument ?

A. It is this : " If Christ actually died for all men, then he died for many whose salvation had become impossible, and to whom the offer of mercy never could be made ;" for they were already in hell. Did he die for those already in hell ?

P. " If Christ actually died for all" the elect, " then he died for many whose salvation" was already accomplished, " and to whom the offer of mercy never could be made ;" for they were already in heaven. Did he die for those already in heaven ?

A. Yes. For those already in heaven, had gone there by faith in the Saviour that was to come.

P. And those already in hell, had gone there for want of faith in the Saviour that was to come. The truth is, the Saviour was revealed immediately after the fall, and men were saved by faith in him, or condemned for their unbelief, just as they are now.

A. But, " of what avail is it to the soul in torment, that Christ is dying for him on earth, seeing his misery is not the least mitigated thereby ?"

P. That is, what good could it do him ? This, again, is assuming that Christ could not have any object in dying for any, unless he intended to save them. It is begging the question again.

A. But, " if Christ died for all, then justice was, at the same moment, exacting punishment from the offender himself, and from the Redeemer." And " how can the same crimes be punished twice over in a just government ?"

P. They cannot be punished twice over. Christ was not punished at all. And the satisfaction he made, was not a satisfaction to law, nor to distributive justice. It follows from *your* princi-

ples, and not from mine, that the law is satisfied twice over, or rather, as I should think, three times over.

A. How so?

P. You believe that Christ obeyed the law for his people, do you not?

A. Yes. He made satisfaction "by obeying the law," as well as "by suffering its penalty."

P. Was not Christ's obedience perfect?

A. Yes. The scripture says, he was "holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners."

P. Does not perfect obedience satisfy the law?

A. Yes. Where there is perfect obedience, the law has no further demand.

P. If Christ obeyed the law perfectly, and did that for his people, that was satisfying the law once. Then, if he suffered the penalty of the law, and bore the punishments of their sins, that was satisfying the law twice. And after that, they are forgiven; that is, after the demands of the law have been satisfied twice over, they are dispensed with by forgiveness; which is equal to satisfying it the third time.

A. But, "if Christ died for all men, then he atoned for sins which are never pardoned. But what sort of an atonement is that for a sin; which does not render it possible for the punishment of it to be removed? The sin against the Holy Ghost, and final impenitence and unbelief, never can be pardoned, and to suppose them atoned for, is absurd."

P. On the same principle, I should say, while the elect are without repentance their sin cannot be pardoned. But to suppose a sin atoned for, which cannot be pardoned, is absurd. Therefore, to suppose the sin of the elect atoned for, while they are without repentance, is absurd. The truth is, that the reason why the sin against the Holy Ghost, and final impenitence and unbelief are not pardoned, is because they are not repented of, not because the atonement is not as sufficient for them as for any other sins. What is your seventh argument?

A. It is this: "the death of Christ is of no avail to those who have never heard of this event; for how can they believe in him of whom they have not heard?" Now, if Christ died for all men, would he permit so many millions of them to remain in total ignorance of an event in which they are so deeply interested?"

P. That is, again, what good could it do them? This is assuming that Christ could not die for any, unless he intended to save them, which is begging the question again. And you have answered this argument yourself as often as you have conceded, that "in consequence of the mediation of Christ," all men do enjoy "many blessings and privileges." But if you still ask, why God does not actually send the gospel to all men, I will answer it when you have answered a few questions like these: Why does he not actually save all men? Why does he not, at least, save all those who enjoy the light of the gospel? Why does he not place all the elect in the

same favourable circumstances for knowing and serving him? Why does he not create them all with the same natural powers of body and mind, and give them all the same opportunities for improvement, that they may all be prepared for the same degree of happiness in heaven? Why does he convert one in the morning of life, and another not till the close of it? Why does he favour one with the clearest knowledge of divine truth, and leave another to embrace many errors, which greatly retard his growth in grace, and consequently lessen his religious enjoyment and usefulness? If Christ loved them well enough to die for them, and save them, why did he not love them enough to make them as wise and as holy as Gabriel?

DIALOGUE X.

P. What is your eighth argument, to prove that Christ died for the elect only?

A. It is this: "It is derogatory to the honour of the Redeemer, that so great a portion of those for whom he died, should ultimately perish. It is an unworthy thought of the Almighty Saviour, that he should permit Satan to triumph over millions of those whom he purchased with his own blood."

P. This argument begs the question again: it supposes that Christ did not die for any but those he intended to save. It would, indeed, be "derogatory to the honour of the Redeemer," that a great portion of those whom he intended to save "should ultimately perish." It would, indeed, be "an unworthy thought of the Almighty Saviour, that he should permit Satan to triumph over millions of those whom he" intended to save. But that is not the case. He saves all he intended to save. And he accomplishes the objects he had in view in dying for others. What these objects are, has been already shown. What is your ninth argument?

A. It is this: "This doctrine of the general atonement takes away from the true believer one of the most interesting and edifying views of this event which can be presented to him. When he contemplates the death of Christ, he beholds the most striking and affecting manifestation of the special love of God to him: but if the atonement is as much for reprobates as for him, how is it an evidence of any great and special love? It is no ground of consolation to know that Christ loved me, and gave himself for me, because a reprobate may know the same."

P. How can it be any satisfaction to me, to enjoy the common blessings of Providence, unless I have them all to myself? How can it be any gratification to me, to sit down to a table loaded with all the dainties in nature, if other persons are invited as well as I? How can it be any consolation to me, to know that I am going to heaven, to enjoy the presence of my God and Saviour, if millions of the human race are to enjoy them as well as myself?

My enjoyments of them will surely be diminished, in exact proportion to the number of those who shall with me be partakers of them. Are these *Christian* feelings? Are they agreeable to the common feelings of *humanity*? what is it but *naked selfishness*? What is your tenth argument?

A. It is this: "The sacred scriptures in many places restrict the death of Christ to his people."

P. Will you favour me with some of these "many places?"

A. Yes. Christ says, "I lay down my life *for the sheep*." Again it is said, "The church which he purchased with his own blood."

P. But where is the restriction? I confess I do not see it. He laid down his life "*for the sheep*." Who disputes that? If it was the will of God "that he should taste death *for every man*," he must of course have laid down his life *for the sheep*."

A. I acknowledge "that these and such like passages, do not in so many words, declare that he died for no others. Yet they have no force or apparent propriety, unless thus understood."

P. You acknowledge, then, that the passages you mention, do not expressly "restrict the death of Christ to his people." The whole force of your argument, then, comes to this: these passages do not appear to *you* to have any force or propriety, unless you understand them agreeably to your own scheme. But if we form our opinions first, and then interpret the scriptures in such a manner as to make them accord with our opinions, I am afraid we shall never come to any certainty respecting any of the doctrines of the bible.

A. But, "if Christ laid down his life for his *sheep*, as such, whether yet called or not, then he lays not down his life for the goats, or for those who are not of his fold. If he, as shepherd, lays down his life, then certainly for none but his *sheep*."

P. I feel no difficulty in admitting, that there is a sense, in which Christ laid down his life for the sheep, in which he did not for others. But I contend, also, that there is a sense in which he laid down his life for all alike. As far as his object, in laying down his life, was to secure the salvation of those for whom he died, he laid down his life for the sheep only; for he never intended to secure the salvation of any others. But as far as his object, in laying down his life, was to place men in a state of probation, in a state in which they might be saved if they would; in a state in which their salvation or their perdition should depend entirely upon their own voluntary choice, so far he laid down his life for all alike. If you understand these, and such like passages, in the first sense, I have no objection; for on that point we have no dispute. But to infer from that, that he could have no object in laying down his life for others, is to take for granted the very point in dispute. The passages you mention are totally silent on that subject; and therefore are nothing to the purpose. Have you any other argument to prove that Christ died for the elect only?

A. Yea. It is inconsistent with the doctrine of particular election, to suppose that Christ died for all men.

P. How so?

A. The doctrine of election is, that God gave a certain number of our fallen race to the Son, and the salvation of these he undertook to accomplish by laying down his life. To suppose, therefore, that all men were given to him, and that he undertook to save all by laying down his life, is inconsistent with the doctrine of election.

P. This is not my view of the doctrine of election. You put the doctrine of election in the wrong place, and confound the decree of election with the covenant of redemption. My view of the subject is this: all men sinned—Christ laid down his life for all—the offer of mercy is authorized to be made to all—all, with one consent, refuse the offer. Here then comes in the purpose of election; God determined that he would make some willing to accept the offer. And in pursuance of this determination, he sends his Spirit to make them willing in the day of his power.

A. "To this theory I object, that there is no succession in the divine decrees, but God wills all things, by one most comprehensive and perfect purpose."

P. I grant that there is no succession in the divine decrees, as to the order of time. They have all existed from eternity. But there is a succession in the order of nature; and you yourself suppose it, as much as I do. You suppose that it was determined that man should fall, and need a Saviour; and that in consequence of this, God determined to provide a Saviour for a part of mankind.

A. "Admitting an order in the divine decrees," the order, you suppose, "is preposterous; because it supposes God to determine upon a most important and costly means, before he had purposed any particular end to be accomplished by it."

P. Not at all. The particular end God had in view to accomplish was his own glory. As means to accomplish this great end, Infinite Wisdom has devised, Infinite Goodness adopted, and Infinite Power is carrying into execution the whole plan of the divine administration. This great plan includes all events. All events, therefore, are to be considered as means, which infinite wisdom has contrived, to operate in different ways, for the accomplishment of this great end. The fall of man, the death of Christ for all, the offer of mercy to all, the rejection of the offer by all, the making of some willing to accept it, the salvation of those who do accept it, the aggravated condemnation and final perdition of those who persist in their refusal—these are all means, and "most important and costly means" too, for the accomplishment of that great end. And I see not why the order in which I have mentioned them is not their natural order.

A. But I have another objection: your scheme "furnishes no sufficient motive to produce such a grand event," as Christ's dying for all men.

P. No sufficient motive! Is the glory of God no sufficient motive? Where will you find one of greater magnitude? But the ends accomplished by Christ's dying for all men have been already pointed out. I need not repeat them here. Have you any other argument to prove that Christ died for the elect only?

A. I have mentioned the principal; but I will suggest one more, the identity of *Atonement* and *Redemption*. As they signify the same thing, all who are atoned for, are redeemed. But the elect only are redeemed; therefore the atonement was made for none else.

P. Atonement and redemption are not the same thing. *Atonement* is satisfaction for sin; *redemption* is deliverance from sin. The atonement was finished when Christ rose from the dead; but the redemption of any individual is not finished, till he is freed from sin, by complete sanctification, and received to heaven. Christ is said to have "obtained *eternal redemption for us*;" not *eternal atonement*, surely. The apostle exhorts Christians, "Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of *redemption*;" not the day of *atonement*, for that was past already. And when the Son of Man shall be seen coming in the clouds of heaven, his people are exhorted, "Then look up and lift up your heads: for your *redemption draweth nigh*;" not your atonement draweth nigh, for that was accomplished long since. If atonement and redemption were the same thing, it would be as improper to pray for redemption as for atonement. To pray for atonement would be to pray that Christ might die again. No Christian prays for atonement. But Christians may pray for redemption. They may pray with the scripture saints, "Draw nigh unto my soul and *redeem* it." "*Redeem* me, and be merciful unto me." Atonement and redemption, therefore, are different things: and the argument which is built upon their identity, is built upon the sand.

DIALOGUE XI.

A. Will you state your arguments, to prove that Christ died for all men?

P. Most of them have been brought into view, in the course of the preceding discussion; but I will briefly repeat them:

1. All who hear the gospel are invited to partake of its blessings. But if Christ has not died for them all, they cannot be sincerely invited. The invitation amounts to a declaration that there is salvation for them, which they may have if they will. If Christ has not died for them all, this declaration is untrue, and the invitation a mere mockery.

2. It is made the duty of all who hear the gospel, to accept of Christ as their Saviour. But it cannot be their duty, if Christ has not died for them. It cannot be the duty of devils to accept of Christ as their Saviour, for he did not die for devils.

3. Those who refuse to accept of Christ as their Saviour, are condemned and punished for their unbelief. But how can they be justly punished for not accepting a Saviour, who was never provided for them.

4. The atonement was a satisfaction to public justice, designed to render it consistent for God to show mercy; and from its very nature, must be general.

5. All men do receive many blessings at the hand of God, as you have granted. And "this occurs in consequence of the mediation of Christ," as you have also granted; for where there is no atonement, no mercy can be shown. Since many mercies, therefore, are actually bestowed upon all men, on account of Christ's death, it follows, that Christ died for all.

6. All men are placed here in a state of probation. A state of probation for eternity, necessarily supposes, that those who enjoy it, have an opportunity to secure their eternal salvation. But those for whom Christ did not die, have no such opportunity. No exertions of theirs could ever render it possible for them to be saved.

7. The testimony of scripture is express and full upon this subject. Let me remind you of what you have said yourself. "This is a point of too much magnitude to be decided by mere reasoning. Let us hear what God hath spoken. 'To the law and the testimony,' we make an appeal." What, then, do the scriptures say upon this subject?

1 John 2. 2. "And he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also, for the sins of the *whole world*."

Heb. 2. 9. "But we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour; that he, by the grace of God, should taste death *for every man*."

1 Tim. 2. 6. "Who gave himself a ransom *for all*, to be testified in due time."

2 Cor. 5. 14, 15. "For the love of Christ constraineth us, because we thus judge, that if one died *for all*, then were all dead. And that he died *for all*, that they which live, should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them, and rose again."

John 1. 29. "The next day, John seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the *world*!"

John 3. 16. "For God so loved the *world*, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

That Christ died for some who actually perish, see 2 Pet. 2. 1. "But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even *denying the Lord that bought them*, and bring upon themselves swift destruction."

A. But you must admit that the words *world* and *all*, are sometimes used in a limited sense; and therefore they *may be* so used in these passages. "The word *world* is used in the sacred scriptures for the whole fabric of heaven and earth, sometimes for the heavens distinguished from the earth, for the men in the world, either the whole of a part, sometimes for the Roman empire, for God's people, for the wicked, and for a worldly condition or state." "It is evident," then, "that no great stress should, in this argument, be laid on a word so vague and ambiguous in its meaning." "The word *all* is in the same predicament."

P. I am willing to grant, for the sake of giving your objection all possible force, that these words are used in the various senses you mention. Not, however, that I believe the word *world* is ever used for God's people as distinguished from others. What, then, is the force of your objection? It is plainly this, that because these words are *sometimes* used in a limited sense, they *may be* so used in the texts I have quoted, and that you are at liberty to put this construction upon them, if you please. But, where will this principle lead us? Let us apply it to a few cases. The word *God* is sometimes used to signify a civil ruler; therefore, according to this principle of interpretation, it may be so understood in any given text. "In the beginning *God* created the heavens and the earth," may mean, In the beginning *a civil ruler* created the heavens and the earth. The word *everlasting* is sometimes used to signify a *limited* duration; therefore, it may be so understood in any given text: and, "These shall go away into *everlasting* punishment," may mean, "These shall go away into a punishment of *limited* duration." And when the saints are promised *everlasting* life it may mean, a life of *limited* duration. And when Christ is styled the "*Mighty God, the Everlasting Father,*" it may mean, the mighty *civil ruler*, the Father of a *limited* duration. The word *salvation* is sometimes used to signify deliverance from a temporal calamity; therefore, it may be so understood in any given text, and there may be no salvation but deliverance from temporal calamities. The word *resurrection* is sometimes used to signify *regeneration*; therefore it may be so understood in any given text, and there may be no resurrection foretold in the scriptures but regeneration. The word *baptism* is sometimes used to signify *sufferings*; therefore, it may be so understood in any given text; and the command to the apostles to go and baptize all nations, may mean, that they should go and inflict sufferings upon all nations. A principle of interpretation which leads into such absurdities, cannot be admitted as a correct rule of interpreting the word of God. Under the operation of such a rule, the Bible would become, as some pretend it is, a book by which any thing can be supported, and nothing proved. Every part of it would become "vague and ambiguous in its meaning."

A. How can we know, then, when to understand these universal terms in their limited, and when in their unlimited sense?

P. When a universal term is to be understood in a restricted or limited sense, that restriction or limitation is made *manifest*, by the manner in which it is used, or by something which accompanies it. And this is a general rule for the interpretation of scripture: the scripture *means as it says*; that is, every word is to be understood in its plainest and most obvious sense, unless the manner in which it is used, or something which accompanies it, makes it *manifest* that it is used in that instance, in a different sense. If this is not the way in which scripture is to be understood, how shall we ever know what the scripture teaches on any subject? And more especially, how shall plain, unlearned people know any thing about the doctrines of the Bible? The Bible was intended for a *Revelation*. It was intended for the use of the ignorant, and for children. It is

declared to be so plain that he that runneth may read, and the way-faring man, though a fool, need not err. But if the Holy Ghost has made a mistake on this subject, and used words so "vague and ambiguous in their meaning," that no dependance can be placed upon them, "it fails of being" a *Revelation*, "whatever may have been intended."

A. But the passage you mentioned in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "that he should taste death *for every man*," is not translated right. The original is, "*hyper pantas, for all*. *Man* is not in the text. And the question is, to whom this *all* refers."

P. I must beg leave to differ from you there. And I think such an objection comes with a very bad grace, from one who claims that the translators of the Bible were of the same opinion with himself, on the subject of the atonement. *Pantos* is an adjective, in the masculine gender, singular number, and must agree with some noun, understood, of the same gender and number. The word *man*, therefore, is undoubtedly the word understood, and was properly supplied by our translators. But if you object to the word *man*, I am willing to leave it out; and then the literal rendering of *hyper pantas* would be "*for every one*;" and the most natural and obvious meaning would be, that Christ tasted death for every man, woman and child, of our race. If it had been *for all*, the original would have been *hyper panton*, in the plural. But even that would have been no better for your cause.

A. I wish also to make an observation upon the passage from the Epistle to Timothy, "Who gave himself a ransom *for all*." "The whole stress of the argument here is upon the word *all*; but our brethren who oppose us here must qualify the word *all*, as used in the fourth verse, 'Who will have *all* men to be saved,' and therefore, they should allow us to do the same in the sixth."

P. Not at all. We do not "qualify the word *all* as used in the fourth verse." We believe it means *all*, in both verses. There is no manifest restriction accompanying it, in either case; and therefore, we protest against any such restriction being put upon it, by any human authority.

A. Then you must believe that all men will actually be saved!

P. By no means. We believe that God does, in itself considered, sincerely desire the salvation of all; because it is, in itself, very desirable that all should be saved. But he does not, on the whole, all things considered, determine to save all; because it is not, on the whole, best that all should be saved.

Since, therefore, the scriptures plainly declare, that "God so loved the *world*, that he gave his only begotten Son," and that "He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the *whole world*," and that Christ "gave himself a ransom *for all*," "that he, by the grace of God, should taste death *for every man*," that he "*died for all*," and is "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the *world*," and that some who perish "bring upon themselves swift destruction," by "denying the Lord that bought them;" you must allow me to believe that Christ did not die for the elect only, but for all men.

5.
TWO

DISCOURSES

ON

THE ATONEMENT

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ANDOVER.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

The first edition of the following Sermons was printed in the summer of 1834, by request of the Students of the Theological Seminary. Various circumstances have delayed a second edition, (which has been often requested), until the present time. The call has now been repeated, in a manner that renders it inexpedient, in the view of the author, to delay the publication any longer.

M. S.

*Theol. Seminary, Andover,
April 8, 1838.*

DISCOURSE I.

ISAIAH LIII. 5, 6.

HE WAS WOUNDED FOR OUR TRANSGRESSIONS; HE WAS BRUISED FOR OUR INIQUITIES; THE CHASTISEMENT OF OUR PEACE WAS UPON HIM; AND BY HIS STRIPES ARE WE HEALED. 'ALL WE LIKE SHEEP HAVE GONE ASTRAY; WE HAVE TURNED EVERY ONE TO HIS OWN WAY; AND THE LORD HATH LAID ON HIM THE INIQUITY OF US ALL.

THE sentiment of this passage may perhaps be made more perspicuous, by a translation of it somewhat nearer to the spirit of the original.

“He was wounded on account of our transgressions; he was smitten on account of our iniquities; the chastisement by which our peace is procured was laid on him; and by his wounds are we healed. All we like sheep have gone astray; we have wandered each one in the path that he chose; and Jehovah hath laid on him the punishment due to us all.”

This passage, no less than the august personage to whom it relates, has been to the Jews of ancient and modern times a stumbling block, and to many of the Gentiles foolishness. Very soon after Christians began, when disputing with the Jews about Christ crucified, to make their appeal to it, as proof that a suffering and atoning Saviour, Jesus of Nazareth, was foretold in the Hebrew Scriptures, the Jews set themselves to find out some other person, or class of men, concerning whom the prophet might be regarded as here speak-

ing. Some of them have maintained that he had reference to their nation at large ; some that he had respect to Uzziah, Hezekiah, or Josiah ; while others suppose that Isaiah, Jeremiah, or some one of the prophets, was the subject of his description. Nor have commentators and critics among Christians been wanting, who have advocated these opinions proposed by the Jews. Of late, the prevailing sentiment among a certain class of critics is, that the *prophetic order* of men among the Hebrews, rather than any particular individual of it, is referred to by Isaiah. As the prophets, in ancient times, were often subjected to sufferings and death, by the persecuting spirit which reigned among their cotemporaries ; so they are supposed to be represented, in our text and context, as bearing the sins of the nation, and making atonement for them.

It is not my present design, to enter into a particular examination of these discrepant and very unsatisfactory opinions. To the Jew I would say, In what other part of the Old Testament, are the sufferings of any mere king or prophet ever represented as *expiatory* ? The Mosaic law has prescribed expiatory sacrifices ; and has prescribed *all* that were to be offered under the ancient dispensation. What part of this law speaks of expiation, by the sufferings and death of any mere king or prophet ? Or if the Jewish nation at large be the subject of the prophet's description, where is this nation, when persecuted and suffering, represented as an *expiatory* sacrifice ? and for whom did they make expiation ? On the contrary, are they not always represented as bearing the punishment due to their *own* transgressions, and not as bearing that due to others ?

To the commentator, bearing the name of Christian, and disposed to follow these wanderings of unbelief and offence at the cross of Christ, in which the Jews have so long

indulged, I have only one brief remark to make ; which is, that evangelists and apostles have told us, who is the subject of the prophet's description in our text and context. When the treasurer of the Ethiopian queen had been up to worship at Jerusalem, and was returning home, by an express direction from the Spirit of God, Philip the evangelist met him. As Philip drew near, he heard the Ethiopian reading a portion of our chapter ; " He was led as a sheep to the slaughter ; and like a lamb dumb before his shearers, so he opened not his mouth. In his humiliation, his judgment was taken away ; and who shall declare his generation ? for his life is taken from the earth. And the eunuch said to Philip, of whom speaketh the prophet this ? Of himself, or of some other man ? Then Philip opened his mouth, and began at the *same* Scripture, and preached unto him JESUS." Acts VIII. 26—35.

Peter, also, has applied a part of our chapter to the same distinguished sufferer. " Christ suffered for us . . . his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree . . . by whose stripes we are healed ; for ye were as sheep going astray." 1 Pet. II. 21—25. The two last phrases are quotations from our text itself, and are certainly applied by the apostle directly to the Saviour.

I add only, that Jesus himself cites a part of our chapter, as containing a description of his own sufferings. " I say unto you, that what is written must be accomplished in me ; And he was reckoned among the transgressors." Luke XXII. 37, comp. Is. LIII. 12.

I feel no concern, further to vindicate the application of the text to the person of the Messiah. The matter resolves itself into the simple question, whether the interpretation of evangelists and apostles is to be admitted, and believed to be correct ; or whether our own conjecture or philosophy is to be the ultimate authority, to which we make our appeal.

From the language of our text, as applied to Christ, I deduce the proposition, that HE SUFFERED AS OUR SUBSTITUTE ; or, that HIS SUFFERINGS AND DEATH WERE AN EXPIATORY OFFERING, ON ACCOUNT OF WHICH OUR SINS ARE PARDONED, AND WE ARE RESTORED TO THE DIVINE FAVOUR.

My present object is, to discuss the doctrine of the atonement made by Christ, which this proposition brings to our view ; and in doing this, I design

I. To make some explanations necessary to a right understanding of the subject.

II. To prove the doctrine.

III. To answer some objections alleged against it.

According to the method proposed, I am, *first*, to make some explanations necessary to a right understanding of our subject.

In order to avoid all misapprehension of the design which I have in view, let me observe, at the commencement of this discourse, that it is not my present object to treat of the *obedience* of Christ, considered as having an influence upon our redemption, or in procuring salvation for us. I speak of obedience here, in the sense which many of the older divines mean to express, when they employ the phrase *active* obedience of Christ, in order to distinguish his positive fulfilment of the divine law, from what they name his *passive* obedience ; by which they mean his humiliation and sufferings. To pursue the inquiry, In what sense, or to what degree, does the active obedience of Christ contribute to our redemption ? would carry me too far from the specific object which I now have in view. I shall therefore dismiss this topic with simply remarking, that while the sufferings and death of Christ are every where represented as the special procuring cause of our redemption, yet his obedience is also represented as a concurring cause or ground of our salvation.

The Saviour's entire obedience, or sinless perfection, was essential to his character as a substitute for sinners; for if he himself had sinned, instead of presenting an acceptable sacrifice for others, himself would have needed an expiatory offering. That all which he did and said, during his incarnate condition, had some bearing on the great work which he came to accomplish, and did in some way contribute to it, cannot reasonably be doubted. But his expiatory sacrifice appears to be the great point, on which rests, in a peculiar manner, the hope of our restoration to the divine favour.

To proceed with the explanation proposed under the present head; when I say, *Christ in his sufferings was our SUBSTITUTE*, or, *by them he made an EXPIATORY OFFERING for us*, I mean that GOD DID APPOINT AND ACCEPT THE SUFFERINGS OF CHRIST, INSTEAD OF THE PUNISHMENT DUE TO US AS SINNERS AGAINST HIS LAW; and that *in consequence of this appointment and of these sufferings, he does forgive our sins and receive us to his favour*.

A *substitute* is something put in lieu of another thing, and accepted instead of it. An *offering* is something presented to God. An offering which is acceptable to him, is one made by his appointment. An *expiatory* offering, under the Jewish law, was a slain beast, presented to God by his appointment, and by a person who had been guilty of some offence and incurred a penalty; in consequence of which presentation, the penalty for his offence, threatened by the law of Moses, was remitted, or the offender was pardoned. To say then that *Christ made an expiatory offering for us*, according to my apprehension of the meaning of Scriptural language, implies that *his sufferings and death were, by divine appointment, accepted instead of the punishment due to us as sinners, and that God, in consequence of the offering made by Christ, pardons our offences and restores us to his favour*. This also is

just what I mean, when I say that *Christ in his sufferings and death was our substitute.*

I do not feel at all disposed to find fault with other language, which Christians may choose to employ, in order to designate the idea that I have now expressed, provided they define the sense in which they employ it, and do not leave it open to misconstruction. So doing they may say, "Christ made satisfaction for our sins;" or, "his death was a full equivalent for the demands of the law;" or, "our punishment—our guilt—was transferred to him;" for certainly our text employs phraseology equally strong, and of the same nature with this. I may also say, "Christ made atonement—Christ atoned—for our sins; his sufferings were vicarious—were in lieu of ours; he bore the punishment due to us." I may use other and different expressions of the same nature, to designate my ideas relative to the subject before us; but whatever phraseology of this kind I might employ, or whatever I may employ in this discourse, my meaning would and will be one and the same, viz. *Christ was our EXPIATORY OFFERING, our SUBSTITUTE*, in the sense already explained.

So far as I am able to understand the language which Christians in general, who receive the doctrine of the atonement, have employed in respect to this subject, it is designed to convey the idea that I have just conveyed. I am aware that one may occasionally meet with expressions, in some writers, relative to the sufferings of Christ, that seem to imply something more than what I have expressed, or something different from it. But most divines, who have clearly explained themselves, appear to me substantially to agree with the view which I have given of substitution or expiatory offering. If this be the fact, is it not idle to waste time and pains, in contending about certain *modes* of expression, which some may choose to employ, but which others think it better to avoid,

because they are liable to misconstruction ; when, after all, there is a substantial agreement in regard to the idea to be designated ? In reality, can such contention amount to any thing more than a strife about words ? A strife unworthy of sober and earnest inquirers after truth ; and one which never can serve any purpose, but to alienate from each other and divide those, who love the Saviour, and trust for acceptance with God solely in his atoning blood.

To pursue still farther the explanation of the leading terms, employed to designate the doctrine which I am to establish ; a *substitute* may be, and where it is voluntarily accepted, on the part of him to whom any debt or reparation is due, *must* be, an equivalent of some kind or other, a satisfaction in some sense, for such debt or penalty due. But it may be equivalent or satisfactory, without being the same either in kind or quantity as that in the place of which it comes. For plainly an equivalent is of two sorts. The first has respect to *kind* and *quantity*, and requires equality or sameness in regard to both. The second is where the substitute answers the same *end*, as that would have done in the place of which it is put, or a higher end of the same nature. The first species of substitution or equivalency belongs to various transactions of business among men ; such as borrowing and lending, the exchange of various species of property, and other things of the like nature. Equivalency of the second kind has respect to transactions of a civil or penal nature, and to the intercourse of rational beings with each other, as subjects of social or other laws. For example, banishment is often substituted, by civil governments, instead of inflicting the penalty of death ; fines, instead of imprisonment or other corporeal punishment. So among men, in their daily intercourse, confession of a fault, joined with a request of forgiveness, is accepted as a satisfaction for an injury done, or an insult offered ; and it is regar-

ded as an equivalent for it. In all cases of this nature, which are exceedingly numerous and diversified, both in regard to the intercourse of men with each other, and in respect to civil rulers and their subjects, the equivalent or satisfaction is not the same in *kind* or *quantity*, as that for which it is substituted. Indeed, in all transactions which have respect to a penalty for any injury done, or any violation of law, where substitution is admitted with regard to the offender, the first kind of equivalency, or that which consists in the *same* quality and quantity, is out of the question. The *letter* of a penal law demands that the offender himself, and no other, should suffer. But the *object* of the penalty—the ultimate and highest object of attaching it to the law—may be attained, perhaps, in some other way, and by substitution; even in a more effectual manner, than by a literal infliction of the punishment threatened. On the supposition that it can be, then if a substitute be admitted instead of literally inflicting the penalty, one may truly say, that satisfaction is made, or an equivalent rendered, according to the common usage and understanding of all men, in respect to subjects of this nature. Indeed, the term equivalent has come, by usage, most commonly to imply, that the substitute does differ in some respects from that for which it is substituted.

If Christ died then as a substitute for sinners, it is not at all necessary to suppose, that his sufferings were the same in quality and quantity, as would have been endured by those in whose room he suffered, in case the penalty of the law had been executed upon them. In fact, such a supposition is replete with difficulties of a kind not easily to be removed. The worm that never dies, the cup of wrath without mixture which is drunk by sinners in the world of wo, we have strong reasons for believing, is the sting of a guilty conscience—self condemnation and reproach for having violated the just and

holy laws of God. This sting the holy and spotless Saviour never felt ; this was an agony, to which his bosom of perfect purity must have been a stranger. However high, then, his sufferings mounted, they could not have been the same in *kind*, as those of the wicked in the world of misery.

Nor can we well conceive how they could have been the same in *quantity*, as they deserved whom he redeems. He suffered but a few hours ; or, if you include his whole period of humiliation, but a few years. In his divine nature, considered as *the immutable God*, we cannot conceive of his having suffered ; and, indeed, the Scriptures always represent him as having assumed the *human* nature, in order that he might suffer. Phil. 11. 6—8. Heb. 11. 9. Great as his sufferings were, yet they were not like those of the damned, sufferings of absolute and hopeless despair. He could look beyond them, when hanging on the cross. He did. He could see the glory and prosperity of his kingdom, as the certain result of them. He had a resurrection from the tomb in full view ; he anticipated his ascension to the throne of majesty on high, in order to become “ head over all things to the Church,” and the object of heavenly worship—in order to participate in “ the glory, which he had with the Father before the world was.” However great then his sufferings were, we can hardly conceive of their having been equal in quantity (so to speak) to those, which were due to sinners for whom he suffered.

When I say, then, that Christ in his sufferings was our substitute, I do not mean that those sufferings were an equivalent of the first kind, for the penalty remitted ; or, in other words, that he did actually suffer torments the same in *kind* and *quantity*, as were due to sinners. But still, it seems to me to be impossible for us to ascertain how great his sufferings really were. The peculiar constitution, and the unspeakable

dignity of the Saviour's person ; the spotless innocence of his character ; the agony in the garden, which forced his whole frame to sweat as it were great drops of blood ; his complaint on the cross, that his God had forsaken him ; the fact that he expired sooner than those who suffered with him ; the commotion of the natural world at the woes which he endured ; the heavens shrouded with darkness ; the luminary of the skies extinguished ; the vail of the most holy place rent, by which Jehovah's presence was concealed ; the rocks and tombs bursting asunder ; and the mouldering dust of the saints becoming reanimated with life—all, all combine to shew, that the scene of suffering was such as the world had never witnessed ; and that it is probably not in the power of language to express, nor of our minds to conceive, the extent of the agony which Jesus endured.

That he endured all this as our substitute, or on our account, is what I expect hereafter to prove. At present I would merely ask, Since he did not suffer on account of any guilt of his own, on what ground can they reconcile his sufferings with the justice of God, who hold that he was not a substitute for sinners ?

Let me dwell a moment longer on the subject of the Saviour's agony, and observe, that unless the sufferings of Christ be regarded as exceedingly great, and in many respects of a nature altogether peculiar, his demeanour under them is quite irreconcilable with the undaunted constancy, and patience, and firmness, which he at all other times exhibited. When did he ever before shrink from suffering ? When was he ever before appalled by danger ? Never. Yet now, in what an agony do we behold him in the garden, at the prospect of crucifixion. What sinking of soul, what unutterable horror, does he exhibit on the cross ! Thousands of other sufferers have met death, in all its most dreadful forms, with far more

composure, even when unsupported by the consolations and hopes of religion. Thousands of martyrs, feeble, emaciated; thousands even of the more delicate sex; have been stretched on the rack, or cast into the flames—punishments more dreadful than simple crucifixion—while with a dauntless, nay with a triumphant spirit, they rejoiced in the midst of torments. But here is a sufferer, the only one on earth who ever had a spotless character—filled too with exalted and certain hopes of ultimate triumph and glory—first shrinking with horror from the cup of suffering which he was to drink, and then uttering language indicative of the highest possible agitation and distress upon the cross.

Here now is a difficulty which cannot be solved, on the ground that his death was in any respect like that of a common man. If it indeed were such, must he not be regarded, by every one who contemplates his demeanour on the cross, as wanting in calmness and fortitude of soul, when he was so appalled and agitated with sufferings which others have triumphantly endured? Are we not constrained, then, to regard him as suffering in a degree unparalleled, indescribable, in short, not capable of being fully apprehended by us?

What this degree was, the Scriptures have not explicitly declared; nor indeed was such a declaration necessary. Enough, that in his sufferings, the awful displeasure of God against sin has been manifested in a most impressive manner. Enough, if God has judged that his sufferings, as our substitute, were carried to such a height, as was by infinite wisdom deemed necessary, in order to promote the best designs of the divine government.

To pursue my explanation; although I cannot consider an equivalent of the *first* kind as having been rendered by the death of Christ, yet I fully believe that one of the *second* kind was rendered. The *object* of the penalty affixed to the

divine law is not *revenge*. "God takes no pleasure in the death of him that dieth." The object of all penaky, under every wise and benevolent government, is to put restraint upon offences, to exhibit awful testimony or warning against them, and thus to secure the interests of virtue.

If now virtue be in the best manner promoted, and sin restrained, by the death of Christ and the consequences that necessarily flow from it, then the great object of the divine law and its penalties, is promoted in the most effectual manner. Such I suppose to be the fact; but this is not the proper place to establish it. I only state so much, therefore, as is necessary to elucidate the meaning, which I assign to the language that I have employed. Indeed, I view the great object of the divine law, as answered by the death of Christ in a much higher degree, than it could have been by a mere law-administration, and a literal infliction of the penalty. Must not his death be regarded as a more awful manifestation of divine displeasure against sin, than the execution of the law on sinners themselves? I am forced to view the subject in this light, when I contemplate the infinite dignity of the Saviour's person, and the spotless purity of his character; and then turn my eye to Gethsemane, and to the scenes of the cross.

I confess myself averse to indulging much in speculation here, as to the *how* and the *why* of the equivalency in question. My reason is, that the sacred writers do not seem to indulge in any curious speculation on the subject. Some things, as presented by them, appear exceedingly plain. When they bring to our view the WORD, who was in the beginning with God, and who was God; who created all things; who is GOD OVER ALL, and blessed forever; the TRUE GOD, and eternal life; and represent him as becoming incarnate—as taking the form of a servant and becoming obedient

unto death, even the death of the cross ; and all this on our account, that we might be redeemed from deserved ruin ; they do this to excite our gratitude, our love, our humility, our obedience ; and to urge upon us our obligation to devote ourselves, with all that we have and are, to the service of him “who loved us, and who gave himself to die for us.” They teach us, that the gospel presents motives to obedience of a higher nature, and puts restraints upon vice that are more effectual, than a system of law could do. With this *we* may well be content ; for with this *they* appear to have been satisfied. Where is there any philosophizing, any refined speculation in their writings, about the *manner* in which equivalency or satisfaction is, or can be, made out ? Can we not acquiesce in the subject, just as they have left it ? If they present the death of Christ as a most awful and affecting display of the evil of sin, and of the divine displeasure against it, enhanced beyond description by the dignity of his person, and the peculiar severity of his sufferings ; and if this makes an appeal to the moral sensibilities of the human race, in favour of gratitude and obedience to God, and against sin, in a manner far more affecting and successful, than the literal execution of the penalty of the law on sinners ; is not this sufficient ? And if thus much lies on the face of the New Testament, and every reader, learned and unlearned, can see and feel it ; this is enough. The object of the law is in the most effectual manner answered.

For myself, I need nothing more than this, to produce quietude of mind in regard to this part of our subject. More than this, the Laplander and the Hottentot—nay most of the human race—cannot well be expected to understand ; nor can I see how it is really important that they should. If others feel, that clear and satisfactory views about the manner in which equivalency is made out, are to be obtained by

pursuing the speculations of a refined philosophy, I will not object. But I may suggest one caution, viz. that if we attempt to build the doctrine of atonement on the speculations of philosophy, and do not acquiesce in the subject, as it is simply presented by the writers of the New Testament—so simply, that the heathen can understand and feel it as well as we—then we must not be surprised, if we find philosophy objecting to the atonement itself, and claiming a right to prostrate our edifice, by the same power which has raised it up.

I have said enough, I trust, to explain what I mean, and what I do not mean, by the principal terms employed in relation to the doctrine which I am discussing. I pass on, then,

II. To prove the doctrine, that Christ in his sufferings was our **SUBSTITUTE**, or that by them he made an **EXPIATORY OFFERING** for sinners.

Here I must ask, at the threshold ; Before what tribunal shall the question be brought, which this subject necessarily raises ?

I am bold to aver, that philosophy is not a competent judge to decide it. In averring this, however, I take it for granted, that philosophy is unable to disprove the credit due to divine revelation. On the supposition that such is the case, and as a believer in divine revelation, I may hold myself under obligation to prove nothing more, in regard to the substitution or expiatory sacrifice of Christ, than that the Scriptures have revealed it as a **FACT**. Has God, then, declared it to be a **FACT** ? Do the Saviour and his apostles declare it to be so ? These are the questions, and the only ones of any particular importance, about which a sincere and implicit believer in the divine testimony needs to be solicitous. It cannot surely be of much consequence, what difficulties can be raised by speculating on philosophical grounds, about the nature or manner of substitution. The fact itself is that

with which we are concerned, as poor ruined sinners. We might indeed well say, that when the authority of revelation is admitted, the questions *why* and *how*, in respect to the atonement, could be entirely dismissed from our discussion, as being by no means necessarily attached to it. Does philosophy find the doctrine of atonement by the death of the Son of God mysterious? We readily concede that it is so; and we know, that the distinguished apostle of the Gentiles believed *the mystery of godliness to be great*; and that the angels themselves are represented as earnestly desirous of prying into this mystery.

But if philosophy wonders here, (for which we will not blame her), yet she has no right to scoff. If atonement by the vicarious sufferings and death of Christ be a reality, it is one which the book of God only reveals. I fully agree with the Naturalists in saying, that the book of nature presents nothing but a blank leaf, in respect to an atonement effected in this manner. Not one syllable can be made out from it, with any certainty. The necessity of some atonement or expiatory offering, has indeed been felt by nearly all the human race, however unenlightened; and acknowledged in the bloody sacrifices, which they have offered to the gods whom they worshipped. But the method of it, as proposed in the Gospel, is quite above the discovery of unenlightened or even philosophical reason. The most rigid sect of moralists among the heathen, did not admit that pardoning mercy could with any propriety be extended to those, who had incurred the penalty which justice demanded. Seneca declares, that a wise man does not remit the punishment which he ought to exact, (*De Clementia* II. 6. 7). How then could this philosopher, or those who were like him, discover or believe the doctrine of substitution or vicarious suffering by the death of the Son of God? What they never imagined, or

what many when it is proposed to them regard as foolishness, God has declared to be the means of salvation. To revelation, then, we must go, for any instruction with regard to the doctrine of pardoning mercy through the atoning blood of Jesus.

But another view of the subject is necessarily suggested, by that which has now been taken. This is, that as philosophy was unable to discover the doctrine of atonement by Christ, so she is equally incompetent to make any valid objections against it. She cannot shew that it is absurd. Could this be done, then we must admit that the doctrine of atonement by vicarious suffering would be incapable of defence; for the human mind, if it be well illuminated, and guided in its researches by candour and a love of truth, cannot receive and accredit that which is absurd. But who does not know that through ignorance, prejudice, and haste, or when influenced by erroneous philosophy, some men may pronounce things to be absurd, which the most acute, sober, and judicious, think to be rational? In regard, however, to the doctrine of substitution, the matter seems to be quite clear. Absurd this doctrine of itself cannot be called; for the wisest and best human governments, as has already been mentioned, often admit the principle in respect to penalties incurred. But will any one venture, on account of this, to accuse civil rulers of acting irrationally and absurdly? Will any one even venture the assertion, that this principle, prudently and soberly applied, is not the means of evident gain, in respect to the great ends which civil government is designed to accomplish? If not, then surely it must be conceded, that infinite power, connected with infinite wisdom and benevolence, *can* employ substitution in such a way as to promote the important ends of the divine government. Philosophy, most evidently, has it not in her power to disprove this; and therefore has no

right to deny the possibility of it ; much less to declare that the doctrine is absurd. In short, as she *cannot* do this, nor disprove the credit due to revelation, it is plain that the matter comes not at all within her jurisdiction.

The question in respect to substitution, then, stands high above the objections which all the efforts of philosophy can raise ; equally unaffected by her sophistry at one time, or by her scorn and contumely at another.

It follows from what has been said, that the impossibility of substitution, under the divine government, cannot be established. Nay, I advance farther, and aver, that so far from there being any impossibility in the case, it is a matter of fact that substitution was admitted for nearly fifteen centuries, under the Mosaic dispensation ; to say nothing of the expiatory sacrifices of the patriarchal age. It was admitted, too, under the Mosaic economy, as a type of the substitution or expiatory offering of Christ. Paul has taught us in the most explicit manner, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, *that all the expiatory offerings and sacrifices of the Jews were typical of the great atoning sacrifice by the death of Christ ; and that they were originally designed by God to be so.* Consequently, when thus authorized, we may draw a comparison from the one, in order to illustrate the other.

The expiatory offerings of the law were not a substitution, I admit, which did of itself procure a remission of the punishment due to the *moral* turpitude of sin ; for it is impossible, as the sacred writer has told us, that the blood of goats and bullocks should take away sin, and tranquillize the conscience wounded by a sense of guilt. It could not remove the apprehension, that divine displeasure might inflict on the offender punishment of a spiritual nature. But still, it is a fact, that the blood of goats and bullocks was appointed by God, to be an expiatory offering for certain offences against the Jewish

law ; while at the same time, this very offering was also a type of the sacrifice to be offered by Christ, in order to remove the punishment due to moral turpitude. He who brought a sin or trespass offering, and presented it to the Lord, was exempted from the sentence, which the law of Moses pronounced against the external offence that he had committed. The whole nation, as such, were freed from the penalty annexed to certain offences, on the great day of atonement, when the high priest entered the most holy place, and presented the blood of the national offering or victim before Jehovah ; not indeed from the punishment of a spiritual nature due to sin, but from some penalty of an external nature, threatened in the present life. In a word, God as the sovereign legislator and judge of the Jews did, by the exercise of his supreme right, actually appoint sin and trespass offerings as expiatory sacrifices ; which being presented agreeably to his appointment, were followed by the real remission, on his part, of the penalty due to certain offences, and threatened by the law of Moses. So the apostle himself states the subject. "The blood of bulls and goats, and the ashes of a heifer, sprinkling those who were defiled, made expiation in respect to external purity ;" i. e. after the performance of such sacrificial rites, the Jews were regarded and treated, in respect to their external relations, as pure or free from exposure to the penalty threatened by the law of Moses, Heb. ix. 13.

The fact just stated cannot be called in question. We have only to open the book of Leviticus, and it is at once exhibited before our eyes.

Here, then, we are presented with a case of substitution ; *actual* substitution by the appointment of God, the supreme legislator and judge of the Jewish nation, and of all men ; a case in which a beast was slain, instead of the crim-

inal being punished who made an offering of it, and who had himself incurred the penalty of the Mosaic law.

But *how* and *why* such an expiation as has been described was made by the blood of slain beasts, different persons have endeavoured, and might endeavour, to explain in various ways. I cannot enter at all here, into the discussion of this point. Suffice it to say, that all who admit the reasoning in the Epistle to the Hebrews, must admit that the Jewish sacrifices were typical of the sacrifice of Christ. Do not the representations of the Scripture also entitle us to believe, that the penitent offender, who was sufficiently enlightened in respect to the true nature of the Mosaic dispensation, while he knew that through his offering penalties of an external nature would of course be remitted to him, might, and probably did, look forward by faith, to the great atoning sacrifice, the antitype of that which he offered, for a remission of the punishment of a spiritual nature, which was due to his transgressions?

Considering now the facts in regard to this whole subject, as they stand disclosed in the Jewish Scriptures, who will venture to pronounce, that a similar arrangement under the general government of God in respect to men, is impossible? The moral purposes of God in respect to this government, we may cheerfully admit, are the highest purposes which are known to us. But had he no moral purposes to effect under the Jewish dispensation, and by the Mosaic institutes? Most certainly he had: Incipient and imperfect they were indeed, compared with the great moral ends accomplished by the Gospel. But still they were real. Yet God as the supreme lawgiver and judge of the Jews, did, in some cases, remit the penalty of his law as given by Moses, in consequence of a substitute for it. Now if the thing itself were absurd or impossible, he could not have done it.

Nor can we conceive of any more impossibility, that he should do the same thing under the general government of men, than that he should do it under the Jewish dispensation. Wrong is not more really done (if there be wrong at all) in the one case, than in the other ; and one is therefore just as possible for God as the other. So far as we can see, there is no more hazard to the general interests of the universe, in the admission of vicarious sacrifice for sinners, than there was to the Jewish commonwealth, by the admission of expiatory offering into its system of government.

In a word ; God did admit vicarious sacrifices under his government of the Jews ; and an inspired apostle has taught us that they were, and were designed to be, types of the great expiatory offering made by Christ. To express it in another manner ; that was done in ancient times upon a smaller scale, which at a later period was done on a larger one. The penalty for certain offences against the Mosaic law, was removed by the sacrifice of goats and bullocks ; and the penalty against the higher law of heaven, (if you please so to name it), is removed by the death of Christ. If both are by the arrangement of heaven, the one presents no more impossibility than the other.

Nor can it be objected here, that the expiatory sacrifices of the law procured merely the remission of a civil or ecclesiastical penalty, which was wholly of an external nature, and could be inflicted by men ; but that the removal of the penalty due to moral turpitude, is a very different thing, and has a much more important bearing upon the interests of God's moral government. I accede to the fact that it has. But this does not render an expiatory offering impossible, *provided one adequate to the occasion can be made*. I believe the Scriptures teach us, that such an one has been made by the Son of God. As the end to be accomplished by a Sa-

viour's death, was of a far higher, nobler nature, than that accomplished by the sacrifices of the Levitical law; so the victim that was to be offered, was of a rank which corresponded to the object to be attained. The redemption of men from everlasting death, (not of the Jews only but also of the Gentiles), was concerned with this sacrifice. Well then might the apostle draw the admirable comparison, which he has drawn in Heb. ix. 13, 14, between the one species of offering and the other. "If," says he, "the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of a heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh; how *MUCH MORE* shall the blood of Christ, who by an eternal spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works; to serve the living God." That is, If the beast which perished forever under the knife of the sacrificing priest, did still, by divine appointment, make atonement for certain offences against the Mosaic law, so that the penalty denounced against them was remitted, and the offender treated as though he were not guilty; how *much more* shall the holy Saviour, a victim possessed of a nobler nature—of a never-dying spirit—make expiation for the moral turpitude of offences against God as the governor of the world.

If this reasoning of the apostle be admitted, then we can never prove the impossibility of atonement for sin, by alleging that no victim can be adequate to the occasion. For the apostle plainly declares, that the sacrifice of Christ was *MORE* adequate to the purpose for which it was made, than the death of the victim under the ancient dispensation was, to the occasion which demanded it.

Nor can the justice of God be alleged as constituting a ground of impossibility, that an expiatory offering should be admitted for sinners. All men, who hold that there is forgiveness at all with God, must of course concede that his jus-

tion is no more impugned by the forgiveness of sin *through* an atonement, than it would be without any atonement. Consequently no objection of this nature can be urged by such, against the possibility of atonement.

Nor are the advocates of propitiatory sacrifice obliged to content themselves with merely shewing that it is *possible*; they may advance farther, and venture to say, that the *improbability* of such an arrangement, under the divine government, can in no valid manner be shewn. Will its opponents appeal to the feelings of men in general, and declare that such a sacrifice is naturally revolting to the human mind? How then comes it to pass, that every tribe and nation, from the philosophic Greeks down to the roaming Tartars, and the fiend-like race of New-Zealand—every part of our degraded race however ignorant or barbarous, that have at all acknowledged the existence of any divinity—have agreed in offering to him propitiatory sacrifices? Does this universal custom of the mere children of nature, look as if the doctrine were revolting to the first principles of the human breast? Or does it look as if the hand of Omnipotence had enstamped, on the very elements of our moral constitution, a susceptibility of receiving it, a predisposition to admit it? Who will or can explain the origin and prevalence of vicarious sacrifices, on any other ground than this?

I proceed one step further. To me it seems plain, that although reason, unenlightened by revelation, never could have discovered a way of pardon for sin by the expiatory death of the Son of God; yet when all the attributes of the Deity are brought into full view by the Scriptures, and the character of man is also developed in full, then reason may well give, and to preserve her character *must* give, her assent to the doctrine of pardon by expiatory sacrifice, if she finds it there revealed.

God is just ; therefore he will punish sin : and if we read only the book of nature, must we not say too, with Seneca, "therefore he cannot forgive it?" But revelation discloses his attribute of mercy ; and mercy consists essentially in remitting the strict claims of justice, either in whole or in part. How then shall God possess these two attributes, and exercise them in respect to our guilty rebellious race ? A question which "ages and generations" could not answer ; a mystery hidden from them ; a question which philosophy may seek in vain satisfactorily to solve. But in the cross of Christ, in his expiatory sufferings and death, we may find an answer. Here, "mercy and truth have met together ; righteousness and peace have embraced each other." In the agonies of Christ, a personage of such transcendent dignity and glory, we see the terrors of divine justice displayed in the most affecting manner, and are impressively taught what evil is due to sin. In the pardon purchased by his death, we contemplate the riches of divine mercy. God might have displayed his justice, indeed, in the world of perdition, and called us to contemplate it as written in characters that would make us shudder. His mercy also he might have displayed, by the absolute and unconditional pardon of sinners, provided no atonement had been made. But who could look on the radiance of his simple justice, as exhibited only in such a manner, without extinguishing his vision forever ? Or who could contemplate indiscriminating and unconditional mercy only, without being influenced to forget the awful displeasure of God against sin, or being emboldened to continue in it ? But in the cross of Jesus, his justice and his mercy are united. Here is the bright spot where the effulgence of the Deity converges and centres. On this we may gaze with admiration, with safety, with delight ; for here the rays of eternal glory meet and blend, so as to be sweetly attempered to

our vision. The bow in the cloud, where the glories of the sun, the brightest image of its Maker in the natural world, meet and mingle, and present to our view the delightful token that the waters of a flood will drown the earth no more, is but a faint emblem of the attempered glory which beams from the cross of Jesus, the token of deliverance from a flood more awful than that of Noah.

DISCOURSE II.

ISAIAH LIII. 5, 6.

HE WAS WOUNDED FOR OUR TRANSGRESSIONS ; HE WAS BRUISED FOR OUR INIQUITIES ; THE CHASTISEMENT OF OUR PEACE WAS UPON HIM ; AND BY HIS STRIPES ARE WE HEALED. ALL WE LIKE SHEEP HAVE GONE ASTRAY ; WE HAVE TURNED EVERY ONE TO HIS OWN WAY ; AND THE LORD HATH LAID ON HIM THE INIQUITY OF US ALL.

I have endeavoured, in the preceding discourse, to make such explanations as are necessary to a right understanding of our subject ; and to prepare the way for the introduction of direct proof from the Scriptures, respecting the expiatory sacrifice of Christ. I have endeavoured to shew, that we cannot refer the question, whether an expiatory offering has been made by the Son of God for the sins of men, to the tribunal of philosophy. The impossibility of such an offering, philosophy cannot prove. The fact that substitution in the case of penalties incurred, did for many centuries constitute a distinguishing characteristic in the administration of divine government among the Jews, must be admitted ; and the possibility that it may constitute a prominent feature of God's *general* government, cannot therefore be disproved.

I advanced a step farther, and undertook to shew, that the improbability of an atonement for sin can by no means be made out ; inasmuch as the human race at large are deeply impressed with the idea, that propitiatory sacrifices are needed. Moreover, the attributes of God, and the character of man, as revealed in the Scriptures, render the doc-

trine of pardon for sin, through the expiatory offering of Christ, by no means improbable.

If I have succeeded in my endeavours to remove obstacles, which seemed to lie in the way of making an impartial estimate of Scripture testimony, in respect to the subject before us ; and have also shewn, that the whole question must be referred for decision solely to the word of God ; then we are prepared without embarrassment to pursue the inquiry, What is the testimony of revelation on this subject ?

Let me here premise a few considerations, respecting the kind of appeal which I am about to make to the Scriptures ; and then my proof shall be very brief. For nothing can be plainer, than that if "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God," then "the mouth of two or three witnesses," is enough to establish the point at which I aim. Of the very numerous texts, therefore, to which I might appeal, I shall select but a few ; and for every attentive reader of the Bible, these may serve as a clue to all the rest.

My first remark is, that every speaker and writer, intending to be understood, employs, and *necessarily* employs, language in the same sense, in which those whom he addresses use and understand it. None will deny so plain a proposition. Nor can it be deemed less certain, that the sacred writers designed to be understood by those whom they addressed.

My second remark is, that all the writers of the Old and New Testament were Jews ; and that all the Scriptures, with very little exception, were originally addressed to Jews, or to churches which in part consisted of Jews. If we design, then, to come at the meaning of the sacred writers, we must necessarily construe their language in the same way as the Jews would naturally construe it, who lived in the age of the prophets and apostles. Nothing can be more plain and irrefragable, than this maxim of interpretation. It is no part

of the inquiry, what ideas we may affix to the language of Scripture, coming to read it in another tongue, in another region, nurtured in the bosom of speculative philosophy, and desirous of adjusting every thing to our own standard. **WHAT IDEAS DID THE PROPHETS, APOSTLES, AND EVANGELISTS MEAN TO CONVEY?** is the only proper question, for one who goes simply to the law and to the testimony, for the grounds of his belief.

Let us then call to mind, that every Jew was habitually conversant with *expiatory sacrifices*, with *substitution*; that the system of substitution was inwrought into the very nature of his religious worship; and that all the Scripture language, which has respect to the sacrifice of Christ, is directly borrowed from that which was every day used by the Jew, in speaking of the sacrifices that he was required to offer.

With these facts in view, we are ready to present the subject, as it lies before us in the Scriptures.

Our text is fresh in your minds, and I need not here repeat it. It asserts that the 'chastisement or punishment by which our peace is procured, was laid upon the Saviour; that by his wounds we are healed; that all we have gone astray, i. e. sinned; and that Jehovah hath laid on him the punishment due to us.' Other parts of the chapter, from which our text is taken, repeat the same idea. "For the transgression of my people was he smitten," v. 8; "his soul [i. e. he] was made an offering for sin," v. 10; "he shall justify [i. e. procure pardon for] many, for he shall bear their iniquities," v. 11; "he bare the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors," v. 12.

I only ask here, whether any man can rationally and candidly indulge doubts, in what manner the Jews whom the prophet addressed, must necessarily have understood this language?

In regard to the New Testament, it is so full of the doctrine in question, that the only difficulty lies in making a proper selection of testimony.

Peter has quoted some of the passages, which I have just cited. Observe how he comments on this sentiment. "Who his own self, bare our sins in his own body on the tree by whose stripes ye were healed," 1 Pet. ii. 24. Again, "We were not redeemed with corruptible things but by the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot," 1 Pet. i. 18, 19. John the Baptist also exclaims, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world;" i. e. the victim, who by divine appointment is, through his expiatory death, to procure pardon for men, John i. 29. So the apostle John; "The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin," 1 John i. 7. "Who is the propitiation [or propitiatory sacrifice] for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world," 1 John ii. 2. Paul abounds, every where, with the most glowing sentiments in respect to this great point. "For he hath made him to be sin [i. e. a sin offering] for us, who knew no sin," 2 Cor. v. 21. "Christ our passover is sacrificed for us," 1 Cor. v. 7. "In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins," Eph. i. 7. "Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation [or propitiatory sacrifice], through faith in his blood to declare his righteousness [i. e. for the manifestation of his pardoning mercy], by the remission of sins," Rom. iii. 25. "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us," Gal. iii. 13.

It were easy to proceed, and fill out my whole discourse with passages of the like import. But the limits which I have prescribed to myself forbid; and I shall close with two texts more, where the resemblance, between the sacrifices under the law and the offering of Christ, is so brought into

view, that it is impossible to mistake the writer's meaning. "For the bodies of those beasts, whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high priest for sin, are burned without the camp; wherefore Jesus also, that he might make expiation (*ἀγιάσῃ*) for the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate," Heb. xiii. 11, 12. In other words, what was done in the type, was fulfilled in the antitype. Again; "For if the blood of bulls and goats, and the ashes of a heifer, sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh; how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal spirit offered up himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works, to serve the living God," Heb. ix. 13, 14.

I ask now of any candid man, who has some proper conception of the manner in which the Jews employed language of this nature, nothing more, than that laying his hand on his heart, and making the appeal to him who searches that heart, he would inquire, whether a Jew, addressing Jews with such language as this, could expect or wish to be understood in any other way, than as inculcating the doctrine of *substitution*, or the *expiatory sufferings* of Jesus.

I have done with citing testimony; for if what I have adduced does not establish the fact, that the sacred writers did mean to inculcate the doctrine in question, then plainly, the many scores of additional texts which might be quoted, will not prove it; nor any language, I must add, which it would be in the power of a human being to employ.

As a proof of this, I only advert to the manner in which all plain unlettered Christians have always understood these texts, from the time of the apostles down to the present moment. They never had a doubt on the subject of their meaning, unless some speculating theologian excited it; and of themselves, I do believe, they never would have one, to the end of time.

But I may make an appeal of another kind, in regard to the manner in which this language is and must be understood, by men deeply versed in the idiom of the Scriptures, but wholly indifferent in regard to the fact, whether one or another doctrine is there taught, because they do not recognize their authority to decide upon such matters. The most distinguished oriental and biblical scholar now living, who disclaims all belief in any thing supernatural in the Scriptures, and through the influence of his philosophy maintains that a miracle is impossible, and who therefore cannot be said to have any prejudices in favour of the doctrine of atonement, says, at the close of a masterly explanation of the language of the chapter from which my text is taken, that "most Hebrew readers, who had once been acquainted with offerings and *substitution*, must NECESSARILY understand the words of our chapter as asserting it; and there is NO DOUBT," he adds, "that the *apostolic representation, in respect to the propitiatory death of Christ*, certainly rests in a manner altogether preeminent, on this ground." (Gesenius, Comm. über Jesaiam, LIII. 15.)

So much for the testimony of Scripture, and for the manner in which the unlearned and the learned have understood it, and do still understand it.

We come, then, if my proof is valid, to the simple alternative, either to admit the doctrine in question, or to reject the authority of the sacred writers. There is no other path which can be taken, unless it can be fairly shewn, that the interpretation which has been given to the language cited above, is not agreeable to the usage of speech among the Jews; an undertaking which, I am well persuaded, is desperate; and one which no critic, no philologist, can ever accomplish, until the whole history of Jewish ideas in respect to these subjects, during former ages, is blotted out from

the records of the world. I repeat it, then, for I do most solemnly believe it, that we must either receive the doctrine of substitution and expiatory offering by the death of Christ, or virtually lay aside the authority of the Scriptures, and lean upon our own philosophy.

III. I come now, according to the plan of my discourse, to consider some of the objections made against the doctrine of the atonement.

I do not feel it to be important, here, to dwell upon them at length. There is only one method in which any legitimate objections can be made, by those who admit the authority of revelation. This is, to shew that the language of Scripture, according to Jewish idiom, does not mean what I have construed it as meaning. But this mode of objecting, the speculators and skeptics who have rejected the doctrine of substitution, have been very careful to avoid. Their refuge is philosophy. They raise doubts about equivalency; they must see, as philosophers, the *why* and the *how* in respect to this mysterious transaction. Whatever pertains to this part of the subject, however, I have sufficiently dwelt upon already. I shall therefore only glance here, at some of the most popular methods employed to oppose the doctrine of substitution, or to explain it away.

Obj. 1. 'An atonement for sin is unnecessary. God can forgive it as well without an atonement as with one; and the doctrine, if true, divests the Supreme Being of the attribute of mercy. If the full debt is paid, where is there any room for mercy in forgiving it?'

But who is to decide the point, whether God *can* forgive sin without an atonement? The natural possibility of it, I admit; that is, I admit that as sovereign of the universe, and possessing omnipotence, he might pardon sin, (if he had judged it best to do so), without the intervention of a suffering sub-

stitute. But this is no real part of our question. What ~~has~~ ^{be} judged best, is the only proper inquiry ; and how can this be answered ? Only, as we have already seen, by revelation. But that revelation tells us, it is " the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world ; " that " there is no other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved, nor is there salvation in any other," Acts iv. 12 ; that " there is one God, and one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus who gave himself a ransom for all," 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6 ; and that " all have sinned and come short of the glory of God," and consequently, must be " gratuitously justified through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ, whom God hath set forth as a propitiatory sacrifice," Rom. iii. 23—25.

. This point then is put at rest by the Bible. And when those who doubt, admonish us that it would be ~~unbecoming~~ in respect to the Supreme Being, and derogatory to his character, to suppose that the sufferings of Christ, an innocent victim, were deemed by him to be necessary or acceptable ; I answer simply with Paul : " For it ~~became~~ him, for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in order to bring many sons to glory, to make perfect the Captain of their salvation through sufferings," Heb. ii. 10.

When they further allege, also, that the attribute of mercy is virtually denied to the Supreme Being, by the supposition of an atonement, they can say this, only on the ground that an exact and literal equivalent for the penal part of the divine law, both as to the kind and quantity of suffering, has been demanded of the substitute ; a doctrine incapable, as we have seen, of being supported ; and to meet the difficulties of which, I certainly will not incur any responsibility. The simple Scriptural statement of substitution, is not liable to this objection.

Obj. 2. "The motives to strenuous effort in order to live a virtuous and holy life, are greatly weakened by the doctrine in question."

This objection is as old, at least, as the time of Paul; and it is met by him in such a manner as to save us, at the present time, from the necessity of any effort to make an adequate reply. After representing the death of Christ (Rom. III.) as the only foundation of the sinners hope, he meets this very objection, which he knew would be made by those who doubted his doctrine, in these words; "Do we then *make void* the law, through faith?" i. e. do we diminish the force of moral precept or obligation, by preaching the doctrine of gratuitous pardon through atoning blood? To which he answers at once, "God forbid; rather we *establish* the law," i. e. we enforce its obligations by higher motives than before existed. After illustrating, by various instances, the fact that such a method of justifying sinners is presented to view in the Jewish Scriptures, he resumes the consideration of the objection. He represents the objector as suggesting; "What shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound? God forbid," he answers again, "how shall we who are dead to sin, any longer continue to practise it?" Rom. VI. 1, 2. He then goes on to shew, (which is indeed a most conclusive and irrefragable answer to the whole objection), that Christianity, from its very nature, implies of necessity the mortification of all our sinful passions and appetites; it is itself, in its very essence, a principle directly hostile to them, and therefore never can indulge or foster them.

All the difficulty of objectors here, arises from overlooking the whole of this grand point. Atoning blood, extensive and gratuitous as the favours are which it proffers, never proffered one unconditionally. The sinner must be humbled, and penitent, who is sprinkled with it. The grace of God, which

has appeared to all men through a Saviour's death, inculcates on them, without exception, the absolute necessity of denying all ungodliness and worldly lusts. It urges this, as the New Testament most amply shews, by excitements to virtue of a higher nature, and by penalties for offences more awful, than any system of law could offer or impose.

OBJ. 3. 'There is no need of laying so much stress upon the death of Christ, or of regarding him as our *substitute* in any sense. He may very properly be called our Saviour and Redeemer, inasmuch as by his instructions, he has taught us the way in which we may acceptably obey God.'

That to give instruction was a part of Christ's errand on earth, as our Redeemer, I cheerfully admit. But that this was the great work, which marked him exclusively as the Saviour of sinners, it is quite impossible to prove. What! Have we not other instructors, such too as were inspired, as well as he? Did he write the New Testament? Did he, who taught about three years, who was never out of Palestine, and made but few disciples, teach as much, and labour with as much success, as Paul, who preached about thirty years, and traversed the world to proclaim the messages of salvation? If the simple fact of giving instruction, of making disciples, of successfully inculcating the truth, makes a Redeemer, then who has the best title to that appellation; Paul, or (I speak it with reverence) Jesus of Nazareth? And to whom should the songs of the redeemed in heaven be directed? Have we not, too, on such ground as this, just as many redeemers as we have, or have had, religious teachers?

OBJ. 4. 'The death of Christ was a seal or confirmation of the truth, by which we are enlightened and saved. It is unnecessary to consider what the Scriptures say of its efficacy, as amounting to any more than this.'

Is this so? Then was Stephen, and James, and Peter,

and Paul, and every other martyr to the cause of truth, who has sealed his testimony to it by his own blood, our redeemer too. Shall we then bow the knee to them for this testimony, and ascribe our salvation, at least in part, to them? And the redeemed in heaven—do they ascribe salvation to *martyrs*, when they cast their crowns at the feet of the LAMB, and sing, *THOU wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by THY blood?*

OBJ. 5. 'Christ was our Redeemer, in that he has by his example set before us an acceptable way of worship, and taught us, by personal obedience both active and passive, how we may please God.'

The force of his example to inculcate virtue and piety, we ought most gratefully to acknowledge. But the *redeeming* efficacy of it, I cannot by any means admit. A most conclusive reason against such a view of it, is found in the fact, that while his example could, of course, have an influence only during his life, and on times *after* those in which he lived, his atonement is represented as reaching back to the very origin of our race. Thus Paul, "If the blood of bulls and goats . . . sanctifies to the purifying of the flesh; how *much more* shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works, to serve the living God. And for this cause, [i. e. because his expiatory sacrifice possesses a spiritual or moral efficacy of such a nature], he is the Mediator of the new covenant, so that, his death having taken place to make expiation (*εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν*) for sins committed under the former covenant, they who are called may receive the promised blessings of the heavenly inheritance," Heb. ix. 13—15. That his death is here plainly considered by the apostle, as having a *retrospective* view and influence, is clear from what follows. After observing that the

Jewish sacrifices needed to be often repeated, he goes on to say, "The death of Christ once only was sufficient ; if this were not so," he adds, then "he must often have suffered since the foundation of the world." That is, the object which his death has now accomplished, the expiatory sacrifice which he has now made, must be adequate for men in all ages ; for the past, as well as for the future ; otherwise Christ must have often suffered, since the foundation of the world, Heb. ix. 25, 26.

Exactly to the same purpose, is the sentiment in the third chapter of the epistle to the Romans. After asserting that God had sent forth Christ as a propitiatory sacrifice, Paul adds, "To declare or manifest his gratuitous method of justification by the forgiveness of sins in past times, [or, so that the sins of former times might be remitted], through the divine lenity ; and to declare his gratuitous method of justification, at the present time," Rom. iii. 25, 26. The opposition of *present* time here, to the *past* in the preceding clause, shews beyond all reasonable doubt, as it seems to me, that the object of the apostle is to assert, not only the influence of Christ's propitiatory sacrifice, but its extension to *past* times as well as to present ; and of course, the sentiment is the same with that which is disclosed in the epistle to the Hebrews.

Here then we may take our stand in defence of *vicarious* sacrifice, secure against being moved by suggestions, that *example* is the great point in the Redeemer's work. Here, at all events, is *vicarious* influence, if there be influence on ages that have passed by. And that the apostle means to assert this, appears to me as clear as any other sentiment deducible from his writings.

OBJ. 6. The last objection which I shall notice, is 'that to represent the innocent as suffering for the guilty, is a virtual

impeachment of divine equity, and of those principles of moral government which the ruler of the universe has established.'

To him, who acknowledges the Scriptures as a divine revelation, I reply simply in their language, "He hath made him to be a sin-offering, who *knew no sin*," i. e. the innocent has suffered for the guilty, 2 Cor. v. 21. "But Christ hath once suffered for sins, the *just* for the unjust, that he might bring us to God," 1 Pet. iii. 18. Such is the fact; and I merely ask, Is God unjust? and do the Scriptures represent him to be so, because of this?

Even to those who do not acknowledge the authority of the Scriptures, to the sober Rationalist or Theist, I might present a greater difficulty still. Children suffer on account of the crimes of their parents; nations, on account of the vices of their rulers; and that, without the consent of the sufferers. Yet, by their own acknowledgment, divine justice and the principles of moral government are not impeachable on this account. Are they so then, if Christ *voluntarily*, and out of pity and love, suffered the just for the unjust?

But I must leave the examination of objections. I dismiss them all with this single remark. When it shall be shewn that the language of the Scriptures must not, according to rules of interpretation which are fundamental and capable of demonstration, be construed as conveying, and as designed to convey, the idea of a vicarious or expiatory offering by the death of Christ; when it shall be shewn that there is even a possibility, that the Jews could have understood it in a different way; then we may consider the doctrine of substitution as doubtful: but never till then, unless our own conjectural reasonings are to usurp the place of the sacred writers, in deciding upon this matter.

Having thus briefly canvassed the topics proposed for consideration at the commencement of my discourses, I shall

close with a few reflections on the subject which has been discussed.

1. The doctrine of the atonement is a fundamental doctrine in the Christian system ; and that which distinguishes it, in a peculiar manner, from all other systems of religion.

It is *fundamental* ; because, often as belief in a Saviour is urged in the New Testament, and urged as the indispensable condition of salvation, equally often is belief in that Saviour, as our atoning sacrifice, urged ; and equally conspicuous is this point, in the whole system of the Christian religion. . It is not merely, or principally in Jesus as our teacher, our example, or as having sealed the truth of his testimony by his own blood, that we are called to believe ; but principally in him, in that very character in which he was "to the Jews a stumbling block, and to the Greeks foolishness, while unto them who are saved, he is wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption." What says Paul to the Corinthians ? "I am determined not to know any thing among you save Jesus Christ, and him CRUCIFIED," 1 Cor. II. 2. Why Christ CRUCIFIED ? Why not Christ as a teacher, an example, a martyr, a prophet ? Plainly because, whatever was done by Christ in all these characters, it would have utterly failed to accomplish the design of saving men, unless his expiatory death had also taken place. Christ *crucified*, then, is the very point on which ultimately hang all the hopes of our sinful race. So Paul viewed it, when he said, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of Christ," Gal. VI. 14. So we too ought to view it. Other systems of religion teach the existence, attributes, and moral government of God. This does Judaism in its modern form ; this does Theism ; this does even Mohammedism. Other systems inculcate our social and relative duties. The religion of Hindoostan exhibits the Deity in a state of incarnation ; so

that even this is not in all respects peculiar to Christianity. But no religion save the Christian, exhibits the incarnate Word, suffering, bleeding, dying for sinners ; a Lamb of God to take away the sin of the world. This is at once the glory and the hope of the Christian system. This is what marks it with a peculiarity, that makes it exceedingly distinct from, and superior to, all other systems. Give up this point, and you confound the broad line of distinction, which separates it from all else that is called religion. Suffer this sun even to be eclipsed, and the race of man is covered with gloom. Quench his glory, and we are at once involved in ten-fold more than Egyptian night ; we are doomed to wander in the shadow of death, on which no morning rays will ever dawn, nor one gleam of radiance ever fall to alleviate its terrors.

2. I remark, finally, that a Saviour suffering for us, the eternal Word, God manifest in the flesh, and in our nature offering an expiatory sacrifice, presents to the moral sympathies of our race, higher excitements to virtue and piety, and more powerful dissuasives from sin, than any other consideration which the Christian religion proffers.

I am quite confident, that I might safely undertake to establish the correctness of this observation, from the nature of our moral constitution, and the manner in which we are most successfully influenced to engage in the mortification of our sinful appetites, and in the practice of virtue. But I will not make such an appeal, because I choose to rest the whole subject on the Scriptures and the actual experience of Christians.

Paul, when speaking on the topic now introduced, says, "*God commendeth his love toward us*, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us," Rom. v. 8. "*Greater love than this hath no man, that he lay down his life for his*

friends;" but Christ has far surpassed this. The same apostle says, "When we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son," Rom. v. 10. Here then is a consideration which will make every heart to vibrate, that is not lost to all sense of gratitude and of mercy. How many thousands have heard the thunders of Sinai unmoved; and even while their awful power has made the very ground to rock on which they stood, how many have still turned a deaf ear to all the admonitions and threatenings which they conveyed, and grown more desperate in their resolutions to persist in rebellion against God! Yet, after all, they have been melted down by the proclamation of Jesus' dying love, and have fallen as humble suppliants at the foot of his cross. Yes, we may say with John, "Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us," 1 John iii. 16. And again, "In this was manifested the love of God towards us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might have life through him." But on what point did this love principally rest? Where did all the glories of benevolence concenter? The same apostle immediately informs us, "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins;" i. e. when we were enemies to God, Christ died as our propitiatory offering, and made reconciliation for us, 1 John iii. 9, 10. Herein is love indeed, and hard must be that heart which can resist the proposal of it; for if any consideration can avail to subdue the stubborn spirit of the human breast, this must be the one which has the most powerful influence of all.

I appeal to fact. When the missionaries of the United Brethren undertook to preach the eternal power and Godhead of the Deity, as displayed in the creation, to the poor benighted Greenlanders, they listened, they gazed, they

turned away with silent neglect. The faithful disciples urged on them still more vehemently the attributes of the Creator and Judge of all, and their moral accountability to him. They listened ; but their hearts remained like the eternal ice, with which their region is overspread. Compassion for their perishing condition made the servants of Jesus more urgent still. One other chord there was, which perhaps, when touched, might be made to vibrate. They touched it with a faithful hand. They proclaimed to the poor, gazing, perishing heathen, a Saviour, bleeding, groaning, dying for them. They pointed them to his bleeding hands, his wounded side ; they bid them look to that Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world. The sight prostrated them to the earth. Their stubborn hearts melted like wax before the fire. They fell at the foot of a dying Saviour's cross, and exclaimed, Lord Jesus, save us or we perish forever !

Yes, and millions of the ransomed, who have gone to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads, can testify to the power of this mighty truth on their rebellious hearts. God so commended his love toward them, by disclosing a Saviour dying on their account, that they could no longer resist the invitations of his mercy. It was a mighty stream, rushing on with overwhelming power, and bearing every thing away before it.

That Jesus died, and died for us ; that he was our SUBSTITUTE ; that his tender compassion did take us into view individually ; that he took our nature in order to enter most intimately, most endearingly, into our sympathies, and propose himself to us under the most attractive form, is the view which Paul took of the Redeemer's work. He was not an isolated monument of suffering, and of God's displeasure against sinners ; not merely a sign that sin could be pardoned, by which only an abstract testimony could be given, like that

which the rainbow gives of God's covenant to drown the earth no more—a symbol which might have served equally well for angels or for men. No; “Verily he did not assist the angels, but the seed of Abraham.” Man was the object—the only object—of his incarnation, sufferings, and death. “Wherefore it behooved him in all things to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining unto God, to make reconciliation for the sins of his people. For in that he himself suffered, being tempted, he is able also to succour those that are tempted,” Heb. ii. 16—18. See what pains is here taken to represent the suffering Saviour as participating in our nature, and entering with the most tender sympathy into all our wants and woes. Is this to propose him as a mere example of suffering, cold, distant, abstract; or is it to make him such a high priest as we needed, one who can be touched with a feeling for our infirmities, having been tempted in all points as we are? Speak, ye whose hearts have been melted by a Saviour's love, and tell us. Yes, ye who live amid the horrors of eternal winter and storm; or ye, who roam in deserts parched beneath a burning sun; all ye, who once were without God and without hope in the world, aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the covenant of promise; speak, and say, Is not this the Saviour you need; the Saviour, who has cheered your desponding hearts; who has opened to you the prospect of glory? Is not this he whom your souls love? Speak, ye redeemed, encircling his throne above, and casting your crowns at his feet; is not this he who drew your souls to him by bonds of love stronger than death, which many waters could not quench, nor floods drown? Hark! I hear the notes of that song, which fills all the regions of heaven with harmony. It echoes back to this distant world; “THOU WAST SLAIN, AND HAST REDEEMED US TO

GOD BY THY BLOOD, out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation, and hast made us kings and priests unto our God forever and ever." O for a heart and tongue to unite with this grateful, happy throng, and begin on earth the notes which we hope to sing, through everlasting ages, in the world above !

Fear not, my brethren, who are to preach this precious Saviour to a perishing world, fear not that the declaration of his atoning blood will ever palsy the moral energies of the soul. What says that great apostle, who won more souls to Jesus, than any other herald of his salvation has ever done ? "The love of Christ *constraineth* us." But *why* did it constrain him, and to do what ? "It constraineth us, because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead ;" i. e. it constrains us, because when we were dead in trespasses and sins, Christ died to redeem us. What follows ? He died for us, "that they which live, *should henceforth no more live unto themselves, but unto him who died for them and who rose again.*" Preach the same doctrine ; it must forever have the same influence—the same mighty, overpowering, saving influence—on every heart that receives it. Proclaim to a perishing world *glad tidings*—glad tidings of great joy. Jesus died for them. Jesus can and will save them, if they accept the offers of his mercy. Glory in nothing but his cross. Be not turned aside from preaching him *crucified*, by any scorn and contumely on the one hand, or cold and speculative philosophy on the other. This doctrine is the power of God unto salvation to all who believe. Proclaim it then to a world perishing in iniquity. Proclaim it to the very ends of the earth. It will force open the prison doors. It will liberate the captives. It will scatter heavenly glory over our benighted world. It will call the dead to life. It will convert this great Aceldama into the garden of God. This

boundless valley of dry bones will become the scene of as boundless a resurrection to life.

I thank God, whose providence has so long detained me from this sacred place,* that I have now enjoyed another opportunity of testifying to you my convictions in respect to a Saviour's dying love. If I should never again be permitted to do it, receive this as the last and highest expression of my affection to him and to you. I ask for no other privilege on earth, but to make known the efficacy of his death ; and none in heaven, but to be associated with those who ascribe salvation to his blood. **AMEN.**

* For some time, previously to the composition and delivery of these Discourses, the writer of them had been prevented, by long continued infirmity, from the delivery of Sermons in the pulpit.

6. 2
A

BRIEF REPORT

OF

THE DEBATES

IN THE

ANTI-MASONIC STATE CONVENTION

OF THE

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,

HELD IN FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON,

DECEMBER 30, 31, 1829, AND JANUARY 1, 1830.

BOSTON:

PUBLISHED BY JOHN MARSH, NOS. 96 AND 98, STATE STREET

MDCCCXXX.

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DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, to wit :

District Clerk's Office.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the sixteenth day of January, A. D. 1830, and in the fiftyfourth year of the Independence of the United States of America, John Marsh, of the said district, has deposited in this office, the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit :

'A Brief Report of the Debates in the Anti-Masonic State Convention of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, December 30, 31, 1829, and January 1, 1830.'

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, 'An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned : ' and also to an Act entitled 'An Act supplementary to an Act, entitled "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned : " and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.'

JNO. W. DAVIS,

Clerk of the District of Massachusetts

DEBATES, &c.

WEDNESDAY, DEC. 30, 1829.

The Convention was organized by the choice of

Col. PLINY MERRICK, of Worcester, <i>President.</i>	
Dr ABNER PHELPS, of Boston,	} <i>Vice Presidents</i>
MANASSEH KEMPTON, Esq., of New Bedford,	
ELIJAH WILLIAMS,	} <i>Secretaries.</i>
NATHAN LAZELL, Jr.,	
STEPHEN OLIVER,	

Prayers were offered by Rev. ETHAN SMITH.

On the motion to choose a *Committee to report on the truth of the disclosures of Free Masonry, now before the public,**

Mr A. CHURCHILL, of Milton, questioned the expediency of this measure. It was spending time that could be more usefully employed. He thought the Convention might as well choose a committee to report whether the sun was now shining above or below the horizon. He did believe the testimony sufficient to convince any reasonable man, who would take the trouble to examine it, that the principles of Masonry were now before the world. In many instances, in judicial proceedings, the testimony of a single witness of fair character, had been sufficient to establish facts affecting the property and lives of individuals. In this case, there were hundreds, and perhaps thousands of credible witnesses, residing in different and distant places, whose testimony corresponded in every material circumstance. They could have held no communication with each other; they were concerned in no mutual project of profit or aggrandizement; and they could have no common object to deceive. If one individual had come forward after another, and denied the correctness of former disclosures, saying, 'this man has imposed upon you a false statement, I will tell you the truth,' and then varied the testimony so as to give himself a personal and particular claim to attention and distinction, then we might have been thrown into doubt; but when multitudes of individuals, in different sections of the country, testified to the same facts; when they could obtain no possible object by falsehood and misrepresentation, and

* See Proceedings of the Convention, as published by the Committee, page 4

they could have no motive to deceive, but came forward with reluctance and shame, to acknowledge faults and confess errors, we cannot withhold our belief. He questioned the expediency of appointing a Committee to report on the truth of the disclosures of Free Masonry, because it might be thought to look as if we had doubts on the subject, which *he*, and he believed none of the Convention, entertained. He was willing, however, to vote for the motion if others thought it necessary.

Dr PHELPS, of Boston, hoped the motion would prevail. This was an important question. *Are these disclosures TRUE?* It seemed necessary that the Convention should decide on this fact before they could consistently proceed further. If they are true, if we believe them to be true, if we decide they are true, then we could go on. He did not doubt that many members of the Convention were completely satisfied on this point. But the fact should be made to appear in our proceedings. The doings of this convention will go before the public. And the deliberate opinion of this large and respectable body, on the truth of the disclosures of Free Masonry, will have weight on the public mind, provided it should be the result of calm, candid, and thorough investigation. He thought it was important that this Committee should be appointed.

The motion passed unanimously.

IN THE AFTERNOON

MR CHURCHILL, of Milton addressed the Convention on the character and tendency of the Masonic Institution. He said the short address which the limits of our time and his state of indisposition permitted him to make, would be devoted principally to that trait in the masonic character, designated by the Oath of the Royal Arch Mason. Passing over its affronting attacks on the christian religion, and its implied disregard of private rights, we approach that daring vaunting of crime and injustice contained in the two following obligations, viz:—*'In the presence of Almighty God and this Chapter of Royal Arch Masons erected to God and dedicated to the holy order of Saint John, I do most solemnly and sincerely swear, in addition to my former obligations, &c., that I will aid and assist a Companion Royal Arch Mason whenever I shall see him engaged in any difficulty, so far as to extricate him from the same, whether he be right or wrong.'* *'Furthermore, do I promise and swear, that a Companion Royal Arch Mason's secrets, given me in charge as such, and I knowing him to be such, shall remain as secure and inviolable in my breast as in his own, when communicated to me, murder and treason not excepted.'*

The lesson is short, Mr President, and this is all that need be learned of Masonry to blast its reputation with every honest man. Casual difficulties, the effect of accident, are not alone the objects of this obligation; but they are moral aberrations, difficulties in which a perverse mind may have entangled the guilty; for the sequel would else be without import, namely, whether he be right or wrong.

Again, what are the secrets thus inviolably to be guarded? Are they the unguarded expressions, the hasty actions, which are no sooner uttered or executed than repented of? No, they are the first volitions, the maturing process, and the heart rending execution of crime; of crime in all its numerous gradations; of crime against property and reputation; of crime against the peace of families; of crime against that human life which has become obnoxious to masonry or any masonic character, amongst whom no offence is so great as speaking the truth.

Acting under the above obligations, the first duty of such a mason who knows his confederate to have stained his hands with unmasonic blood, is to hide the perpetrator from public suspicion. This is done by extravagant eulogiums and high toned recommendations of his purity and integrity. This failing, he must be enabled to elude the research of the officer, if, indeed, the officer is not previously indisposed to making any search. Or if brought to trial, the witnesses must remember their masonic obligations are paramount to those imposed in court. The jury must listen to the cry of guilty distress.

But if all this should fail, there is fortunately in this commonwealth, no other resource for masonic influence, but to besiege the throne with universal petition for mercy;* or to break the prison bolts and let the blood stained prisoner go free. It is believed that in the progress of premeditated crime there is a period, at which the perpetrator is hesitating; how then are his purposes emboldened by knowing, that every mason will support him, and every such house is a sanctuary into which he may flee and find protection.

The above gradations are founded on criminal process; but the same principles apply to controversy between individuals suitably arranged.

Masonry has the arrogance to claim unbounded antiquity, and many worthy characters borne on its catalogue. Its claim, however, to those characters, has been before confuted. See an address at the first County Convention held in this state at Dedham. With respect to its antiquity, could we once condescend to trifle with truth, we would admit their claim, and then say what has your ancient institution to boast? Is antiquity of folly, of crime, and of punishment too, the shame you glory in? Has Masonry ever hushed to silence the discord of jarring nations? Has the rotundity and diurnal revolutions of the earth been developed by Masonry? Was the trembling needle, which, like the trembling conscience, is ever restless till it has gained its point, directed by masonic science? Did her fallacious light show to us the astonishing powers of gravitation, or unfold the principles on which eclipses are calculated?

In fine, it is believed that no one discovery, that ever blest the human family, was effected or aided by the light of Masonry; for

* See the case of the Ruffians who shot the black man in Malden.

of all the before mentioned improvements, and indeed of all others, except sensual gratifications, and that adoration which nature inspires, the Great Grand Royal Arch High Priest and Grand King, Solomon, was most profoundly ignorant.

But, Mr President, one word as to their real antiquity. Of this we find scarcely any vestige. Through the darkness which covers their mischievous and detestable ancestry, there breaks out here and there a recorded crime or execution, to show that such a race has existed.

In 1424, or 5, an edict of the British government, applying, as I think, to speculative Masons, though some of them might be operative too, denounced their order as guilty, and inflicted the punishment of death on some of their principal leaders; and fine and imprisonment on all that followed them. In latter days, the sudden and unaccountable death of Alexander of Russia, soon after issuing an edict to suppress those infamous assemblies, has marked another epocha in their history.

Mr OLIVER, of Lynn, spoke at considerable length on the character of the Masonic institution. He alluded to the extravagant panegyric bestowed on it by its orators and votaries, its high-wrought claims to antiquity and moral excellence, and to the passive submission with which it had been received by the world. He stated that for a long time, he paid but little attention to the growing opposition against it, nor to the alleged disclosures of its ceremonies and oaths. But when individuals of his own acquaintance who belonged to the society had assured him of the truth of these disclosures, he had investigated the subject, and been convinced that the institution was not deserving of public support. He concluded with an impressive appeal to Christian ministers, who, leaving the open and cheerful daylight of the Gospel, were groping for more light in the dark and gloomy caverns of Masonry.

The Committee on the truth of the disclosures of Free Masonry, made a report.* On motion for its acceptance, Mr BOWMAN, of Cambridge, moved an amendment of that part of the Report which stated, the body of William Morgan had been sunk in Niagara river. He had seen no positive evidence of this fact. He thought nothing should proceed from this body, which was not capable of being fully substantiated, by direct and unimpeachable evidence. He understood the subject was now before legal tribunals in New York, and it did not become us to interfere, and prejudice the case. Whatever might be the conviction of individuals, as no legal decision had yet been made, it was not advisable for this convention to make any statements which were not supported by positive testimony.

Mr HENRY D. WARD was in favor of adopting the report as it stood. He entertained no doubt that the body of Morgan had been sunk in the river, as alleged. He spoke in high and bon-

* Doings of the Convention, page 4.

orable terms of E. Giddins, with whom he had conversed on this subject. Mr G. had the care of Morgan during the first part of his confinement in the magazine of the Fort. In common with several others of the fraternity, he once started for the Fort, for the express purpose of inflicting the penalties of Masonry on Morgan. Before they reached the place, Giddins and another fell back, and refused to proceed. His partiality for the institution began to weaken from this moment, when he found it was leading him to the destruction of human life. His scruples brought him into a dispute with Col. King, one of the party, and he gave up to him the key of the magazine. Finding they were determined to go on with their inhuman work, and fearing to be implicated in the catastrophe, he made business which took him away into Canada, for a few days. When he came home on the 20th his family told him that his ferry-boat had been made use of the night before. The men in whose clutches he had left Morgan, gave him to understand, in the most significant terms, that he had been destroyed. He shrunk from hearing particulars, for he felt the information might be perilous to himself, and unsafe to them. He was directed by them, to walk the shore of the lake, mornings, to watch whether the body floated ashore. Whilst the people afterwards were raking the river, these masons were in the utmost consternation and alarm. They were continually on the shore, watching the result of the labor. A high mason came to him, and told him [G.] to be on the alert, saying with great energy, '*they'll find that damned carcass yet.*' Mr W. mentioned a great number of facts and circumstances, which left not the shadow of a doubt in his mind, that Morgan had been sunk in Niagara river, on the night of the 19th of September, 1826.

Mr S. D. GREENE, of Boston, (formerly of Batavia, N. Y.) followed in support of the Report, and spoke at some length, giving other circumstances which went to prove the fact alleged.

Mr MORTON, of Milton, (who drafted the report) observed that as unanimity of opinion was desirable in this case, the expression of a single dissent, to a part of the report was sufficient for him to yield his own views; and he consented to the amendment.

The amendment was then unanimously agreed to.

Mr WARD then spoke of the truth of the disclosures of Free Masonry as far as his personal knowledge extended. He had taken three degrees, and the work of Morgan was a fair and complete revelation of what he had taken. He alluded to the question so often asked, why seceders remained so long in the society before they discovered its corruption and withdrew. He said many joined it with the solemn belief that the institution had been patronised by Moses and Enoch, by Solomon and Noah, by the holy St John, and all the great and good men since. Masonic orators and historians had said that it came from God, and that it was the foundation of all religion. Individuals joined it with exalted prepossessions in its favor. They could not presume to

judge and condemn in an instant what had been lauded by so many scholars and divines before them. The oaths were not written; they were delivered to them word by word; they swore to them by peace-meal, and knew not what they did till all was done. In fact, they relied on the description of others for the character of the institution, and never examined it themselves. When they found they had been imposed on, and that Masonry was corrupt and corrupting, they withdrew, and raised their voice to warn others. Had such a voice been heard before, *they* might not have been deluded into the snare.

Rev. Mr THACHER, of Wrentham, could attest to the correctness of the disclosures to the seventh, or Royal Arch degree, which he had taken. He considered the oaths of Masonry neither legally, religiously, nor morally binding, because they were illegal, irreligious, and immoral in themselves. He alluded to the blasphemous personification of Jehovah in the burning bush, and entered at some length into a description of the oaths and ceremonies of the seven degrees he had taken.

The Report* was then unanimously accepted.

THURSDAY MORNING, DEC. 31.

The Convention met according to adjournment.

Prayers were offered by the Rev. PETER SANBORN of Reading.

The Committee on the *Antiquity of Speculative Free Masonry*, made a Report. On motion of its acceptance—

Mr HOBART, of Leicester, conceived that a Report of this nature, containing important facts, ought not to be hurried through the Convention; and if it was in order he would move that its further consideration should be referred to a future hour, in order that we might deliberate and act with deliberation upon it. He moved its further consideration be postponed till 4 o'clock this afternoon.

Dr PHELPS, of Boston, thought an earlier period was preferable. There was much business before the Convention, and the time was short. Many members were a great distance from their homes and it was inconvenient to hold a long session. He wished to proceed with all the despatch which the nature of the case would admit. He was therefore in favor of one o'clock, this day; which hour was afterwards agreed upon.

The Committee on the *State of the Public Press* made a Report. On motion for its acceptance, Mr SIMONDS, of Boston wished to have the names of those editors who refused to publish information on this subject. The public expected newspapers to be the fair and faithful chronicles of the times, and if there were papers, which suppressed information important to the communi-

* See Proceeding of the Convention, p. 4.

ty, the fact should be generally known, and the names of the publishers given. He had no wish to injure the feelings or interests of any individual connected with the press, neither did he think the public should suffer injury by the suppression of facts which strongly affected their interests and rights. He hoped the names of papers would be given, whose editors had been applied to, to publish information on this subject, and who had refused; and he made a motion to that effect.

MR WALKER, of Boston, did not wish that any such invidious distinctions should be taken. He portrayed the delicate situation in which editors and publishers were placed, and gave some forcible reasons why such a course was not expedient.

MR SIMONDS replied that if the fact were true that the press was muzzled, the public ought to know it; and also by whom it was done.

MR HOBART, of Leicester, hoped the motion would not prevail. Printers of newspapers were under the necessity of relying on the patronage of those who supported their presses. They must watch the feelings of their subscribers, and they could not with prudence hazard the excitement which an unpleasant development might make. The time would come when they might express their sentiments on this subject without fear and without injury; but that period had not yet arrived. It was too early to censure these individuals, these editors, and to mark them out in distinguished lines. To do it now was premature; it was bad policy.

MR WHITNEY, of Boston, thought that 'sentinels on the watch-towers of liberty,' as editors had been called, should not be deterred from doing their duty. After the garrison had driven the foe from their gates, there was not much merit in sounding an alarm. It should be heard at the approach of the enemy, and not after the battle was fought.

He, however, was not disposed to ask for names at this time, as a perfect list could not be obtained. The country presses were locked as close on this subject as those of the metropolis; and it might appear invidious to publish the names of a few, and omit those of many who were equally obnoxious to censure; for if the disclosures of masonry were true, the interests of the community must suffer by their suppression. It was a fact, that a great majority of the public presses in this city, were conducted by masons;—men who had sworn not to 'write, print, paint, nor engrave the secrets of masonry, on anything moveable or immoveable under the canopy of heaven, whereby they may become legible or intelligible to themselves or to any others in the known world.' This all masons swear in their first oath. Now if such editors consider the masonic oath binding, they, of course, will not consent to break it by publishing information on this subject, and if they did, they would commit perjury, in his view, just as much as those masons who take other methods of disclosing these

secrets. When the nature and tendency of masonic oaths were generally understood, together with the improper and deceptive manner in which they are administered, editors would not feel so shackled as they do at present. They swear not only 'never to reveal,' but 'ever to *conceal*' the secrets of masonry. In order to conceal what is already disclosed, they have to suppress, and refuse to publish facts which many of their patrons are interested in knowing. All editors, therefore, who are masons, and who consider their oaths binding, must be presumed as acting under a sense of masonic duty in suppressing information and perverting facts which go to expose the hidden things of their order. To publish their names, might be visiting on their heads, the censure which belongs to the institution. We sought not to injure individuals; our efforts were directed towards the destruction of an institution whose secret principles we believed to be corrupt, and whose power we considered dangerous.

MR RICE, of Northborough, would offer another reason why no sweeping censure should be made against the conductors of the press. Some papers never admitted the discussion of religion in their columns; others never took a decided ground, but abjured politics—many were free for both. From the latter, the public had means for information, and from these there was a sufficient avenue to enlighten the public. He did not wish to do anything which might appear like proscription in any case. He thought the press ought to be left wholly free to publish what it pleased, and the public also should be left free to patronize whom it pleased. There were several religious papers in Boston, which noticed nothing but religious matters; the conductors of these papers might not be aware of the bearing which masonry had on religion, and therefore have omitted to allude to the subject. He should be sorry to do anything which might have a tendency to diminish the circulation of such papers. He thought, however, that they should publish an abridged statement of the masonic disclosures, and of the doings of the people, in the same manner that they described the progress of Temperance Societies, Lyceums, &c. These matters, in his view, did not nearer affect religion than Anti-Masonry did.

MR AMASA WALKER, of Boston, remarked, that he considered the subject now before the Convention, (the report on the state of the Public Press,) the most important that would be presented to their attention, and he hoped it would draw forth a full discussion. It was one of the great objects of the meeting, and was second to none in its practical consequences. The report assumes the position, that Masonry does exert an undue influence over the public press. Mr W. said he need not use an argument to convince the gentlemen of this Convention that the position was true. It was well known to all, but there might be some within the sound of his voice, who might not be equally satisfied on this point, but he believed that the fact would be apparent to every man, if he would for a moment reflect on the

course pursued by the conductors of the public press, in relation to the abduction of Mr Morgan, and the subsequent atrocities connected with that event. The whole of that transaction, it was well known, was ridiculed and scouted by the editorial corps throughout the United States; and all who manifested a desire to investigate the subject were abused and traduced. It was *not thus* when Stephenson, the refugee, the felon, was wrongfully arrested and imprisoned, in this free country — there was then a high and universal sympathy in his favor — a sympathy honorable to American feeling and American freedom. That sympathy was, and could not but be held, in high and striking contrast with the silence and apathy of the public press, when a free citizen was torn from the bosom of his family, to suffer incarceration and destruction. Circumstances and events, the story of which would form some of the most interesting pages of the history of our country, had taken place, and the public, as a body were wholly unapprised of their existence, while the characters of those who had been nobly engaged in the cause of liberty, had been loaded with reproach, and branded with infamy.—But, said Mr W., the situation of the editorial corps, in regard to this subject, is one of great difficulty and delicacy. They deserve as much, perhaps, of our sympathy as of our censure, and they require of us a strong expression of our sentiments on this subject. He would not assert that all editors were subservient to the dictation or influence of Masonry, there were honorable exceptions to the remark in this city, and he would be happy to designate them, if it might not appear invidious. There were exceptions in the country, and he took pleasure in noticing the editors of the *Massachusetts Yeoman*, published in Worcester. They had set a noble and fearless example, by coming out, not as the partisans of Anti-Masonry, but as the *advocates of free inquiry*, admitting well written articles, on *both sides* of the question, into their columns. It was a generous example, and one, he hoped, that would be followed. I have said, continued Mr W., that the situation of editors is one of *great difficulty*. They must, like all other men, be governed in some measure by reference to their interest. It is well known that most of our newspapers receive a very scanty support. The withdrawal of a few names would make many an establishment bankrupt. The consequence is, that the editors feel greatly averse to the taking of any step that may subject them to the loss of subscribers; and knowing that some, (and how many they know not,) of their patrons are masons, they dare not incur the displeasure of the brotherhood.

The thunders of Masonry are long and loud in their ears, but the voice of the people they do not hear, and therefore it is not a matter of wonder or censure, that they hesitate; but if, after they shall have been made to hear the voice of a suffering people, they neglect to discharge their duty, they become highly criminal.

These considerations require us, as the representatives of a large body of the people of this Commonwealth, to speak in a

voice they *cannot misunderstand*. It must be obvious to every reflecting mind, that upon the *conduct* of the press is to depend the *character* of this controversy. If it is *free*, the people will become enlightened and all undue excitement will be allayed; but if shackled, the movements of the people will be like the terrific heavings of a boisterous ocean. It may be well, said Mr W., to consider some of the objections usually offered by editors, when requested to insert anything on this subject: and one is, 'that the public, as a body, do not feel an interest in the question.' It may be well replied to this objection, that if the public do not feel interested on the subject, it is only because they have never been suffered to know the true nature and importance of it. But it is an indisputable fact, that in all places, and in every part of our country, where any tolerable degree of information has been diffused, the people have manifested a greater degree of interest and feeling on this, than on any other subject that has been broached since the days of the revolution.

One editor will object 'that he has not room!' But, said Mr W., he can find plenty of room for the wonderful and interesting exploits of Sam Patch! Yes, there is room *enough* for *any* thing and *every* thing but Anti-Masonry, and some find room enough to *abuse* even that.

Another very good man will say, 'Oh! Anti-Masonry is subsiding, it is all dying away in New York, and why do you wish to wake up a similar excitement here?' Now, said Mr W., for the special benefit of such gentlemen, and others desirous of knowing, I will just state at what rate Anti-Masonry is subsiding in New York. The Anti-Masonic votes, in that State last year, were 33,000, and this year there are 70,000. Now as our Masonic friends profess to be somewhat skilled in the abstract sciences, I hope they will just favor us with a calculation, how long it will be, at this rate, before Anti-Masonry will be entirely extinct!

But other editors will object 'If this question is discussed in the newspapers, it will produce an *excitement*.' Mark the great kindness of these guardians of the public weal. They take the people under their parental care, and most humanely conceal from their view a subject which they know will produce *excitement*. They virtually declare that *the people* are not competent to decide on the merits of a question, which, if discussed, will arouse their feelings and passions. This sentiment is in accordance with a certain doctrine, quite in vogue in the despotic courts of Europe, that '*the more ignorance the more peace*'—but however well it might suit the purposes of foreign tyrants, it would not, he trusted, find much favor in this latitude.

'The people will be excited?' Why? Are they not capable of judging whether they have sufficient cause for excitement? And if they *have*, why should they not be? The people were excited at the commencement of the Revolution. Hancock and Adams called aloud on their fellow citizens to *awake* to a sense of their

danger, and the public press echoed their appeals and spread the *excitement* through the Colonies. But for this the people might have been kept in a glorious state of quietude! There would have been no disturbance! The fires of Bunker Hill would never have blazed! and we, good happy people, might still have been the peaceable subjects of the British Crown. It was safe *then* to trust the people with a true history of the encroachments and impositions of arbitrary power, and it is safe *now*. Lamentable indeed is it, if, after a lapse of half a century, the people of these States are found too ignorant or vicious to be trusted with the care of their own business, the preservation of their own rights.

The doctrine might be true when applied to the slaves of the Russian Autocrat, or the degraded subjects of the Grand Seignior, but it was a gross libel on the intelligent descendants of those brave men, who fought the battles of our country's freedom. I know, said Mr W., that there have always been found, in every age and every country, a *few kind hearted souls*, that were willing to undertake the *task* of governing and protecting the 'dear people,' who, as they would have it believed, were unable to take care of themselves. Noble kings and grand prelates have, in every age, been ready to watch over the people and take *very good* care of them;—but, said Mr W., in this country we have been taught that the people are the sovereign, and that the only trouble they have, is to get at the *truth*, and rid themselves of their oppressors.

But it may be asked what would you do in reference to the public press? Would you have every editor come out and attack Masonry, abusing its members and denouncing its principles? Certainly not, nothing can be farther from our wishes, we do not call for partizan editors; but we do call, and we would hope in a voice that shall be heard, upon the conductors of the public press to open their columns to a fair and temperate discussion of the merits and demerits of this important question. We only wish that the public may be enabled to form opinions after having an opportunity to hear both sides. It is a very trite, but indisputable maxim, that a good thing will not suffer from investigation; this being premised it is difficult to conceive why the friends of the institution should have any objection to the strictest scrutiny. We believe, said Mr W., that a large mass of information is in existence in relation to the history and principles of Masonry, and our desire is that the community may be put in possession of it; we ask nothing more, and as free citizens of a free republic we can ask nothing less, certain as we are, that this is the only way in which an enlightened public sentiment can be formed. It is what we believe the public have a right to demand and what they must, and will have. It cannot but be obvious to the people that the conductors of the public press are in relation to this subject governed by some unwonted and universal influence. Their suspicions are aroused, their fears excited, and imagination put upon the stretch for the true causes that produce such unparalleled effects.

It is too late, said Mr W., to talk of putting down this excitement, you might as well attempt to close the crater of a burning volcano. The thing is *out*, the people have taken the alarm, and it now becomes a most imperative duty of all editors to enlighten their constituents in regard to it, allaying all unreasonable fears and presenting such facts and circumstances as will enable them to judge whether Masonry is dangerous or not. Should they not strive to allay the excitement by convincing their fellow citizens in a full exhibition of the institution that it is neither in its nature or effects, hostile to their private or public interests? Are not the sentiments and principles I advance, said Mr W., in accordance with reason, and congenial to the constitution and genius of our government?

We propose no violent measures, we only wish to express the feelings of the People, that those who conduct the public press may know what they wish and what course of conduct they will approve and sustain. Are we to be branded as seditious and held up as 'political incendiaries?' We make no threats, we will not kidnap any editor, we will not fire any printing office; we leave such business to those who have had experience in it, but we will bestow our patronage when it shall *tell* on the cause of free inquiry and liberal and honest investigation. We ask no editor to be a partizan, but we do ask for fair play, and a fair hearing; and this is what we hope to obtain by the measure now to be adopted. The gentlemen of this Convention, many of whom are aged and venerable men, have come from a great distance at much labor and expense, and they have not come for amusement. They have come here *to do something* in a cause which they believe vitally important. They have come here asking and expecting no reward but the consciousness of having served their God and their country. They would raise their voices in behalf of the freedom of the press. They would call on every editor to decide whether he will espouse the cause of the people, or of Masonry. In the language of the prophet they would say, 'How long halt ye between two opinions, if the Lord be God, follow him, but if Baal, then follow him.'

DR THOMPSON, of Charlestown, said he would embrace the present opportunity to make a few remarks.

It was frequently asked what were the objects of Anti-Masons, and how were they to be carried into effect? The question would admit of being answered in various ways. He remarked he felt much pleased with the course the Convention had taken. For himself he could say with the utmost honesty and sincerity of heart that he felt no prejudice against any Mason living. This Convention had not assembled against anything of flesh and blood but to contend against principalities and powers; against the spirit of wickedness which dwelt in high places; it was to contend against a vast engine of power which might be made to act against the dearest rights and privileges of our native land; an engine which, though possibly it never had, yet still might be turned to

the most dreadful harm. Our fathers never stopped to inquire whether the royalists around them were quiet and peaceable men. They believed them to be such. Yet when they saw that it was possible or probable that they might do injury they did not lie still. They snuffed tyranny in the breeze afar off; and they crushed it in the germ. He asked, 'have the descendants of these mighty minds degenerated?' Has the spirit which animated them, become in these latter days extinct? Do not men of mighty minds exist among us who may turn this vast engine to the destruction of liberty? He continued, that among this gifted and enlightened people, the only power was mind; mind could only be acted upon by mind. It was the lever of the enthusiastic philosopher who said, 'give me a place whereon to stand and I will move the world.' This, and this alone was the lever by which public opinion could be acted upon. In the business before the Convention he wished everything to be based upon the rock of truth. He would that the public should be fully enlightened concerning the dark secrets of Masonry. The Press, instead of doing this, had endeavoured to quiet public apprehension, but all such attempts would prove vain. It might as well essay to quiet the rockings of the Sicilian sea when it was shaken by the convulsions of Etna, as attempt to check examination. He did not wish for excitement; he wished for investigation. He had watched the conspiracy of blood, of treason; but still it was not necessary to have any excitement. If the facts alleged were untrue it was easy for a grand encampment of the Masons of Massachusetts to declare publicly the falsehood of statements so publicly made by those who had attacked the foundations and principles of their order. If they were false they could be easily confuted. In the absence of such confutation the inference was plain that these statements were true. They (the Convention) stood as guardians of their children's rights. As fathers, as protectors of the rights of unborn millions, they grasped the interests of posterity with a deep intensity of feeling.

If these statements were false, why should the Masons of this Commonwealth withhold information of their falsehood, when it was so easily given? Why should even the Lodges of Boston hesitate to give such information? They alone might have stayed the excitement; but as yet they have remained passive. The excitement so easy to have been quelled, still goes on notwithstanding it is in the power of the Masons of this city to silence it forever. Instead of this, their actions have been but the mere song of lullaby. They are silent concerning the shocking oaths and ridiculous and blasphemous ceremonies imputed to them and the enormities sanctioned by the laws of their order.

They should direct public opinion, not follow it. They should join in this emancipation of the human mind from the thralldom of error. When the mind shall be freed by truth, then it will be free indeed. If those who are under the influence of these awful and terrible bonds could be freed from their chains, it would be to them an act of mercy.

He continued: I am aware that those who have gone forward in this warfare of truth against error, will, must suffer. I mean no disrespect to the chair, but you, Mr President, have suffered; I have suffered; others have suffered. But may we not say, Mr President, that 'we reckon the sufferings of this present time as not worthy to be named in comparison with that glory which shall be revealed' to our country, when this unrighteous and blasphemous institution, which assumes to itself the high prerogatives of government, and whose enormities are written in characters of blood, and every other fetter which binds the human mind, may be broken.

The motion to amend, by inserting names, was withdrawn, and the Report unanimously accepted.

The Committee appointed to draft an *Address to the People of this Commonwealth*, expressive of the views of this Convention on the character and tendency of the Masonic Institution, made a Report.* On motion for its acceptance—

Mr BOWMAN, of Cambridge, moved, that the word *must* 'must bring us into unpleasant collision,' be stricken out. He did not, for one, wish to involve the private friendships which had existed, and did exist, between those opposed to Masonry and Masons, themselves. Although he could not exchange the masonic grip, he still wished to give the friendly squeeze. He preferred using the word *may*, instead of '*must bring us into unpleasant collision*,' because he would not anticipate the consequences of the acts of this Convention. He hoped no such bad consequences would follow. He wished for peace, not excitement and animosity. He believed the time would come when Masons themselves would look with candor on our proceedings, and applaud the result.

Mr RUGGLES, of Troy, said he came not to bring peace but a sword where error was the enemy. Those who had opposed masonic principles had been traduced. In this contest for right, he should not shrink from the discharge of a sacred duty. He held his charter of rights from a higher source than that of masonic lodges. It was from the constitution of his country, won by our fathers. He did not wish to smooth over this matter. This Report was but a second declaration of independence, and we were about to prove whether we were worthy of our sires. The subject should not be treated with mealy mouths. Vigor was to be expected and used. Our opponents exclaim, 'why trouble ye me?' They cry peace, peace, but 'there is no peace for the wicked.' The question was, whether our liberties were to be destroyed or not. A citizen had been abducted from his home, wife, and children, and the perpetrators had been succored and sustained. His cause had become that of the constitution and the law. On this head he would carry the war into the enemies'

camp. He did not care to please; he expected to displease them. He thought we had come into this hall to erect an altar on which to place our lives and liberties. No question of greater moment had been agitated since the assembly of our fathers in this same hall, to oppose the wrongs of British aggression. The flames kindled on this altar would burst across the Atlantic—reach the Pacific, and light up the dark secrets and midnight meetings and unholy rites of Masonic conclaves. This question, like every other, has two sides. On this he had assumed his. The vast extent of Masonic influence was not yet known nor appreciated. It grasped at everything valued and honorable. It had sought to identify itself with the glory that consecrated Bunker Hill. It was by the rites of Masonic irreligion that the corner stone of the monument now erecting, was laid.* Better were it to remain as it now is—a wreck—than be an insult to freemen. He asked pardon for his zeal; but he felt as if he was in part a champion for this cause; as such, with pure aspirations for justice, and for his country's rights, he could not but exhibit zeal. If one citizen had been illegally abducted and murdered with impunity, another might be. The life and liberty of one had been assailed, would not those of others be equally in danger? Why has not the order of Masonry defended itself from the charges made against it? They say Free Masonry is the handmaid of Religion. It is false. It is its opposite. If Free Masons can prove their order to be of Divine origin, let them try; and if they did do it, he (Mr Ruggles,) would not be found fighting against God.

[The remarks made by this gentleman are but a slight sketch, as the Reporter was situated in the gallery, where he could not hear distinctly, and he (the Reporter,) knows he has done him imperfect justice.]

Mr THACHER, of Wrentham, who drafted the Report, was very willing, and indeed preferred to adopt the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Lexington. And it was adopted by the Convention.

Col. BURBANK, of Worcester, complimented the able Report which had been made by the Committee. He would suggest, however, another amendment. He alluded to that paragraph which contained the expression 'dumb dogs that cannot bark.'

The President read in the Report the following sentence.

'Who are our sentinels and watchmen but those who manage the Public Press. But our editors with a few honorable exceptions relative to this subject have been "like dumb dogs that cannot bark."'

* The corner stone was laid masonically by Most Worshipful John Abbot, Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, in presence of the Grand Lodges of New England. Lafayette was a spectator of the ceremony.

Col. BURBANK said, the proposition before the Convention was of a dignified nature and should be treated in a dignified manner. He thought that the expression used lessened the dignity of the address and might excite resentment. He was, therefore, in favor of such amendment as would make it more worthy of the sober principles and feelings of that body.

The President suggested as a substitute, the words, 'as it appears to us unreasonably reserved;' which Col. BURBANK, approved.

Mr RICE, of Northborough, was opposed to the amendment. The application of the words, he did not think improper, and they were taken from that Holy Book which we all were taught to reverence. We read they were spoken by Jehovah * of his unfaithful servants, and he thought what that Great and Infinite Being spoke of his prophets, could not be considered disrespectful when applied by this Convention to those editors of newspapers who refused to print the truth on this subject.

Col. BURBANK, replied that he took no exception to the words, but he doubted the expediency of the application. He thought it advisable to adopt nothing that might have a tendency to irritate the feelings of the conductors of the press; it was better to persuade and conciliate. He hoped the amendment would prevail.

The vote was put and the amendment was rejected.

Mr BOWMAN, of Lexington, moved a reconsideration of the vote.

The Convention refused to reconsider by a large majority.

Mr WALKER, of Boston, moved for another verbal amendment.

Dr PHELPS, of Boston, thought it a preferable course to recommit the Report to the same Committee. Considerable time would thereby be saved to the Convention. He said unanimity of opinion was highly desirable in this case, and he did not doubt when it came before them again, it would be unanimously excepted. He was gratified with the ability displayed in the Report and warmly approved of its general sentiments.

Dr THOMPSON, of Charlestown, said that in justice to his own feelings he could not permit this subject to pass away in silence. The only object before this honorable body was the public good. He would express to the committee the high sense which he had of the justice which they had done to the cause in which we were engaged. The cause of christian charity was advocated by an able document in the exposition of a subject intensely interesting in the public view. He had before observed that it was frequently asked what was the object of this Convention? To this, the

* Isaiah lvi. 10 v. 'His watchmen are blind; they are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs that cannot bark.'

address had given a complete, a satisfactory answer. They (the committee) in their address had presented to the public the information needed, a clear exposition of the facts required. They had not, neither would he, impeach the motives of any one. He would use, and the committee had used, due charity in relation to the motives of all. But why should such an order grasp such a power, and the community look on with such silent unconcern? The people were ignorant in this matter. Of those with whom he had conversed many were totally blind to their danger; this would enlighten them. Those who were bound in the toils of masonic influence would look to the address for authority, to free themselves from those toils. They would feel, as this Convention felt; they would participate in all their honest measures and act as they had acted. For himself, he gave his most heart-felt approbation of its language and its sentiments. Inquirers would now be no longer ignorant of what we came up hither to do. It gave to opponents of our views a direct opportunity to confront them. If the assertions of the Convention were false, now was the time to prove them so, and let this Convention be considered as a set of low, disorganizing men; a time-serving collection of office-seekers, who were lost to a sense of what was due to Americans; a Convention who wished to turn the world upside down for their profit. But if, on the other hand, they were correct and honest in their purposes, they should be deemed patriots, and not time-serving politicians. It was a mighty question; one which would be deeply pondered by American citizens. If the allegations of this Convention were false, let them be exposed; if true, they were of vital, yes, of tremendous consequence.

The motion for the recommittal of the address was then adopted.

The Report of the Committee on the antiquity of Speculative Free Masonry, now came up, by previous appointment.

MR HOBART, of Leicester, said that in relation to the alleged antiquity of Free Masonry, he would offer a very few remarks. Masons had claimed Saint John the Baptist as a patron of their order. Whether this was the case, he could not tell; but he thought he could discover in the New Testament something which looked like the existence of Masonry in those times. We read that in the days of Herod the Tetrarch, on the celebration of his birth-day, the daughter of Herodius danced before him and pleased Herod. Whereupon he promised, with an oath, to give her whatsoever she would ask. And she, being instructed of her mother, said, 'Give me John the Baptist's head in a charger.' And when Herod heard it, he was exceeding sorry; nevertheless, for his oath's sake, he commanded it to be given her. And by his order John was beheaded in prison, and his head brought in a charger to the damsel. After this Herod stretched forth his hand to vex certain of the church. And upon a set day, arrayed in royal apparel, he sat upon his throne and made an oration

unto the people. And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory; and he was eaten of worms and gave up the ghost.

Now there is much in this that looks like Free Masonry. Whether Saint John belonged to the order, does not satisfactorily appear. But if the Masons had claimed Herod for their Grand Master, many would have thought it as near the truth.

Mr CHURCHILL, of Milton, said that he admired the spirit and ability evinced in the Report, but that he was not prepared to assent to some of the facts asserted in it. He had strong doubts whether the Masonic institution was not in existence before the beginning of the last century. The inception, or root of the evil, he believed, was of earlier date than that stated by the Committee, out of which the iniquity complained of had grown. He had read a book or statute, in the Norman French, against Masonry; premising that it had passed more than two centuries since, and that the language was one of the badges of servitude left by William the Conqueror upon the subjects of England. This statute spoke of Masons meeting in '*Chapters and Congregations*,' and ordered that they should not be so holden under the pains and penalties of felony. He was willing to allow Masonry this claim to antiquity, and all the credit they could derive from the circumstance. But what credit did they receive from it? It appeared that at this distant glimpse we have of them, they were employed in disturbing the public peace, in plotting against the rights of the community, in subverting justice, so that the government was compelled to pass a special act to suppress their proceedings, under the pains and penalties of felony, which was death. He had no doubt they had been exterminated by this statute; perhaps they were mostly hung, and possibly the order renovated and began to appear again in 1717, the date of their antiquity as stated in the Report. He had not a copy of the statute with him; he had seen it in the Law Library at Dedham; but he was sure of his facts.

Mr WARD, who drafted the Report, replied that he was well acquainted with the statute referred to by the gentleman from Milton. In examining into the pretended antiquity of speculative Free Masonry two years ago, it had attracted his attention, and he now had in his hands a copy of the act, then taken. He was prepared to show that that act referred to *laboring* masons — to *operative*, and not speculative masons; and was intended to suppress their meeting in congregations and assemblies, to combine for raising the price of wages. With permission he would proceed to read it.

Mr CHURCHILL asked for the date of the statute before him.

Mr WARD replied that it was 1350.

Mr CHURCHILL rejoined that it was not the one to which he alluded.

Mr WARD explained that he was aware of the fact, but that it was necessary for him to read this statute, as it was alluded to in

the statute to which the gentleman did refer. He would premise in explanation, that in olden times Edward the Third dealt with Englishmen of that day, as George III. would have dealt with Americans of his day—as if they were his slaves. A plague had swept away a fearful portion of the English population; and the scarcity of laborers caused all classes of mechanics to demand higher wages. Edward had several castles and magnificent edifices in building; and to make his money hold out, must compel the masons and mechanics to work at the old rates. To effect this he issued an ordinance and enforced it by his sheriffs, who returned masons for the king's buildings as they are wont to return jurors for the king's courts. This was equally agreeable to the Lords of Parliament as to himself; and accordingly it was enacted A. D. 1350 that 'as servants unwilling after the pestilence to serve without taking excessive wages had been required to serve in their accustomed places at the rate they had received in the 20th year of Edward III.; and as it is given to the king to understand in this present parliament, that the servants have paid no regard to the said ordinance, but to their ease do withdraw from the service of great men and others, unless they have livery and wages to the double or treble of that they were wont to take in the said 20th year and before, to the great damage of the great men, &c. be ordained and established the things underwritten.

CHAP. 1 Fixes the day and year wages of *Farm Servants*.

CHAP. 2 Fixes the price of threshing all sorts of grain by the quarter.

CHAP. 3 Prescribes the wages of several sorts of artificers and laborers to the number of 30, amongst whom carpenters and masons are particularly specified.

CHAP. 4 Requires artificers to make oath that they will use their crafts as they had done in the 20th year of the same Edward III. See *Ruffhead's English Statutes*, vol. 1, p. 251.

And now, said Mr WARD, we come to the act mentioned by the gentleman from Milton. Seventyfour years after the enactment of this statute which is plainly applied only to handicraftsmen and servants, Henry VI. in parliament at Westminster ordained

'3 Henry VI. cap. 1, A. D. 1424.

'*Masons shall not confederate in Chapters or Congregations*. Whereas, by the yearly congregations and confederacies made by the Masons in their general assemblies, the good course and effect of the *Statute of Laborers* [25th Edward III., the statute above alluded to,] be openly violated and broken, in subversion of the law and to the great damage of all the Commons; our sovereign lord the King, willing in this case to provide a remedy, by the advice and consent aforesaid, and at the special request of the commons, hath ordained and established that such chapters and congregations shall not be hereafter holden; and if such be

made, they that cause such chapters and congregations to be assembled and holden, if thereof they be convict, shall be judged for felony: and that the other masons that come to such chapters or congregations be punished by imprisonment of their bodies, and made fine and ransome at the king's will.' *Chap. 3, Just. p. 99.*

This [turning to Mr CHURCHILL, who assented,] is the statute to which the gentleman alluded. It plainly refers to working masons or stone masons. I challenge any man to turn its edge, or break its point, or show one particle of evidence to the contrary, except it proceed from the vainglorious boastings of the mystic order itself; which is not evidence, the witness being confessedly interested, and now stands publicly convicted, of shameless duplicity and of atrocious falsehood, in its book of Constitutions and its authorized publications. The hour for adjournment had now arrived, and he would not proceed.

Mr CHURCHILL remarked that the statute quoted was of the same date and reign, and read like that he had seen. He presumed it might be the same. He had not the statute at hand to refer to.

Mr WARD suggested that the volume containing it could probably be found in the Boston Law Library, and he (Mr C.) could examine it before the Convention met in the afternoon.

The Convention met at 3 o'clock, according to adjournment. The consideration of the Report of the Committee on the antiquity of speculative Free Masonry, was resumed.

Mr BOWMAN, of Cambridge, spoke at some length on the subject. He alluded to various secret societies, orders, and combinations, mentioned in history; the Crusaders, Jesuits, Knight Templars, Illuminees, Carbonari, and Jacobin clubs, &c. He thought secret and selfish combinations, with the spirit and principles of Masonry, had existed in all ages. He mentioned several kings and great men, who were said to be Masons. The Duke of Orleans was Grand Master of the Masons in the time of the French revolution. He was interrupted several times as wandering too far from the question, and finally sat down without coming to a regular conclusion in his remarks.

Mr WARD now called on Mr Churchill for the volume containing the statute to which he had referred.

Mr CHURCHILL replied that he had not sent for it, but any gentleman of the Convention might. He did not wish to retard their proceedings.

Mr WARD then observed, that as all reference to the volume had been withdrawn, he would state that the mysteries of Masonry must be dated back no farther than the year 1717. In that year four companies of stone masons, who were left of those associated in rebuilding London after the great fire of 1666, met, the

lodge that worked on St Paul's Church being at the head, and formed the Grand Lodge of London, in February, and elected their officers June 24, A. D. 1717. With a view to fill up their ranks, and to increase their importance, they voted to accept men of other trades and professions as members. See *Preston, Lawrie, Hardie, Tannehill*, and *Dermott's Ahiman Rezon*, Masonic writers. Three years they struggled, accommodating the Rosicrucian pretensions to the emblems of a handicraft Mason, and then in 1720 burnt their papers for the benefit of the mystery. See each of the mentioned writers. They give out that this bonfire was made 'by some too scrupulous brethren,' who feared the secrets of Masonry would be exposed in the book of constitutions about to be published. But the smoke of that fire was not thick enough to envelope the origin of the mystic order in impenetrable obscurity. This volume of mock constitutions, is the basis of all Masonic history; and its delusive statements have been copied and magnified until the mystic wonder has grown beyond the size and power of the fabled monsters of antiquity. From the time of its birth, the lying wonder began to run to and fro in the earth, wherever British commerce could convey it, and charters for holding Masonic Lodges were everywhere sold at a cash price, and an annual stipend, by the Grand Lodge of London. In A. D. 1729, Free Masonry was first introduced into the East Indies; 1730 the Grand Lodge of Ireland was formed; 1731 a patent from England was sent to erect a Lodge at the Hague; 1733 it was introduced into North America, at Boston; 1736 at Cape Coast in Africa, and at Geneva, in Europe. The first Grand Master in Scotland was elected in the same year. The higher degrees are first heard of in France, in 1740, by one Alexander Ramsay. They were introduced into the United States, through the medium of the Jews, in 1760. They first assume a tangible shape here, in 1796 and 1797. It had been said, that the deluded Henry VI. was a Mason, and that Oliver Cromwell was. Nebuchadnezzar might also have been a Mason, and he believed one story was about as true as the other. The history of Free Masonry was fruitful in interest, abounding with stories and tales, but when fairly examined and understood, would be found filled with error and falsehood.

Mr CHURCHILL stated that he should not be tenacious or refractory upon the subject; he had rather give up an opinion in the present case, than be obstinate. But he would offer some reasons to show that he had not been entirely mistaken in his views. The statute stated that there should be no assemblages of Masons in *Chapters* and congregations. He did not recollect the allusion to *laborers*, but the statute might have been variously stated at different times; he read it in the Norman French. If the phraseology was different it was not irrelevant to his purpose of explanation.

Well then, Masons *did* then labor, and suppose the statute

was made against *working* masons, who assembled together secretly for unlawful purposes. The statute was 405 years old. and it was hard to say that Masonry had not existed 150 years. That statute did not refer to all such qualities of Masons as now exist. The principles and forms of Free Masonry might have then existed; and been confined to the working Mason. If the labor of these Masons were innocent, what was the necessity for the punishment of death? If they were not merely working or operative Masons, then, of course, the penalties of felony would be inflicted. The term Chapter, also was peculiarly applicable to meetings of Free Masons; churchmen also might possibly use it, but he knew of no other assemblies of persons which were designated in this manner.

He had said more about this point, because he wished to go no further than he was sure. He was cautious of making a misstep. Of the detestible character, the iniquitous principles, the evil tendency of Free Masonry, he was thoroughly convinced. Of its possible antiquity he had no certain opinion, and to him the fact was comparatively unimportant. Vice though hoary was not less hateful, nor virtue less lovely for being youthful. If antiquity could render crime respectable, murder was most illustrious, for it could trace its origin to the first born of the human race. He thought it not important for us to decide that Masonry was but about 100 years old; but it was important that we should not make a wrong decision.

Mr WARD thought it was important to know whether Masonry was of Divine origin; whether it received the patronage and sanction of the holy, wise, and good of all ages from the beginning of the world, as their approved authors, orators, and divines had asserted; for it was a powerful argument, that what the patriarchs and apostles practised and taught could not be evil. That a society, claiming the glories of Free Masonry, should have existed for ages, unnoticed by any writer, sacred or profane, noble or contemptible, is wholly incredible. To say nothing of former centuries, but confining our attention to the three last, the Puritans, Presbyterians, Cabalists, Rosicrucians, Gypsies, Necromancers, Alchymists, and the Jesuits, are liberally, and often noticed, by various authors; but Free Masonry has not so much as a name until the eighteenth century, when it is frequently discarded on, with an interest and copiousness increasing to this day. This fact, to a sound historical scholar is enough to dissolve the airy castles of Masonic pretension to antiquity. Of this same tenor is the fact, that Free Masonry and Papacy cannot dwell together in peace; but we hear not a word of their disagreement till the eighteenth century. Certainly the Catholic religion is older than 100 years; and if Free Masonry be much above that, how did it previously escape a conflict, which has never ceased since it first commenced, A. D. 1730 to 1740? The canons of the Romish church require full and free confession to the priests from every good Catholic; the oaths of Free

Masonry require absolute secrecy upon the transactions of the brethren of the lodge room, from every good Mason. These canons and oaths nowhere abide without discord. Therefore the time when they first fell out and contradicted each other, must have been near the beginning of one or both of them. That time is determined by the Pope's bulls, A. D. 1738 and 1739.

In regard to the statute of Henry VI., Mr W. stated that the term *chapter*, in that age, was commonly used as synonymous with congregations or general assemblies. It was not then necessarily applied to Masons or churchmen. There might be a chapter of carpenters; if this Convention had been held in those days, we should have been called a chapter of Anti-Masons. That this statute referred to stone masons or laborers, he thought was clear. It alluded, in its body, to a former statute regulating the prices of wages; it therefore intended operative masons,* and not speculative Masons; not men who had a tyler to stand at the door of their hall with a drawn sword; not men who had taken such horrid oaths; not individuals who professed to see three great lights; not those who called their order the handmaid of religion. The order of speculative Free Masonry was grounded in the year 1717, and from thence originated all the chicanery of the matter. He should submit it to the Convention.

The vote to accept the Report on the antiquity of speculative Free Masonry was then put, and passed unanimously.

EVENING SESSION.

The Convention met at 6 o'clock, P. M. according to adjournment. The committee raised to take into consideration the expediency of sending delegates from this Commonwealth to the NATIONAL CONVENTION, reported in favor of the measure.

On motion the Convention resolved themselves into a Committee of the Whole, Dr ABRAHAM R. THOMPSON, of Charlestown, in the chair.

* The views of Mr Ward are fully adopted by Judge COKE, who gives the following opinion on this ancient statute.

'3d Henry VI. 1424.

'All the statutes concerning *laborers*, before this act, and WHEREUNTO THIS ACT DOTH REFER, are repealed by the statute of 5 Elizabeth cap. 4, about A. D. 1562, whereby the *cause and end* of making this act is taken away, and consequently the act is become of no force; for *cessante ratione legis, cessat ipsa lex*: and the indictment of felony upon this statute must contain, that those chapters and congregations are to the violating and breaking of the good course and effect of the laborers; which now cannot be so alleged, because the statutes be repealed. Therefore this would be put out of the charge of justices of the peace.'

INSTITUTES, Part III. fol. 19.

Col. MERRICK, of Worcester, (President of the Convention) then addressed the Chair. He said that the Report, and the resolution accompanying it, now submitted to the Convention, suggested that there was existing a great evil in the land, and it proposed a remedy to be applied for the purpose of effecting its removal. He should not discuss particularly the details of that Report, but should offer some observations vindicating the opinion that the community were now oppressed with the existence of an institution, evil and dangerous in its tendency, and that the remedy proposed in the resolution was appropriate to the difficulty which it proposed to remove.

He considered speculative Free Masonry to be a great evil; for all its claims to our support, our respect and our affection, rested upon assumptions which had no foundation in fact. The lofty pretensions of that institution to our veneration, our respect, and gratitude, could scarcely fail to be known to us all, for its praises had unceasingly swelled from the lips of its orators, and its enchantments sent home to the heart in the song of its poets. We are told alike by its eulogists and its historians, that its origin was coeval with man's habitation on the earth, and we find it accordingly arrogating to itself, that it has been the nursing mother, holding in its wide embrace the exalted patriots, the learned scholars and reverend divines, not only of this land and age, but of every land and of every age. It claims to go back to the dawn of creation, and that its root was planted in the garden of Eden by the father of our race: that, unwithered by time, and unscathed by age, it had ever since continued to grow and flourish, stretching forth its spreading arms and branches till it had embraced and overshadowed the world — till all mankind might be gathered as brethren in peace and affection beneath its pervading influence, and sit down rejoicing, protected, and comforted, in the beauty and safety of its shade. That, favored of heaven, it had gained new strength from every assault, and had been able to spread wider and richer bounties as it overcame and conquered every new opposition. If indeed these assertions were not the mere extravagant assertions of thoughtless enthusiasm and rapturous credulity, if they were facts as certain as its pretensions were lofty, then indeed would Free Masonry be a blessing to mankind, and its existence would be secure against all the violence with which passion might assail or hostility attack it. The strongest efforts of us, creatures of a day, would be too feeble to shake its firm foundations, far less sufficient to rock it to its ruin. The humble strugglings of humanity would faint away before its almost eternal strength.

But all the assertions of the boasted antiquity of speculative Free Masonry are false. That institution was not born in the olden time. It sprung not up amidst the happiness and primitive purity of Eden; nor did it originate with the venerable patriarchs and reverend prophets of old. They never thought of those pretensions with which they are now said to be familiar; and little

did the royal monarch of Israel, when he erected and dedicated to the Most High that celebrated temple of Jerusalem, which was the pride and glory of his own age as it is the wonder of this, foresee that an institution like that of speculative Free Masonry would be palmed off upon remote and distant generations, as the offspring of his exalted mind, aided by the princely counsels of Hiram of Tyre, and of Hiram the son of the widow. They had nothing to do with its origin, nor had the saints of a later generation, whose natal days are now selected as the hours of masonic festivity and celebration, anything to do with its transmission to their posterity. No! Speculative Free Masonry was of modern origin. It sprung up amid the fictions and contrivances of the century which has scarcely now closed, and the date of its beginning could be ascertained and fixed, with as much ease and certainty as any other historical event. This Convention, by the adoption of a report on this subject, had already, for themselves, determined this question; and there could be neither occasion nor propriety in spending much time upon a topic upon which the deliberate sense of the Convention had already been expressed. Yet, perhaps, he might be permitted to advert to the singular fact, that in the Mark Master's degree, which professes to have been expressly founded by King Solomon at the building of the temple, that monarch is represented as rehearsing to his discontented workmen one of the parables of our Saviour to assuage their murmuring and induce them to submission—as if it were possible that he could express himself in language which never was uttered till centuries after his body had crumbled to ashes in the royal cemetery. Yet this gross absurdity was adopted, sustained, continued, and supported by the members of the Fraternity, with a gravity which would do honor to truth, and, he must say also with a credulity which ought to be tolerated only in the profoundest ignorance.

There was no foundation in fact for their claim to venerable antiquity which this institution had so constantly, so proudly, but so falsely set up; and instead of longer paying respect to an institution which pretended it had come down through the long lapse of hundreds and of thousands of generations, we ought to evince our indignation at the imposition which had palmed off a bloated and profitless creation of the eighteenth century, as the work at least of the age of King Solomon, if not of our progenitors in the land and the time of human innocence.

If Free Masonry be not the ancient and venerable institution which its advocates have claimed that it is, what is it in truth? and how is it to be estimated by men of inquiring and dispassionate minds? These, said Mr M., may be seen in the volumes which contain the disclosures of those members of the Fraternity who have abjured their connection with an institution which they believe fraught with danger to the best interests of themselves here and hereafter—with danger to the cause of patriotism and religion. These disclosures have laid bare the secrets of an asso-

ciation which has held and still claims to hold the power to guard, protect, and defend its own rights, and to repel and punish all its aggressors. But, are these disclosures true? You have expressed in terms which cannot be mistaken, your convictions on this subject. In the adoption of the report of one of your committees upon this subject, you have expressed that no doubt can remain, that the institution of Free Masonry has been fully opened to the public gaze. It is well that you have done so. The evidence that the disclosures of Masons who have separated themselves forever from the craft and from the institution, are true, is of the most full and satisfactory character. Their representations are supported by every consideration which is calculated to give weight, and are corroborated by a variety and fulness of proof which ought to force conviction on the mind of scepticism itself. In every quarter of the country, members have broken away from the bondage in which they have hitherto been held, and there is an entire uniformity and concurrence in their testimony. These witnesses do not belong to one class of men, nor to one denomination of Christians. They are found among the educated and the humble—the bench, the bar, the pulpit, and the field, have all sent witnesses forth in this holy cause, who have testified, like the saints of old, with one accord, and like them, too, their testimony is true. You have done well in believing them. After all that has been disclosed—after the full declarations of the members of the Le Roy Convention, men whose reputations are above and beyond the reach of impeachment; after the frequent and various disclosures in various and distant parts of our country; after the solemn assertions of witnesses testifying under the responsibility of every legal and moral responsibility in courts of justice, there is no longer occasion for additional proofs or further evidence. Though I know that those disclosures are true, I feel how feeble must be the testimony here of a solitary individual like myself, when added to that great mass of proofs which the public already hold in their possession; yet I would not that this occasion should pass without solemnly pledging myself in the midst of this crowded audience, that those disclosures are substantially correct. Do I not know, that this attestation will arouse indignation, and create hostility, which sincerity cannot disarm, nor honesty of purpose protect, from rudeness, violence, and perhaps vengeance. It will assuredly come; vindictive adversaries will arise to impeach our motives and to blast our reputation; but with the same love of freedom, with the same devotedness to liberty, with the same hatred of a bondage dishonorable to freemen and to Christians, with which in this consecrated hall our fathers invoked the independence of their country from the shackles of foreign despotism, I too disdain the bondage which Free Masonry has put upon me; and even as he, the beloved and honored father of his country, whose manly and commanding form stands almost living on the canvass before us, broke the oaths of his allegiance to the foreign potentate, from whose tyranny a glorious revolution delivered us,

do I, with the most conscientious confidence in a hallowed cause, burst away forever from the bonds in which Free Masonry has held me; and I declare, that, as far as my knowledge of that institution extends, the publications which I have seen of its secrets are substantially true — drawn and exhibited with a fidelity, which deserves all praise and all confidence. In the most odious characteristics of the oaths and obligations of Free Masonry, those disclosures are true. It is true, that a Royal Arch Companion, to which degree I have been admitted, or as it is termed, exalted, and the highest office of which I have sustained, does swear, that he will espouse the cause of a companion when engaged in any difficulty, so far as to extricate him from the same, whether right or wrong — and that he will keep his secrets inviolable when communicated to him as such, and he knowing them to be such, murder and treason not excepted. I know that these most odious and obnoxious clauses are part of the obligation of that degree, for I believe that I received that obligation; and I know that I have so heard it; and, as High Priest of a Chapter, have so myself, administered it to others.

For these disclosures, and these declarations, am I a vagabond and an outlaw? and is my reputation for veracity and integrity blasted and ruined forever? and am I to be sacrificed as a '*perjured villain*,' because I will not suppress the beating passion of the heart, which will hold no longer in its recesses the vile and corrupting secrets of this unhallowed institution? Do you believe that the base motives which have been attributed, and which will be again repeated with exaggeration hereafter, could have wrought with me either to fabricate gross falsehoods, and palm them off upon you for truth, or break solemn and binding obligations for the poor and miserable reward of some petty office, or for paltry popularity? Miserable indeed were the man, who for such ends could weigh himself down to everlasting infamy, by proclaiming falsehood for truth, or by breaking oaths which he felt to possess one particle of binding force? But it is not so. I trust that neither the wealth of worlds, nor the misery of ages, should have torn a hallowed secret from the bosom, if patriotism, duty, and religion, required it to be kept sacred and sleeping there. But even if I could have been subdued, by false delusions, to the dreadful degradation of sacrificing myself in irredeemable infamy, are there not other ties which should have held and restrained me from such an awful immolation? Who are the husbands and the fathers of these wives and daughters which sit beside me and crowd around us? Could they consent to mar the hopes and blight the prospects of the partners of their bosoms and the idols of their affection? I too have my associations, far dearer to me than the selfishness of my own ambition; and far rather would I spend the last life drop of my heart, than that the blood which flows in the veins of those who are connected with me, should be chilled and frozen with the horror of my infamy.

And what, then, is this institution, whose secrets have been so amply disclosed, and of which I have spoken thus freely? It is

that, which, in its rites and ceremonies, can scarcely rise above the contempt of the intelligent, and which ought to be repudiated alike by patriotism and virtue. Of its rites and ceremonies, it is scarcely fit here to speak. They hardly deserve the notice of even a passing observation; yet I will venture to submit the single observation, that he who has been initiated as an entered apprentice of speculative Free Masonry, and thence proceeded through the several degrees, till, in the words of the order, he has been exalted to the sublime degree of a Royal Arch Mason, has passed through a series of scenes of as ridiculous degradation, as it seems possible for human ingenuity to devise.

But passing away from ceremonies to principles, how can it be otherwise, than that philanthropy and piety should alike condemn an institution, which adopts those baleful obligations to which I have alluded, and imposes the sanction of their obligations in the imprecation, by every candidate who crosses the threshold, of the penalty of a most horrid and barbarous death? Is it to be tolerated, that in an age of enlightened learning and beneficent religion, an association shall be formed of men, linked together by ties the strongest which solemn obligations and awful penalties can create, for the purpose of affording aid and assistance to each other in every difficulty, right or wrong? of concealing the secrets of the basest crimes? There is no need of dwelling upon a topic like this. The universal manifestation which shall burst from every man not manacled and shackled with the most dreadful of all obligations, can give but one answer, and that must be an answer of condemnation.

Those parts of the obligations of the craft, to which I have just referred, are sometimes disputed and denied by members of the fraternity: but there are other portions of their obligations, not so glaringly obnoxious upon their very face, which have never yet been contested, which seem to me to demand the most earnest and severe rebuke and condemnation. I allude to that portion of the oaths which are administered in the course of the degrees, whereby an initiate swears, that he will support the constitution of the grand chapters and grand lodges, and conform to all the by-laws, rules, and regulations, of the chapters and lodges of which he shall be a member. These obligations are in the broadest terms, and no mention is made, nor reservation inserted, in favor of the laws of the government; and if it shall be the pleasure of the high powers who regulate the grand chapters and lodges, so to arrange their constitutions, or even of the limited association of a single chapter or lodge, so to enact their by-laws, rules, and regulations, as to conflict with the statutes and the laws of the land, we find the liberal terms of Masonic obligations requiring its members, under the penalties of their own imprecations, of a cruel death, to disregard and disobey the legal and constituted laws of the government — the enactments of its legislature, and the customs which have been inherited from their ancestors, as a sacred legacy, and a safe rule of action, are all to give way be-

fore the legislation of the lodge room, and the unfeeling despotism of Free Masonry. And considering the terms of those obligations, I do not see why he, who should refuse to support the constitution of a grand chapter, or to conform to the by-laws of a lodge, because of their conflict with the requirements of law, would not as effectually violate his Masonic oath, and expose himself to the penalties for transgression, which he has imprecated on his own head, as he who has dared to communicate to the world any of the secret mysteries of this audacious order.

Let it not be said, that these things are not so; that the members of the fraternity are peaceable men, faithful to their fellow citizens, and loyal to their country. All that may be; but what are the lessons which are taught, and the principles inculcated by the institution? The well instructed moral sense, and the love of country, may, and unquestionably have, with most of the fraternity, set aside, as a nullity, the obligations by which they have been bound; but if these principles, which are the unavoidable inferences of the oaths which they have taken, oftentimes, even as if they were the whisperings of virtue, serve to govern this life, that integrity of character which has given distinction would be thrown away, for the devices contrived in the dark conclaves of a secret conspiracy; and influenced by his mystical obligations, if a brother were urged to expose a felon, whose secrets had been communicated on the square, or to give up to merited punishment, the criminal whose cause, as a companion, he had espoused, or if besought to forbear his opposition to the laws of his country, because of their conflict with the by-laws of his lodge, might he not, and ought he not, upon Masonic principles, to answer, I cannot expose my companion; my house must be a castle for his body, as my bosom is the repository of his secret; I must oppose the enactments of my government, because they infringe on the by-laws of that companionship to which I am bound by the penalties of death?—And would not his justification be held forth in the language, as well as in the spirit of the merciless Jew, ‘An oath, I have an oath in heaven.’ Painful as these results are to reflecting and candid minds, are they not the sound and unavoidable deductions from those obligations, which have been disclosed by seceders from the Masonic fraternity, as the bonds of their fellowship?

With such an institution existing in the midst of us, what, sir, shall be done? And what is the state of the public mind, even now, when these disclosures are before the people, and they are besought to read, and examine, and determine for themselves? It is little else than a dread to look at the evil, lest the community shall be roused to excitement. The members who yet cling to this institution all say, that we must be *still*:—excitement is fearful and alarming. And this grand pass word of the craft is adopted almost simultaneously by the people, and it spreads and is repeated in every portion of the country. It was the last word

which I heard uttered in the village where I live, as I left the door of my dwelling to attend this assembly; I have heard it murmured in the streets of your city; it is whispered at the table where I take my food; it is circulated through the community by the presses, which ought to stand, as watchful sentinels, for the safety of the nation, and its dearest, noblest institutions — all, everywhere, the admonition is ‘BE STILL! AVOID EXCITEMENT.’ What! Mr Chairman, when this Convention has asserted that 100,000 Masons are in this land; and when you say, that you believe that the disclosures of the principles of the institution, which you have before you, are true, shall all be silent as the grave, and speechless as the tomb? the felon be saved? the victim of Masonic vengeance weltering in his blood? principles unopposed, corrupting the integrity of thousands and hundreds of thousands of your citizens?

‘A nation’s rights betrayed, and all content?’

No Sir, no! This silence, this stillness will not do. The voice of instruction must be lifted up. The careless must be roused from their indifference; the uninformed must be enlightened; opposition must be vanquished; and the lion must be bound in his den. We few have been sent into this Convention by our fellow citizens, to aid the great cause of our country — not to denounce the Masonic fraternity as individuals, but to assist in demolishing that tremendous fabric, and to knock off the manacles in which it had bound its members. We bring no weapons of warfare against them, but we hold forth to them the olive branch of peace. We invite them to unite with us in a common cause. We feel that their cause is ours, and that all should join in aiding its accomplishment, since it is none other than a struggle for national and personal redemption.

Is it safe to listen to these wide spreading admonitions to be still? It has been said, that the institution of Free Masonry was silently dying away of itself, and that we ought not to come in to disturb its gasping agonies of death with our reproaches. Never was a prediction less founded in fact. It has given way, indeed, before the storm which it felt was approaching; but it seeks, in its seclusion and repose, for renewed strength to baffle the tempest which is beating upon its walls. How is it that it is dying away? In a neighboring State the violence of its members awakened the indignation of the people, and inquiries, which would not be stifled, were began and prosecuted, till even the hardihood of Masonry stood abashed. It then shrank, as well it might, from the public gaze; while the progress of free investigation went on its course. Already that investigation has pierced the depths, and it is heaving, like the waves of the ocean, in a sister Commonwealth. The momentum could not be repressed; and the voice of expostulation and remonstrance, which first raised itself on the borders of our western lakes, has swelled across the country — has sent its tones through New England;

and at last it rings its joyful and exalted echoes here, along the vault of this glorious Cradle of Liberty.

Let us not be silent—let us not fear to disturb the public repose by excitement. If we do so, this institution will rise again, like the Phoenix from her ashes, with renewed strength and vigour. It will boast that it sustained the severest shock which aught earthly can endure—the shock of a nation of freemen's indignation—and has triumphed over it, and all future opposition it will laugh to scorn. Even now, with all the excitement which can be roused against it, in the great State where opposition to it first began, it still exists, scarcely shorn of the gigantic measure of its pretensions: and the titled dignitaries of the order are still hoarding their gains for the institution, and still binding new victims by the administration of its most barbarous obligations. And here, in our own Commonwealth, what evidence have we that Free Masonry is giving ground and surrendering her pretensions? In the course of the last twelve months, some charters may perhaps have been surrendered, but it is doubted whether as many were given up as had been surrendered in other periods of the same length, from accidental circumstances. No! the charters are neither given up, nor has the spirit or influence of the institution been abandoned. Both are in full force; and even now, we ourselves assembled here, feel the effects of that Masonic spirit and temper which is abroad. Its shafts are levelled at our bosoms; and if we were not bound in that panoply of a good conscience, which always was and will ever be, an effectual shield against slander and reviling, they would wound and destroy us. If the cause which we advocate were not strong in justice, and based upon the rock of solid principle, it would have been, in its infancy, crushed and strangled by the weight and strength of Masonic power, now exerting its force upon us.

So far from there being any disposition on the part of the Masonic fraternity to permit that institution to perish and die, I have been informed by testimony to which I give credence, although it is not that which I could readily produce, that the Grand Lodge of this Commonwealth, in this city, on its recent communication, only a few days since, for the annual choice of its officers, the question was distinctly presented, whether the institution should be permitted to sink or be sustained at all events, and it was decided upon grave deliberation that it *should* be sustained; that it would stand the battle and the breeze, and in defiance of that just, sentence of condemnation which a more enlightened state of the public mind is preparing to pass upon it, it should be borne up, going on as it has gone, 'conquering and to conquer.'

It is right then, sir, to take active measures to stay the progress of this presumptuous and overbearing power. Let it never be said that the patriotic jealousy of freemen for their sacred and inestimable rights, was put down by a timid and time serving fear of awaking the people to an excitement upon a subject which appeals to their dearest interests. It ought not to be forgotten that

one citizen has been already torn from the bosom of his family; nor should the shrieks of murder which mingled with the winds above the waters of Niagara, be drowned in the boisterous opposition of interested partizans, nor in the clamorous approbation of an institution whose members achieved that ignoble, dreadful deed of darkness, treachery, and crime.

It is well that Conventions should assemble. Their object is to accumulate and diffuse information. Let it not be forgotten, that we have not been gathered together to establish a new sect, or to disseminate new doctrines. The principles we inculcate, are the same which have made this land the glory of the nations, an asylum for the oppressed of all people. We seek for the common good in the universal diffusion of that knowledge and information which will apprise the whole of our fellow citizens of their rights and afford them the best means of defining and of perpetuating them. We disclaim all hostility to the members of the Masonic fraternity. No animosity towards them has brought us into our consultation. We believe they are mistaken; led away by errors which we would be glad they should see and reject, as we see and reject them; that they should be brought forth from the darkness in which false doctrines have immured them, unto pure and clear light of personal independence.

There is no great political party to be prospered by the labors in which we are engaged. It is not the cause of men, or of faction, which warms our hearts and animates our exertions. If we know ourselves, there is no other object in view than the emancipation of the captives, and the destruction of a bold and dangerous institution, which has allured by its outward graces many of our best citizens, and fastened them in the awful obligations of its despotic bondage. There is but one danger of the formation of a party, and for that, surely we cannot be responsible. We assail no man; we seek to injure no man; but the great law of nature, which bids every man remember, that self-protection, is a duty which is required of every one by the constitution of his being, will rouse us to union and to common efforts in our defence, if neither our persuasions, our arguments, nor our entreaties can secure us from reproach, from injury, from destruction, through the assault of the Masonic fraternity or its advocates.

The great end to be accomplished is the diffusion of INFORMATION. If that be thoroughly done, we hold that the event is sure. It is painful to look forth into this community and see how those organs of communications, the newspapers, have been and still are closed against the great truths, which we trust are yet to redeem this people, to restore them to a state of freedom from the presence of an institution which has insidiously grown with their growth till it bids defiance to all efforts for its extermination. But the press must be moved onward, public opinion can and will control, even that mighty engine of power. If they who now stand at the portals of the press are not faithful to their trust, a new generation shall rise up and take their places. by New presses

shall be established, new editors will be called forth into the vineyard to bring in the great harvest of conquest, which is yet to be gathered. In every form which can be devised, information shall be sent forth. It must spread through the streets and squares of this great and enterprising metropolis, it must pass the threshold of poverty, and walk in amidst the luxury of wealth. It must go beyond this mart of commerce, and shall yet enter the lofty walls of our seats of learning; it must stretch over the green lands of the country, and find its way into every village and hamlet, every palace and every farm house and cottage in the land. Truth, thus diffused, will wake the sentinels of the press, who are now sleeping on their posts, and they too will join, though it be after the toil is over, in the high services of this regeneration. There shall then be, let us trust, no party, no unholy triumphs on the part of those who began and struggled in this cause in the day of its weakness; but one common thanksgiving, that we have all aided in improving ourselves and our country; and are able to send down to our posterity, purified, regenerated, and exalted, the noble inheritance of liberty which came to us from our fathers.

FRIDAY MORNING, JAN. 1, 1830.

The Convention met according to adjournment, at 9 o'clock.

Prayers were offered by Rev. MOSES THACHER, of Wrentham.

Mr MANN, of Dedham, spoke at considerable length on the origin, rites, principles, and tendency of Free Masonry. He alluded to the object for which this Convention had convened, namely, to calmly deliberate on the evils created by this institution, and upon the most suitable means for removing them.

He combated the arguments used by Free Masons in justification of their institution, and shewed them to be fallacious. He described it to be opposed to the genius and spirit of the constitution and laws, and as an engine that might be turned against the liberties of the people; and as of no present general utility. In fine, he went over the whole ground of the subject; but as his remarks will probably be published, *in extenso*, (for we observed he used notes) and as they are too lengthy for this brief sketch of the debates, we omit further particulars.

The committee chosen to nominate delegates to the National Convention made a report. On motion for its acceptance, Mr SIMONDS of Boston observed that he objected to the nomination of one of the individuals named — a distinguished citizen of Middlesex. That gentleman had been chosen to attend this Convention at a county meeting. He was not here. Perhaps it was owing to some irregularity in notifying him of his election, and perhaps otherwise. As he had not attended here, he doubted whether he would be able to attend the National Convention. He moved a recommittal of the report for the purpose of substituting another candidate.

Mr WHITNEY, of Boston, approved of the suggestion. The object of the National Convention was, like this, to devise means for diffusing light and information on the dangerous principles and power of the Masonic order; a gigantic association, which grasped in its embrace the whole Union, as well as the humble village. At this period of party contention, we should be cautious of exciting their jealousy! By sending distinguished politicians to that Convention, we might be suspected and accused of sinister political views. The cry would be raised that it was a political manoeuvre, and the prejudices and suspicions of partisans might be enlisted against us. The votaries of masonry were on the alert to seize on any questionable act, and to interpret it to our disadvantage. With no feelings of disrespect for the gentleman named, he should prefer sending men who were not particularly identified with any political party.

The report was re-committed.

Mr CLEVELAND, of Boston, moved that the vote accepting the Report of the Committee on the public press, be reconsidered.

He was necessarily absent from the Convention when it passed, and he wished for the privilege of making a few remarks on this subject.

The motion for a reconsideration prevailed.

Mr CLEVELAND then moved, as an amendment to the Report, that the words 'excepting religious papers,' be inserted after 'such presses as boldly open their columns to the Masonic subject,' &c.

The PRESIDENT explained that the words of the Report were 'to extend patronage to such papers as boldly opened their columns' to this discussion. By inserting here, the amendment, 'excepting religious papers,' the gentleman's object would not be attained. He would observe, in explanation, that the Report did not advise a withdrawal of patronage from any paper; it simply recommended, that *additional* patronage be extended to such papers as opened their columns to this discussion.

After altering the amendment so as to read, 'excepting religious papers from a recommendation to discuss this subject,'

Mr CLEVELAND observed, that gentlemen would recollect the petition offered up at the commencement of the business, that 'every plant, not of divine planting, might be rooted up.' He considered the *object* which had called the meeting, as of high importance, connected with the welfare of the community; that to aim at the overthrow of evils, existing through the influence of Free Masonry, involved duties of solemn and interesting moment. The weapons, which religion recommended to its friends, were not carnal, but mighty, through God, to the putting down of strong holds—casting down imaginations, and whatsoever exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing every thought into subjection to the principles of the Gospel of Jesus

Christ. Her watchmen, then, and every man employed to extend her happy influence, should study great care and circumspection, while engaged in the holy warfare. Were presses professedly established for the blessed object of encouraging a growth of grace and knowledge in the hearts of Christians, and the dissemination of divine truth through every grade of society, to open their columns to the discussion of the subject of Free Masonry, he apprehended most deplorable results from such a course. He feared that the spirit of God would depart from establishments where such controversy should be introduced. The remarks of Mr C. were predicated upon a resolution, having for its object the encouragement and patronage of such public prints as should *boldly* admit into their columns the discussion of the subject of Free Masonry. He saw the bearing of this resolution upon papers professedly of a religious character—that, *if they* should decline such controversy, and other papers of a religious character were set up with a view, '*BOLDLY*' to admit the discussion, the present papers would be dropped, and the new ones taken — and, that immense injury to the cause of the Redeemer would inevitably result from such proceeding. To transfer encouragement from one religious paper to another, on the grounds named, would root up many plants of our Heavenly Father's planting.

Dr THOMPSON, of Charlestown, said he was taken by surprise, by the suggestion to excuse religious newspapers from the operation of the resolve. He had voted in favor of reconsidering the resolve, to accommodate the gentleman from Boston, though he thought that gentleman's absence from the Convention, during the discussion, if he had felt hearty in his duty, could hardly be excused. But, said Dr T., while he expected that the vote to reconsider, would be followed by some new views on the subject, from the gentleman from Boston, or the proposal of some more vigorous combination of means, to engage and direct the influence of the press, in favor of a righteous cause—he was utterly astonished to find that the whole object of the gentleman was to exempt religious newspapers altogether, on the ground that religion had nothing to do with the investigation of Free Masonry. What, said Dr T., is the design of religion! Of the Christian religion? It is to 'bring men out of darkness into light.' It is to 'break every yoke' — to 'open the prison doors' — to 'bring forth the prisoners out of the prison house, and say to the captives, go free.' It is to make men 'free by the truth, that they may be free indeed' — to 'pull down strong holds' — to 'cast down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God.' And what is Free Masonry? Is it not a dark prison house; shutting men up by bolts and bars of mysterious secrecy, and chaining them down to terrible obligations by awful oaths? Is it not a 'vain imagination,' a 'high

thing,' 'exalting itself against the knowledge of God,' or rather arrogating to itself the holy attributes of the Most High! And what is the purpose of Anti-Masonry, and of this Convention? It is to break these bolts and chains—to release our fellow-men from this ignoble bondage of error, and bring them out into the glorious liberty of the truth. It is to restore those holy titles, which, with sacrilegious hands, have been torn from the 'King of Heaven,' to deck the brow of this earthly idol. Is not this a task befitting religious newspapers, and religious men? Surely, if mortal man can ever be co-worker with the immortal God, it must be in the sublime duty of defending His sacred name from earthly pollution, and in the noble labor of emancipating his fellow-man from the thralldom of error, darkness, and sin.

Mr CHURCHILL, of Milton, said that the apparent difference betwixt the report and the motion might be easily reconciled. The mover assumes to come forward in aid of religion. We all profess to be engaged in the same exalted pursuit. Is it possible to identify with religious principle an institution which boldly commands her initiates, '*to crush the head of that serpent, adored by the vulgar, and called RELIGION!*' The report, however, does not invite any one to abandon his connexions with any public newspaper whatever, but only to patronize those which tell the whole truth to the public; and if the gentleman wishes any favorite paper to share the benefits of this recommendation, he has only to induce such paper to give warning of the wounds and poisonous drugs prepared for the destruction of religion, as well as to paint her beauty and utility. Should he fail in this effort, he may transfer his patronage to other religious papers, which afford unqualified support to that cause.

The Anti-Masonic Christian Herald advocates sentiments and principles, nearly the same, to my understanding, as those entertained by the gentleman. But if some are determined to support publications, masonic to every intent; though they may retail the mint and cummin of religion, while neglecting the weightier matters of irreligion, masonry not excepted, can they complain that we should invite support to newspapers as pure in principle, and more universal in their application?

If the objects of the present motion cannot be effected by any of the above propositions, I should be in favor of sustaining the present report; though sorry to disagree with a member who comes in the name of Jehovah, in whose cause we thought we were all engaged.

Mr RUGGLES, of Troy, said that that religion which would not suffer a sparrow to fall to the ground without its cognizance, most certainly was interested in the question before them. There should be no exception made of religious papers. They were especially involved in the examination of an institution which pretended (and it was all a pretence) to a divine origin. Was religion not concerned in this question? Most assuredly it was.

Mr THACHER, of Wrentham, observed, that he was not in favor of adopting this amendment for several reasons; one or two of which he would state. He was not in favor of making any distinctions among newspapers. He was ready to admit that the christian warfare was spiritual, not carnal. He was also in favor of the elicitation of truth, however elicited. There were two ways in which Masonry might be viewed—first, religiously; second, politically. It should have a religious discussion and a political discussion. It might be investigated in religious papers so far as it was connected with the interests of religion, and in political papers, on those points where it related to politics. He did not ask religious papers to discuss its bearings on politics; nor political papers to discuss its bearings on religion. Both could investigate its character so far as it affected their peculiar interests; and in his view, it did exert an alarming influence over both. If a destructive evil had crept into the church, how could it be purified? Ought the corruption to be suffered to remain, and to extend its deadly influence, because it could not be touched without producing pain and excitement? Were not the same objections urged against Luther, the great pioneer of reform. How was the reformation effected, but by ascertaining facts which absolved the consciences of those hitherto bound, from the ties connected with the Catholic church? No carnal weapons were then nor now need be used. It was now, as then, with the church, a spiritual warfare. The Convention had convened to elicit truth and prevent a great evil; to break down the impediments of truth. They were not called upon to make any distinguished difference between newspapers of any kind. They should be all open to a free and impartial inquiry on this great question. He knew that the principles and tendency of Free Masonry were at war with the christian religion. He alluded to the higher degrees of masonry as disclosed in Bernard's book, and particularly to that degree entitled the Adepts, or Knights of the Eagle, or Sun. He observed that if the gentleman who made the motion, would peruse that degree, and not acknowledge that it injuriously affected the cause of religion, he would return to the flock to which the Lord had made him overseer, and forever hold his peace. He thought it the duty of every pastor of every flock to sound the alarm when danger approached—to strip off the fleece of the lamb, when under it might be seen the features of the wolf. It was most of all, the duty of the religious watchmen, and he hoped they would not shrink nor be excused from doing their duty.

MR RICE, of Northborough, said he had seconded the motion of the gentleman from Boston to reconsider the vote, because he wished to give every member of the Convention an opportunity to express his views on any subject before it. His own opinions, however, did not coincide with those of the mover. He thought religious papers should not close their columns to the admission of facts respecting masonry. Several ministers and professors of

religion had seceded from the institution, and their characters and motives had been impeached for so doing. They ought not to be debarred from expressing their reasons to the religious community, who could only be reached through the medium of religious papers.

The motion for amendment was then unanimously rejected, and the Report accepted.

The committee appointed to examine the laws of this Commonwealth in relation to Extra Judicial Oaths, made a report, which embodied a petition to the General Court, praying for the enactment of a law, prohibiting them from being administered and received. On motion for its acceptance

Mr THACHER moved several amendments, which were agreed to.

After some discussion on the nature and tendency of the Report, in which several members of the Convention took part, Mr HOBART moved that it should be laid on the table.

Mr WALKER preferred, that, as it was an important document, it should go to the State Committee, who might, at a convenient time, forward it to the Legislature.

Mr WHITNEY hoped it would be accepted, and sent by this Convention to the Legislature. It contained facts, of which many of the members of the General Court were ignorant, and which they should know. There were individuals of the community, who thought the correction of the evil which had occupied the attention of this Convention, should be corrected by the Legislature. There were those who affected to complain that we were building up one combination to put down another; that we were taking the power into our own hands to redress grievances instead of appealing for justice to the constituted authorities of the land. For one, he thought this a proper subject for legislative interference. He wished to have the subject investigated in our halls of legislation, and if the unauthorized administration of such oaths of blasphemy and death were not now contrary to law, it was high time to pass an act making them so. He knew that a great proportion of our representatives were members of the institution complained of. He expected they would treat our petition with neglect. But if this was the most proper and least objectionable course, no anticipations of failure should deter us from pursuing it. If Masonry was what it is described to be, and what it could be proved to be, he thought there was no impropriety in calling the attention of the Legislature to the subject.

Col. BURBANK, of Worcester, thought it a document which might be useful to the community, and that it ought to be laid before the public. He did not think it expedient to send it to the Legislature at this time. He thought the people were not sufficiently acquainted with the nature and tendency of Masonic oaths to render this step advisable.

Mr RUGGLES, of Troy, appreciated the arduous labor of the committee, which had given unusual satisfaction. That report ought not, and would not be lost. The people would be convinced; and after they were read and known, we should never again be troubled with the oaths and obligations of Free Masonry, any more than we should by popish bulls. He thought that any application to the Legislature upon this subject would be idle and futile. Oaths, and secret oaths, might be administered, and who was to know anything about it? The Legislature could not break down the doors of lodges, and if they could not, how were they to get proof or testimony upon the subject? It was not only impolitic, but improper. A statute of this kind would lie dormant upon the statute book, like that of sabbath-breaking, drunkenness, et cetera. The only tribunal before whom this subject could be settled, was the people. To them, then, should this report be sent. Light should be spread over our land, and the people's will would, in masonic language, 'defy a world in arms.'

Mr HOBART, of Leicester, was in favor of the indefinite postponement of the whole subject of petitioning for the purpose of procuring a law respecting extra judicial oaths: it was premature to act upon this thing; the state of the public mind would not warrant it. It was clear that the great body of the people were as yet uninformed on the question; they were enveloped in the fogs and mist raised by the order to blind them. Send this petition, and the whole masonic camp would be alive. It was bad policy to drive them to desperation, for 'skin for skin, yea, all that a man hath, will he give for his life;' and when the fraternity were aroused and exasperated, they might do much. Conciliatory and persuasive methods were the best. The number of seceding Masons already was large, and growing every day more numerous; there were many left, among Masons, of high and honorable feelings; he should dread the consequences of an attempt to force them, by the measure proposed; they would call it proscription. The people could not long be misled; they will investigate, and public opinion was more powerful than legal enactments. He thought the measure of applying to the Legislature, at this period, to be premature, at least.

Mr MORTON, of Milton, observed that the operation of the proposed law would bear upon the future, and not affect that which is past. To prohibit the administration of oaths not authorized by law, could hardly be considered as an encroachment on the rights of individuals. Oaths not necessary for legal purposes, may be considered as profane and immoral. The multiplication of unnecessary oaths must have an evil tendency, in weakening the binding effect of those administered in courts of justice.

Mr PAINE, of Boston, said, though he had been unable, from indisposition, to undergo the labor of reading the report, (which had been kindly done by his colleague, Mr Walker,) yet as he had the honor of submitting it, he felt compelled to attempt, at least, to explain and defend it. He was aware that it might em-

brace broader ground than the Convention, at first view, were prepared to occupy; but, however broad his positions, they were all supported by facts and authorities. He was aware that he might have gone farther in his investigations, than others, differently situated from himself, might consider expedient; but he had been constrained, from necessity, and for self-defence, to make himself acquainted with the history, as well as the principles and the practices of Free Masonry, in other governments as well as our own, and he had given the result of his labors in the report.

He urged the expediency of submitting the memorial, reported by the committee, to the Legislature, at the coming session. He entertained views of the Legislature very different from some gentlemen, who supposed that they were our enemies, and that they would disregard our supplications. He had too much charity to suppose that they would treat the wishes of their constituents, and the appeal of this Convention, with neglect or contempt. If Free Masonry was so dangerous an evil as this Convention had decided it to be, ought we not to take all fair and lawful means for its suppression? The argument that it was not time to bring it before the Legislature, because they would oppose it, did not satisfy him. He thought there could be no better time for doing what they had deliberately decided ought to be done, than the present. If Free Masonry was immoral in its nature and tendency, and unjust and oppressive in its effects, we could not arrest it in its career too soon. The Legislature were the proper authority to appeal to in this case; they were the guardians of the people's rights, assembled for the sole purpose of devising measures for public safety and public welfare. They represented every party, every calling, and every interest in the community. Even the order of Free Masonry could not plead, that it was not amply represented in this honorable body.

Where can we find a tribunal better qualified to try this interesting question? Would they call it proscription to refer its decision to their own justice, intelligence, and wisdom? If they would, what effectual method could we adopt to which they would not object? This was not simply a political question. It did not solely relate to matters of *opinion*; it related to matters of *fact*. If a portion of the community arrogated to themselves the right of administering oaths contravening the laws of the land, and of inflicting the severest penalties on their associates—even death—for offences unknown to the constitution, surely this ought to be a subject of legislative cognizance.

Is it not time for us to bring this cause before the constituted tribunals of our country? What better time can we have for this purpose, than the first moment that we have been convinced of the facts of the case? How long shall we remain satisfied of the iniquity of this powerful institution, and refrain from making any efforts for suppressing it? How long shall we expose the lives, property, and characters, of our fellow citizens, to the mercy of such a confederacy, without remonstrance or complaint? How

long shall they be suffered to go on, administering oaths to 'derange the business,' traduce the characters, and take the lives of the citizens of this republic? If an appeal to the Legislature is ever to be made, where can we find any sufficient reason for delay? Have we not become satisfied of the origin of Free Masonry? its opposition to all other governments—its direct agency in the revolution of France—the rebellions it has caused in the British government, (particularly in Ireland, between 1792 and 1798)—the correspondence it maintained between the rebels of England and the revolutionists of France? Robinson and Barruel have made these things matters of history.

Barruel shows that 283,000 of the fraternity were organized in Ireland alone, to cooperate with France, to effect a revolution in the British government. Robinson's *Proofs*, and Barruel's *Memoirs*, were simultaneously published to the world in 1797, both treating on the subject of Free Masonry; and these publications, doubtless, sounded the alarm to the British government, and produced the act of Parliament which was passed in 1798, suppressing all secret societies. This act prohibited the organization of any new lodges of Free Masons, under a penalty of transportation for seven years; forbidding likewise the receiving or administering any secret oath unknown to the laws, or any obligation in the nature of an oath, for the purpose of concealing truth or keeping secrets, under the like penalty of transportation. This act also prohibited the meeting of any Free Masons' lodge, unless two of its members should go before the clerk of the peace, before the 25th of March, in every year, and, under oath, give in the names of all its members, their places of abode, and their occupation; likewise the time and place of holding each meeting of such lodge; and any lodge was liable to be suppressed, upon the complaint of any individual, sworn to before a justice of the peace, whose duty it was to issue a warrant for its suppression; and if any meeting was holden afterwards, it was to be deemed an unlawful confederacy, and its members were liable to the penalty of the act.

Such is the remedy England has applied to Free Masonry. But let us look at home for some of the effects of this institution. Look at the insurrection of Pennsylvania, during the administration of Washington. The part which the French minister, Genet, took in this drama, demanded and produced his recall, as the like cause in Mexico has produced the recall of Mr Poinsett.

Mr P. then passed to Burr's conspiracy, in 1806, to show that he carried on his treasonable correspondence in the cypher of the royal arch degree; and then called the attention of the Convention to what had been passing on this subject in New York and other States, since 1826, which was too fresh in their memories to require repetition. If such were the history of this institution, he thought it was high time that Free Masonry should meet the same fate in this country, that it had in 1798 in England, the country from which we had derived its charters; that we ought

to learn wisdom even from an enemy, and our Legislature ought to follow the example of the British Parliament. But, after all, if we were wrong in our course, we could not too soon be convinced of our error, by testing our doings by the good sense and wisdom of the Legislature, and thereby stopping what was called an excitement. But if we were right—if the evil complained of was true as well as grievous, we ought not to lose a moment in applying the remedy. The present time was the only time to cure any evil; of the future, who could have any pledge? Is it objected, that the 'excitement' will embarrass the deliberations of the Legislature? We can never have less excitement than at the present moment, for it has been increasing since the first moment it was awakened, and it will continue to increase. If we therefore wait for it to subside, in order to apply a remedy to this flagrant evil, we shall wait till all relief is beyond our control, and all remedies out of our power.

Mr RUSSELL, of Taunton, was opposed to presenting any memorial to the Legislature on any subject relating to Free Masonry; first, because it was our duty to endeavour, for a while longer, to induce honest and good men, who have thoughtlessly connected themselves with that institution, to reflect on the subject calmly, and follow the example of others like them, whose reflections have induced them to break their bonds, and reunite themselves to their fellow citizens. Anything which seems like coercion, would, it appeared to him, have a tendency rather to confirm such men in their error, than lead them to renounce it. We need the help of as many more such men as we can induce to join us.

Secondly, because it behoves us to proceed with caution. Any defeat in any one of our measures, would injure us far more than delay. The public mind is daily becoming more informed on this subject, and the time *may* come, when it will be proper to present to the Legislature such a memorial. At present, he was satisfied, that our memorial would be rejected, and furnish the Free Masons with an occasion to triumph over us. He could not but hope that the force of public opinion will, by inducing the Free Masons to abandon their system, render all measures that savour of coercion unnecessary; and at all events, such measures should not be resorted to until all milder measures have failed.

Mr THACHER complimented the committee on the ability and labor displayed in the report. The facts they had presented were irresistible; it embodied satisfactory evidence, to convince any candid mind of the dangerous character of the masonic institution, and of the necessity of taking all lawful measures for its discouragement. He hoped that, whatever might be the views of the Convention respecting the expediency of memorializing the Legislature at this time, it would not be lost, but that it would be published with the doings of the Convention.

Mr RICE, of Northborough, was opposed to the committal of this report to the State Convention for the purposes specified, and to bringing in the aid of the strong arm of the law. The time had

not yet arrived; the public were fast coming to a knowledge of the facts of the case, and there was, at present, no necessity of going to the General Court about them. True it was, that this report ought not to be lost. He presumed the committee would publish such parts of the report as they considered expedient. But there was in his view no necessity of going to the General Court upon the subject.

Rev. Mr SMITH, of Hanover, was in favor of mild and conciliatory measures. He could, however, safely trust this subject with the state committee.

Mr BOWMAN, of Cambridge, was opposed to applying to the Legislature for the enactment of a law discouraging this institution. Public opinion was first to be reached, and enlightened, and concentrated—for laws, not sustained by public opinion, were of no use; they had no effect. The Legislature could not prevent Masons from wearing aprons, or drinking out of human skulls, or calling themselves Grand Kings, Grand Priests, Grand Princes, and Grand Sovereigns, if it was to their taste; public opinion alone could regulate the practice.

Mr CONGDON, of New Bedford, argued that it was best to endeavour to regulate matters of opinion without legislative interference.

Gen. HOYT, of Deerfield, was much pleased with the dignified and harmonious manner in which the Convention had proceeded. We had conducted this matter like citizens of Old Massachusetts—without passion, without excitement, and without violence. We had proceeded calmly, firmly, and understandingly; everything had been examined in all its bearings, discussed fully, and adopted or rejected, as seemed best to our deliberate judgment. Wherever we had put down our foot, it stood firm; for consequences had been thoroughly understood before we hazarded the step. It was his fervent wish that this able and masterly report should go forth to the people. It embodied nearly all the facts upon which the opposition to Masonry was based. The people in many places were locked in a deep and death-like sleep; this would arouse them from their slumbers. He wished the information it contained to be wafted across the Connecticut; he wished it to be sent over the hills and through the valleys of Berkshire, and light up the dark and benighted corners of the land. He wished that the voice now issuing from the 'Cradle of Liberty,' should ring throughout the State, as in days of yore; that every rocky hill and every green valley in Old Massachusetts, would now, as then, send back an answering echo! He hoped the report would be printed.

Mr RUGGLES, of Troy, had no objection to referring the report to the state committee, for them to publish if they thought it expedient. This was a question for the people to decide, and not the Legislature. At any rate, if a memorial is sent, let it come direct from the people, and not from this Convention.

The Report was then referred to the State Committee, with instructions not to forward it to the Legislature until so directed by this Convention.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON.

The Convention met according to adjournment.

The Committee raised for the purpose, reported RESOLUTIONS, which were accepted by the convention.

A resolution was then offered, censuring the course pursued by the Masonic fraternity, in vilifying the motives, traducing the character, and deranging the business of those who seceded from their institution.

Mr THACHER opposed its adoption, on account of some harsh expressions contained in it, towards the fraternity in general. There were some great and honorable exceptions to the course of conduct attributed to the order.

Mr ALLEN, of Braintree, was in favor of adopting the resolution offered. Masons were in the uniform habit of stigmatizing seceders as 'perjured villains,' 'drunkards,' and as destitute of moral honesty. The slanders coined in the lodge room were circulated throughout the land; everybody heard them, but nobody could detect the original utterer. Those who had presumed to break the bonds of Masonry, were nearly overwhelmed with the floods of Masonic calumny; they sometimes despaired of being able to stem the torrent, raised to sweep them into the abyss of infamy. He felt that a resolution of this kind would be of use, as explaining to the public the origin of the slanders circulated.

Mr SANBORN, of Reading, suggested that some of the objectional parts of the resolve could be amended. It was certain that seceders suffered much from the malicious fictions of Masons, and an expression of our views on the subject might be desirable.

Dr THOMPSON, of Charlestown, thought it beneath the dignity of the Convention to speak of this matter. All attempts to handle the subject would do more harm than good. He would repeat what he had already said, that he had no prejudice against any Mason on earth; he would wish to proceed in every measure so as to carry conviction, that no spice of hostile or vindictive feeling mingled with our purposes. He rejoiced to see many breaking their chains, and coming out of this more than Egyptian bondage. It was from seceding Masons that this Convention, and the public derived very important information. And it was, in a great measure, through them, that other Masons were to be convinced, that the greatest happiness of their fellow men demanded the abandonment of their order. The institution was unfriendly to the moral rights of the community. The proofs of this, were embodied in an able 'Address to the People,'

which would go out before the world in evidence of the fact. If the facts in that address were true, they certainly were important, and the people would consider them. If not true, let the Masons, with uplifted voice deny them; let them confront the Anti-Masonic statements, and if they prove them false, let this Convention be consigned to the lowest depths of shame and degradation, and let their names be blotted out forever.

But, if the statements in that address be true, it is of vital importance that the people should know them. The real question, then, is not how seceding Masons are treated; but have they told the truth? It is our solemn conviction, that they have; and that the people have a deep concern in the truth they have told. What the feelings of Free Masons may be towards those, who have had the integrity to prefer the good of their country to the favor of Free Masonry, can be of but little consequence to this Convention. What the feelings of the great body of our fellow-citizens are, may be learned from the irrepressible burst of approbation, which thrilled through these walls last evening, when a distinguished seceder, in all the pathos of repentance, and with the pure eloquence of truth, portrayed his own tremendous struggles, and *his joyful* escape from the powerful grasp of this gigantic institution.

The resolve was withdrawn.

A motion was then offered, that the thanks of this Convention be presented to the SECEDING MASONS present, for the important information and aid received from them, by this Convention.

Dr PHELPS, of Boston, observed, that to these, the Convention was under immense obligations; equal, perhaps, to those due the patriots of the revolution, who, at the risk of their lives, property, and reputation, had stepped forth to save their country. They should be held in grateful recollection, and their memories forever blest.

The vote was passed unanimously.

A motion was then offered, that the thanks of this Convention be presented to PLINY MERRICK, Esq., for the important information which he has frankly communicated relative to the interesting subject of Free Masonry and also for the able, dignified, and impartial manner in which he has presided over its deliberations during its session.

Unanimously accepted.

Col. MERRICK, in returning thanks, observed, that he felt honored by the favor with which his humble efforts to serve, had been received. He had done no more than an act of duty, for which he claimed no credit—no thanks. He felt, that he had the best interests of his country at heart. He felt that the cause, in which we were engaged, was a great and patriotic cause; and he hoped that they would continue in it until all opinions became as one opinion; until all could engage in one general thanksgiving for their country's common and universal REDEMPTION.

Mr WALKER, of Suffolk, said, that before offering the resolution he held in his hand, he would ask the indulgence of the Convention, while he made one or two suggestions, which he thought of some importance at the present moment. We are, said he, about to separate to our different and distant places of abode, and we have delegated to the State Committee a supervisory care of the cause in which we are engaged. It will be important that this Committee be well informed in regard to all occurrences which may take place throughout the Commonwealth relating to this subject; he would suggest, therefore, that the members of the Convention, during its recess, should consider it a duty to communicate, from time to time, all the facts that may come to their knowledge, and all circumstances which may have a bearing upon the interests of the cause, to the State Committee. This would enable them to discharge, with proper intelligence, the duties we had assigned them at this time. Mr W. said, he would take the further liberty to notice one of the most incumbent duties of all Anti-Masons, and, as he thought, one especially devolving upon the members of this Convention. He meant that of *endeavouring to overcome the prejudices* which many of our most respectable and worthy citizens had imbibed in relation to Anti-Masonic efforts. Nothing was more common than to find very good men, who regarded everything appertaining to this *excitement*, as contemptible and wicked. This prejudice arose from one cause, and one only, and that was, an ignorance of the nature and extent of the evil we oppose, and of the means which we use as a remedy. Never having examined Masonry, they know nothing correctly of its dreadful influence; and having heard of Anti-Masonry only by the exaggerated and distorted accounts that have come through those channels of intelligence which are entirely *ex parte*, and unfair; they have been led to regard it as an explosion of infatuated passion, kindled by the torch of political demagogues. Our great object must be, to convince such of our fellow-citizens of their error, and induce them to read and examine for themselves, as to the nature and pernicious character of Masonry, and the means by which we expect to accomplish the end we have in view, the subversion of the institution, and when we shall have done this, we shall have effected one of the most important objects; we shall have removed the greatest obstacle to the present success and future triumph of a cause, which we believe to be the cause of truth, of religion, and of civil liberty. I move, said Mr W., that this Convention do now adjourn. The motion prevailed.

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Where may be had most of the Books now extant on the subject of Speculative Free Masonry, and all new works added as soon as published.

AN ABSTRACT

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ANTI-MASONIC STATE CONVENTION

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

HELD IN FANEUIL HALL,

BOSTON,

DEC. 30 AND 31, 1829, AND JAN. 1, 1830.

Boston:
JOHN MARSH, No. 96 & 98, STATE STREET.
FOR THE PUBLISHING COMMITTEE.

JAN. 1830.

MASSACHUSETTS

ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION.

The Delegates from the different Counties assembled in Faneuil Hall on the 30th December, 1829.

Hon. GEORGE ODIORNE, oldest member of the Suffolk Delegation, called the Convention to order; after which it proceeded to the choice of Officers, and the following gentlemen were unanimously elected.

Col. PLINY MERRICK, Worcester,	<i>President.</i>
Doct. ABNER PHELPS, Suffolk,	<i>1st Vice President.</i>
MANASSEH KEMPTON, Esq. Bristol,	<i>2d Do.</i>
ELIJAH WILLIAMS, Esq. Franklin,	} <i>Secretaries.</i>
NATHAN LAZELL, Jr. Esq. Plymouth,	
STEPHEN OLIVER, Esq. Essex.	

Voted, That the following Gentlemen be invited to take seats in the Convention, and afford their assistance on the present occasion, viz :—

HENRY DANA WARD, Esq. city of New York.	
Mr. S. D. GREENE, late of Batavia, N. Y.	
Major MARTIN FLINT, Randolph, Vt.	
Capt. NATHAN BALDWIN, Shrewsbury.	
Capt. JOHN AIKEN,	} New Bedford.
WILLIAMS REED,	
TIMOTHY DELANO,	
Capt. ASA SWIFT, Fairhaven.	
Mr. WALDO AMES,	} Bridgewater.
Deacon MORETON EDDY,	
Col. ABRAHAM WASHBURN,	
JACOB PERKINS, Esq.	
Gen. NATHAN HURD, Worcester.	
THOMAS HAYWARD, Ashford, Conn.	
GEORGE WHEATON ALLEN, Newport, R. I.	
Gen. STEPHEN P. GARDNER, Bolton.	
NATHAN TUFTS, 2d.	} Middlesex.
Col. JOSEPH MILLER,	
NATHANIEL KENDALL,	
CHARLES TAPPAN, Esq. of Boston.	

On motion of B. V. FRENCH, Esq. of Suffolk,

Voted, That MESSRS. HENRY DANA WARD, JOSEPH MORTON, and S. D. GREENE, be a Committee to report on the truth of the disclosures of Free Masonry, now before the public.

This Committee subsequently presented the following Report, which was accepted by the Convention :

REPORT.

The Committee to whom was referred the Resolution of the Convention, to inquire into the truth of the Disclosures of Free Masonry, do accordingly Report,

That they have examined the subject, and find that the disclosures made by Capt. WILLIAM MORGAN, entitled, "*Illustrations of Masonry*;" and the subsequent disclosures of the *Le Roy Convention*, carry on their face the seal of truth, as do also the disclosures of the higher degrees in the work of the Rev. Mr. BERNARD, entitled, "*Light on Masonry*." Regarding the "*Illustrations*," no better evidence need be adduced to confirm their truth, than the violent and unlawful seizure of the author by Free Masons; of his being transported by them in a clandestine manner from Canandaigua, (where he had been maliciously and unjustly confined, and afterwards treacherously liberated,) to Fort Niagara, and whence after imprisonment for four or five days in that fortress, he was taken by members of the fraternity, and *carried to places unknown, since which time he has never been seen by any witness, to testify of his existence!* Touching the disclosures of the *Le Roy Conventions*, the first of which consisting of forty-six members, who met at *Le Roy* on the 19th of February, 1828, and the second, consisting of 120 members, who met on the 4th of July following; all of both Conventions being seceding Masons, and whose characters for veracity could not be impeached; and further, who could have had no object to deceive, furnish to the minds of your Committee, unequivocal evidence of their truth. The disclosures of the Rev. Mr. BERNARD are of a like nature. He is a gentleman of known and acknowledged virtue, and it appears that conscientious scruples, caused his secession from the Fraternity, and such has been the fact with the great body of seceders. And here it may be observed that in all the secessions, in several of the States where individuals had no intercourse with each other, there has been an uniformity in the declarations, that the disclosures, so far as they were severally acquainted with them, were true. It also operates conclusively on the minds of your Committee, that the truth of these disclosures have never by any official act of the Fraternity been denied. After this, as your Committee are willing to believe, abundance of testimony, if any thing else could be wanting, it would be found in the resentment of the Fraternity against all seceders; no characters, however pure and spotless, have escaped the slanders of the craft. The usual expression has been, "perjured villain," thereby giving

additional evidence to the truth of the oaths administered to initiates, and their belief in the binding nature of them on the consciences of those who had taken them.

Respectfully submitted.

On motion of Rev. Mr. SANBORN, of Middlesex,

Voted, That Rev. ETHAN SMITH, of Plymouth; LOVET PETERS, Esq. of Worcester; and EBENEZER WITHINGTON, of Suffolk, be a Committee to inquire how far Free Masonry and French Illuminism are connected.

The Committee subsequently submitted a most learned and interesting Report, exhibiting the connexion between French Illuminism and the higher Degrees of Free Masonry, and the evidence of the fact; but the length of the Report, renders it in the opinion of the publishing Committee inexpedient to insert it in this pamphlet.

On motion of Hon. GEORGE ODIORNE, of Suffolk,

Voted, That Dr. BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE, of Middlesex; Rev. PETER SANBORN, of do. and THOMAS WALLEY, of Suffolk, be a Committee to inquire into the Antiquity of Speculative Free Masonry. The following Report was subsequently presented and accepted:

REPORT.

The high antiquity of Free Masonry has ever been deemed of importance to the Fraternity. It is assumed with confidence and asserted with boldness. It is the principal source of all the vain boasting of the Secret Order. Dating *Anno Lucis*, "in the year of the Creation" affords a convenient opportunity to fill up the long *interim* of years with the names and Masonic labors of renowned men in every age of the world. The impudent spirit which lays hold of *Adam*, the first man, and clothes him with a Free Mason's Apron, is not daunted by the holy character of *Enoch*, or of *Me-thusalah*; but it falsely represents them to have been master builders of the principles of Free Masonry, and to have constructed a Temple under ground, and also to have erected pillars of marble and brick to preserve the secrets of Free Masonry through the deluge. [See Webb's Monitor.] Encouraged by the success of this effrontery, the standard authors of the system, in approved works called histories of Free Masonry, declare, that *Noah* held a Lodge in the ark, that, in the confusion of tongues, the Masons retained the language of Eden, which is now universal in the Lodges of Free Masons in all the nations of the earth. [See Hutchinson and Oliver.] *Moses* is made, on Mount Sinai, to receive revelations from the lips of the Most High, which are known only to those, to whom they are Masonically entrusted; and the chief men of Israel are calumniated with the imputation of having practised the secret rites of Free Masonry. The first three degrees of the system took their present form, according to Masonic accounts, at the building of *Solomon's Temple*, A. M. 3000; but the story is monstrous, self-

contradictory and fabulous. The legends represent king *Solomon* to have erected the temple by the aid of Free Masonry, and while the *craft* have received this for truth, they have considered it an important truth; but when they record the cowardly death of *Hiram Abiff*, the singular resurrection of the rotten corpse, and the impossible execution of the Masonic penalty by burying the bodies of *Jubela*, *Jubelo*, and *Jubelum*, at low water mark, where the tide ebbs and flows twice in twenty-four hours, they at once think less of the antiquity of their order. They affirm that a good thing is none the worse for being modern, and they endeavor to escape from the point. But the system which falsely assumes great antiquity for its glory, will be justly suspected of assuming the cloak of morality for its respectability, and the mantle of charity, to cover its selfishness. In this view, we do not consent to the craft's merely withdrawing their proud claim. They must sustain it, or allow the perfidy and falsehood of their system. They must defend the claim of Free Masonry to the wisdom of king *Solomon*, to the loss of the Master's word, and to the death of *Hiram Abiff*, or, otherwise, confess, that Free Masonry is but another name for imposture. The origin of the *Royal Arch* degree is strangely contradictory. Many learned Masonic writers assert, that it was first conferred by king *Solomon*, on three Master Masons, for finding *Enock's* triangular plate of gold, studded with gems, when a part of the ninth arch of his subterranean temple fell on one of them in the dark cavern, extinguished his lamp, and he instantly saw the golden triangle with the ineffable name inscribed. [See Webb's Monitor.] But many other equally learned and approved historians of Free Masonry contradict this, and say, that this wonderful degree was first conferred on certain Masons, for finding the sacred ark, and preserving the Pentateuch, at the building of the *second* temple at Jerusalem. [See Town's Speculative Masonry.] A third and more numerous company of learned Masonic historians pass the *Royal Arch Degree* unnoticed. Works on Masonry which we have seen published before A. D. 1760, make no mention of the existence of this pretended sublime degree of ancient Free Masonry; they confine their remarks wholly to the first three degrees, and to the orders of Knighthood. [See Hutchinson and Anderson's Constitutions.]

The Masonic story, that the true name of God was lost in the days of *Enock*, revealed anew to *Moses*, and lost again, until *Solomon* discovered it on the golden triangle in the ninth arch of the temple which swallowed up *three thousand* of his most accomplished Master Masons, proves the system to be built upon falsehood and vain glory, and also upon immorality. [See Webb's Monitor.] A most interesting fact connected with the antiquity of Free Masonry, is, that neither *Herodotus* nor any of the sons of history, have mentioned or alluded to it, in any age of the world, previous to the 18th century. At an earlier day, neither poet has sung it, nor moralist described it, nor Free Mason bragged of it. It is not inscribed by name, or by any significant allusion, on marble, brass, or plate; it is not printed on paper, or parchment; not embroidered on cloth,

"cut, stained, hewed, carved, or indented, on any thing moveable or immoveable, beneath the canopy of the heavens," whereby we can learn, that the system of the most ancient and honorable society of Free Masons had existence earlier than the beginning of the 18th century. Search the Pyramids of *Egypt*, search *Herculaneum* and *Pompeii*, search the world, and we challenge alike the antiquarian and the novelist, to show by emblems, medals, ballads, monuments, or tales of the imagination, any proof of the existence of the system of *Secrets* and *Degrees*, whose lights are the Holy Bible, Square, and Compasses; whose emblems are the Trowel, Apron, and Gavel; whose oaths are blasphemy, and whose penalties are death. We do not deny that *operative Masonry* may be as old as Adam; certainly it was known at *Babel*, and has been constantly practised since, in all ages of the world. Temples, forts, and cities, have given employment to the hewers of stone, as well as of wood, have required the use of the trowel and cement, as well as of the plane and hammer. We have no controversy with *true Masonry*, but only with *Free Masonry*, falsely so called, of that we can tell the age, with as much precision, as we can tell the time of the Protestant Reformation, or the date of the South Sea scheme, or the origin of Mahommedanism. It abundantly appears by its own books, that on the 24th of June, A. D. 1717, four clubs of London Mechanics, in the habit of meeting at four taverns, one the *Goose and Gridiron*, another the *Crown*, a third the *Apple-tree Tavern*, and the fourth, the *Rummer and Grapes*, convened at the *Apple-tree Tavern*, Charles Street, Covent Garden, London, and appointed *Anthony Sayer*, first most worshipful Grand Master of their most worshipful Fraternity, divided into three degrees. They set about a book of Constitutions, A. D. 1719, and issued it A. D. 1723. Free Masonry was carried abroad by the friends of the *Pretender*, and served them as a bond of union, and a means of subsistence.

New degrees were first added in *France*, but these are disallowed in *England*, where at this day, there are only three degrees, and every Master Mason finds the lost word.

The mother Lodge of *London*, introduced the system of three degrees into this country, at *Boston*, Massachusetts, A. D. 1733, published its revised constitutions, A. D. 1738, and laid the corner stone of its first Hall, A. D. 1775. Under the corner stone a plate was deposited with a Latin inscription, to be found in the writings of *Preston*, and of *Smith*, approved Free Masons. In this inscription the Grand Lodge of *England* claim pre-eminence on earth, and call themselves "*Latomi, orum*," *Anglice*, "Free Masons;" but the only definition *Ainsworth* and *Young* warrant us to give the word *Latomi*, is, "*slaves condemned, and vagabonds sent to work in the quarries*."

When the Grand Lodge say, "*E cælo descendit*," it descended from heaven, the meaning is clear, but the claim is false and impious. The antiquity of Free Masonry is no longer its boast. It is supported only by blind tradition, while it is controverted by plain

history ; and it stands, like the system it is intended to ennoble, a disgrace to its advocates.

On motion of Hon. JACOB HALL, of Suffolk,

Voted, That B. W. LAMB, of Suffolk ; Col. EDWARD FOSTER, of Norfolk, and MICAH H. RUGGLES, Esq. of Bristol, be a Committee to take into consideration the state of the Public Press. The following Report was submitted and adopted.

REPORT.

Your Committee for the purpose of inquiring into the state of the Press in relation to a free inquiry on the subject of Speculative Free Masonry, having attended to the duty assigned them, respectfully submit the following Report,

The public presses are generally supposed to echo the views of their patrons, and the feelings manifested by them to give an impetus to the pens of their Editors. We are, however, convinced that Free Masonry has an ascendancy over the presses in this country unparalleled in the records of free discussion in the columns of newspapers ; which effect we ascribe to the power of the Institution, and which calls aloud on those papers that have espoused the cause of the people, to be on the alert, to spread information, and correct the mis-statements that are going the rounds from presses that have lent their aid in diverting the public mind from the contemplation of the abduction of Capt. William Morgan, and the subsequent trials of the Masonic conspirators that have lately been had in New York.

To the foregoing remarks, your Committee would add such evidence of editorial conduct, as has been presented to them. It appears that in September last, the Suffolk committee addressed a circular to fifteen Editors ; six of whom declined publishing any thing on the subject of Free Masonry ; four others admitted a degree of willingness to insert notices as advertisements, and of course, for pay as such ; five others have treated it with silent neglect. A subsequent application has been made by the same committee, to eight editors, to publish their correspondence with the Faculty of Harvard University, and the Professors of the Andover Theological Institution : but have as yet, succeeded in getting it inserted in three only ; one of them has published it in part, and another has garbled it in such a manner as to destroy its import ; another said if it was published in his paper it would ruin the establishment, as two thirds of his 1000 subscribers were Masons. Other evidence has been adduced, to prove that communications have been sent to various presses, on the Masonic subject, from another source, which have neither been published nor returned to the writer. It appears that the country presses are as much shackled as any others.

Your Committee, therefore, respectfully recommend that the patronage of the friends of free discussion, be extended to such presses as freely and boldly open their columns to the Masonic subject, now so interesting to the public and to our country.

All which is respectfully submitted.

On motion of the Hon. THOMAS KENDALL, of Suffolk,

Voted, That Rev. MOSES THATCHER, of Norfolk, Hon. THOMAS KENDALL, of Suffolk, and Gen. EPAPHRAS HOYT, Franklin, be a Committee to prepare an address to the people of this State. The Committee reported the following Address, which was accepted by the Convention.

ADDRESS.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." On these fundamental principles of civil and religious right, the people of these United States not only cast off the yoke of foreign domination, but "the whole people covenants with each citizen, and each citizen with the whole people, that all shall be governed by certain laws for the common good." We consider it therefore, the duty of every citizen to watch for the public welfare; to sound the alarm in view of public danger; and to encourage laudable measures, which may be devised for the safety and interest of the whole. Although false alarms are never to be created, and existing maladies are to be cured by the best possible remedies; yet, when public evils do exist, free men should never suffer themselves to rest until those evils are eradicated. The common cause of our common country, demands the utmost vigilance of an intelligent community. In order that this vigilance may be maintained, it is necessary that corresponding exertions be used to scatter light upon every subject which has an important political bearing. Light being diffused upon such subjects, and the attention of the people being directed to those things which are either salutary or prejudicial to the public good; it argues either a want of moral principle, or a criminal degree of apathy, not to feel interested; and those who feel deeply interested, must *act*. But men of intelligence and integrity, will act *openly, honestly, consistently, understandingly, and perseveringly*. They will not shrink from the scrutiny of their fellow citizens, nor seek to hide themselves from the public eye; and while they adopt and pursue, with a steady, undeviating course, those measures, which they deem for the general interest, they will frankly and ingenuously give the reasons of their conduct, that the public may approve or condemn, as occasion may require.

On this ground, we consider it not only the *right*, but the *obligation*, of citizens of this Commonwealth, in concert with others of our sister States, to assemble for the express purpose of investigating the nature, tendency, and political bearing of Free Masonry.

We are aware that this subject is one of great interest, and, in its own nature, exceedingly delicate; inasmuch as it relates to the opinions and practice of many, who, for talents, learning and integrity, are ranked among the first men in our country. We are, likewise, by no means insensible, that a thorough investigation of

this subject must bring us in unpleasant collision with men whom we highly regard for their moral worth, and with many to whom we are bound by the strongest ties of social and relative friendship. We would, therefore, have it distinctly understood, that we have neither collision nor controversy with Masons as *men*, but only with men as *Masons*.

While however, we are willing to concede to Masons, as *men*, all that is just, honorable, virtuous and praiseworthy, on their part; we are *not* willing to admit, that *all* the talents, and *all* the learning, and *all* the moral worth, of our common country, are the perquisite of the masonic fraternity. We are not willing to admit that they "are *the* people," and that "wisdom will die with them." However highly we may respect Masons as *men*; we cannot concede, that aprons, sashes, jewels, mitres, secret rites and obligations, or princely titles, can *justly* secure to them prerogatives of honor, profit and trust; or that they are more deserving of public confidence, than any other class of citizens. We cannot stand afar off, and "exceedingly fear and quake," because of the "awful mystery," which, for a century past, has hung over this institution; nor can the venerable locks of some of its members, its pretended claims to sanctity and "holiness to the Lord," nor even the sword of the "tyler," awe us into silence; or hinder our drawing near to scrutinize the foundation, materials, and "cap-stone" of this mystical building.

These things premised, the Delegates from several Counties in this Commonwealth, convened for the purpose of investigating the principles of Speculative Masonry, now beg leave to place before their constituents, and fellow citizens in general, certain reasons, why they consider the masonic Institution as dangerous to our civil and religious liberties.

The first reason which we would offer, relative to this subject, and which demands our serious consideration, is this:

THE MASONIC FRATERNITY HAVE ERECTED FOR THEMSELVES A DISTINCT, AND INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT, WITHIN THE JURISDICTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

It cannot be denied, that *any* community, arrogating to itself the right of punishing offenders, not recognized by the laws of the land; and, especially, holding in its own power, the lives of its members; must, so far, be considered as claiming independence, and refusing, in these respects, to hold itself amenable to any higher authority. But, that the masonic fraternity have done this, and still persist in their claim to independence, has been made to appear by the most satisfactory evidence. The testimony of their own members has abundantly shown, that they have instituted a code of laws, not subject to the supervision of any civil power; and this code is *sanguinary*. The code of laws in this institution, consists in the several "oaths or obligations" of its several degrees, to every one of which a penalty is annexed; and that penalty is *death*. Every Free Mason, in every degree by which he may advance, is made to swear, that he will for ever conceal the secret

rites and principles of the institution; his acting himself "under no less penalty," than to die a most horrid and barbarous death, if he should ever knowingly or wilfully violate any essential part of his obligation. In order to have a fair view of the barbarous and sanguinary nature of this code, it may not be improper to recapitulate the penalties of the first seven degrees. The Entered Apprentice 'binds himself under no less penalty than' to have his throat cut across, his tongue torn out by the roots, and his body buried in the rough sands of the sea.' The penalty of the Fellow Craft, is, 'to have his left breast torn open, and his heart and vitals taken from thence, to be thrown over his left shoulder, and carried into the valley of Jehoshaphat.' The Master Mason swears under the penalty of having his body severed in two, his bowels burnt to ashes, and the ashes scattered to the four winds of heaven.' The candidate for the fourth degree, 'binds himself under no less penalty, then to have his right ear smote off, and his right hand chopped off as the penalty of an imposter.' The Past Master swears under the penalty of having his "tongue split from tip to root." The Most Excellent Master binds himself under the penalty of having his "breast torn open, and his heart and vitals taken from thence, and exposed to rot on the dung hill." The Royal Arch Mason imprecates the penalty of having his "skull smote off, and his brains exposed to the scorching rays of the sun."

Such, fellow citizens, are the sanguinary penalties, by which the Masonic code is sanctioned, up to the seventh degree. Those of the higher degrees, are of the same nature, except, that if possible, they increase in barbarism.

Now it is vain for Masons any longer to deny, that these are the penalties by which the laws of their institution are enforced; because those obligations have already become the subject of judicial record, as developed, under oath, in courts of justice.

It is equally vain for them to pretend, that these penalties have received only a *passive* signification. The obligations speak for themselves. No person can read them, with an unprejudiced mind, without receiving the strong, immediate and horrid impression, that they were intended to be put in execution. Some of us, likewise, know, from our own observation, that these obligations have been uniformly administered in lodges and chapters, and suffered to stand, as *literally expressed*, without note or comment. The candidate is made to bind himself "under no less penalty," then to suffer thus and so, if he "should prove *wilfully guilty* of violating any part of his obligation. But what is a penalty? Johnson says, it is a "*punishment*;" "*judicial infliction*," "*forfeiture upon non performance*." It is a contradiction in terms, then, to say, that a *penalty* is merely *passive*. The delinquent also, in the terms expressed, is supposed to prove "*wilfully guilty*" of violating some part of his obligation; which could not be the case, if the secrets of Masonry were extorted from him by persecution. The very terms therefore, "*wilfully guilty*," as expressed in the oath, are a fair exposition of the penalty, and show at once, that

it was intended to be put in execution, in case of delinquency. The candidate also, is made to swear, that he "will obey all regular signs, summonses, or tokens, given, handed, sent, or thrown," to him, from a brother, or companion of the same degree, or from "the body of a lawfully constituted Lodge" or "Chapter of such." This part of the oath too, is left without note or comment. The candidate is to "obey *all* regular signs, summonses, or tokens," whether to be tried and condemned himself, or to try and execute a brother, who may have violated his Masonic engagements. This precisely accords with the charge given to the Fellow Craft, as expressed in Webb's Monitor: "our laws and regulations you are strenuously to support; and be always ready to assist in seeing them duly executed."

But, if we had any doubt respecting the design, nature and tendency, of Masonic laws; we have a fair and direct exposition in the higher degrees. The "Thrice Illustrious Knights" is sworn in the following words: "You further swear, that should you know another violate any essential part of this obligation, you will use your most decided endeavours, by the blessing of God, to bring such person to the strictest and most condign punishment, agreeably to the rules and usages of our ancient fraternity." The Elected Knight of Nine swears, that he "will revenge the assassination of our worthy Master, Hiram Abiff, not only on the murderers, but also on all, who may betray the secrets of this degree." He also consents, in case of his own delinquency, "to be struck with the dreadful poniard of vengeance." The "Illustrious Elector of Fifteen binds himself under the penalty of having his "body opened perpendicularly and horizontally, and exposed to the air for eight hours, that the flies may pray on the entrails;" and swears "to be ready to inflict the same penalty on all who may disclose the secrets of this degree." The Knight of the East and West binds himself "under the penalty of not only being dishonored, but to consider his life as the immediate forfeiture, and that to be taken from him with all the tortures and pains to be inflicted in manner as he had consented to in his preceding degrees." The "Knight of the Eagle, and Sovereign Prince of Rose Croix De Heroden," is shown a symbolic representation of Hell, and then addressed in the following language: "The horrors which, you have just now seen, are but a faint representation of those you shall suffer, if you break through our laws, or infringe the obligation you have taken." To the Knight of the Eagle or Sun, is explained the following emblem: "By the man you saw peeping, and who was discovered, seized, and conducted to death, is an emblem of those who came to be initiated into our secret mysteries through a motive of curiosity, and, if so indiscreet as to divulge our obligations, we are bound to cause their death, and take vengeance on the treason, by the destruction of the traitor." In accordance with this sentiment, the Knight of Kadosh swears "to take revenge on the traitors of Masonry," and to yield submission and obedience, on

all occasions, without any restrictions, to the orders of the Illustrious Knights and Grand Commander."

Now, if we can attach any meaning whatever to Masonic language, or understand the genius of any human government; we must have the irresistible conviction, that the Masonic Fraternity have intended to assume the power of life and death over their own members. If so, they must be considered as establishing an independent government, within the jurisdiction of the United States. If they are governed by the spirit and letter of their legal code, they must assume the right to punish with DEATH, independently of any other power, references which are neither known nor recognized by the law of the land. This sentiment corresponds with language used by the Grand Lodge, in the State of New York; and the same diction, with little variation, is used by the Grand Lodge of this Commonwealth. "Every Grand Lodge," says this first mentioned body, "has an inherent power and authority, to make local ordinances and new regulations, as well as to amend and explain the old, for their own particular benefit, and the good of Masonry in general, provided always, that the ancient landmarks are preserved, and that such regulations be duly prepared in writing for the consideration of the members. This has never been disputed; for the members of every Grand Lodge are the true representatives of the Fraternity in communication; and are an *absolute* and *independent* body, with *legislative* authority—provided as aforesaid, that the Grand Masonic constitution be never violated, nor any of the old landmarks removed."

"Here," in the language of one who has written on this subject, "without any reference to the government of the United States, or to any other government, every Grand Lodge claims to be an 'absolute and independent body, with legislative authority and inherent power' to make what laws they please for their own particular benefit and for the good of Masonry, (not for the good of mankind) in general."

Masonic language and Masonic legislation, then, assume as high prerogatives, and as independent authority, as any government on earth; and will cope with the spirit and diction of the United Colonies, when they declared themselves "free and independent States." But, the good judgment of every intelligent citizen must teach him, that it can be neither for the *interest* nor the *safety* of this republic, to have an *independent* and increasing power, springing up within our own territories; making laws for itself; assuming the prerogative to punish with *death*, or otherwise, offences of its own creating; and holding itself amenable to no legislature or executive in the United States. It is on this very principle, that the Executive of the United States has refused to protect some of our Indian tribe. But if the Indians, in a *small local territory*, are not to be countenanced in "creating an independent government;" how can it be consistent to connive at the *existence* and *growth* of a power which has defied "*the world in arms*," in the very heart of our country, and whose members are scattered over the whole land?

Another evil of which we complain, relative to the Masonic Institution, is, *its unlimited and unrestricted funds.*

Our legislatures, in framing the charters of corporate bodies, have wisely provided, that the funds of such bodies shall be devoted to specific objects, and shall never exceed a certain amount. They have done this, on the principle, that unlimited and unrestricted funds, in the hands of any class of people, are always dangerous. *Wealth is power.* It is of vast importance therefore, that funds, in the hands of corporate bodies, be limited and restricted by civil law. Otherwise they may, at the control of ambitious and unprincipled men, prove a most powerful engine against the state, or be devoted to purposes subversive of the public good. But, to what limitation or restriction are the funds of the Masonic Fraternity subjected? or what support do they lend to civil government? The members of this society may accumulate hundreds of thousands, in secret, subjected to no tax, and responsible to no civil power. Who knows also, the *real*, secret object, for which those funds are created? They *may* be created for purposes of *Masonic charity*; and they *may* be created and managed *to the subversion of every civil government on earth.*

It is no less obvious to us, that the Masonic Institution practises the *foulest imposition.* It *professes*, indeed, to be an Institution of *science, charity, and moral virtue.* But, examining the first principles of the Institution, as they have been developed in hundreds of instances, we cannot but be surprized and shocked, at the gross fraud and extortion which it has practised upon our young men.— It would be easy to adduce examples in demonstration of this truth; but as the secret rites of Free Masonry have all been laid before the public, we would urge every citizen to examine for himself.

The *immorality* of Free Masonry, is another thing, to which we would invite the attention of the public. Every man of principle, intelligence and reflection, must admit, that the stability of our government, and the security of our rights and privileges, must, in a great measure, depend upon the prevalence of *sound morality.* But, we cannot think, that the secret rites and obligations of Free Masonry, are, in any degree, calculated to enforce the principles of moral virtue. On the contrary, we have the strongest conviction, that they tend to harden the heart, stupify the conscience, and to eradicate every degree of moral sensibility. The frequency and barbarous language, with which *oaths are administered*, in this Institution, and the inhuman penalties, with which they are sanctioned, must naturally lead moral beings to trifle with the oath of God, imposed by civil authority. The indecent and ridiculous ceremonies of initiation, intermingled with prayer and reading the Scriptures, must tend directly to turn sacred things into contempt. The awful familiarity with which the name, titles, attributes, and word, of the Deity, are used, as “pass words;” the profane and farcical representation of “the burning bush,” the ark of God, the pot of manna, and the rod of AARON; we think can amount to nothing less than blasphemy. In short, all the ceremonies and appendages of the

Masonic Institution, from the first to the forty-third degree, we consider directly calculated, and most artfully contrived, to lead on, step by step, into *blank Atheism*. We fear not to appeal to any unprejudiced minds who will examine these degrees, as they have been disclosed by BERNARD and others; and to affirm, without the least apprehension of being contradicted, that the whole system is directly calculated to overturn every religion, and every civil government on earth. This object is fully disclosed by the "Knight Adept of the Eagle or Sun." After explaining Masonic symbols, in the preceding degrees, as secretly, though *really*, levelled against the first principles of every existing religion and government, the "Grand Master, or Thrice Puissant," addresses the candidate in the following words: "Behold my dear brother, what you must fight against and destroy, before you can come to the knowledge of the true good and sovereign happiness! Behold this monster which you must conquer—a serpent which we detest as an idol that is adored by the idiot and vulgar under the name of *religion*."

In looking at the principles of Free Masonry, we are constrained to believe, that it *subverts the administration of justice*. This is the natural tendency of Masonic oaths; as will appear from the following extracts. To aid a brother, and keep his secrets, the Master Mason binds himself explicitly. "Furthermore, do I promise and swear, that I will not give the grand hailing sign of distress, except I am in real distress, or for the benefit of the craft, when at work; and should I ever see that sign given, or the word accompanying it, and the person who gave it appearing to be in distress, I will fly to his relief at the risk of my life, should there be a greater probability of saving his life than of losing my own." "Furthermore, do I promise and swear, that a Master Mason's secrets, given to me in charge as such, and I knowing them to be such, shall remain as secure and inviolable in my breast as in his own, when communicated to me, murder and treason excepted; and they left to my own election." Now who would expect, that a Master Mason, feeling himself bound by his Masonic oath, would disclose "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," when called to testify against a brother in a court of justice, especially when he saw from that brother "the grand hailing sign of distress?" But, let us hear the Royal Arch Mason. "Furthermore, do I promise and swear, that I will aid and assist a companion Royal Arch Mason, when engaged in any difficulty; and espouse his cause, so far as to extricate him from the same, if in my power, whether he be right or wrong. Furthermore do I promise and swear, that a Companion Royal Arch Mason's secrets, given me in charge as such, and I knowing them to be such, shall remain as secure and inviolable in my breast as in his own, murder and treason *not excepted*;" or, as it is administered in some Chapters, "*in all cases without exception*." We now ask any citizen, who is not a Mason, if, engaged in litigation with one of the Fraternity, he is willing his cause should be submitted to a jury, bound under no less penalty, than to have each his "skull smote off" that they will aid and assist their

"companion, when engaged in *any difficulty*, and espouse his cause, so far as to extricate him from the same, *whether he be right or wrong?*" If the jurors have any regard to the Masonic oath, will they not feel bound to render a verdict in favor of their brother or companion, whether just or unjust? This is no more than a fair and literal expression of the Royal Arch obligation; and we have the testimony of men, who have been familiar with Masonic usages, and whose integrity has long been established in view of the public, that the cause of justice has been thwarted repeatedly through the influence of Masonic oaths.

Free Masonry tends to defeat the design of the civil law, and to paralyze the arm of justice in the punishment of crime.

Free Masons are not only sworn to keep their brother's secrets, and to defend and espouse his cause, whether right or wrong, but to warn him of approaching danger, and, if possible, effect his escape. The force of such obligations, regarded by the brotherhood, must afford a broad covering for the blackest crimes, and lay the foundation for many a villain to elude the stroke of justice. In demonstration of this fact, we appeal to the MORGAN conspiracy.—The success and facility, with which many, engaged in that barbarous transaction, have insulted and set at defiance the majesty of the civil law, afford melaucholy proof, that Masonic obligations are but too well observed. It affords an affecting illustration of those unhallowed words to keep a companion's secrets, in all cases whatsoever, and to espouse his cause, and grant him aid "*in any difficulty* so far as to extricate him from the same, whether he be right or wrong." It cannot be denied, nor ought to be concealed, that whole Lodges, Chapters and Encampments, and even the Grand Lodge and Grand Chapter, of one of the States, have been prompt to relieve their criminal brethren and companions in distress; and have not hesitated to bestow of their funds, to thwart the exertions, and paralyze the effects of the civil power. Even those Free Masons, who have been convicted of the foulest crimes against the laws of their country, have had their prisons turned to palaces, their hearts cheered with every desirable luxury, and are still owned by the fraternity, as trusty companions and worthy brothers. It is indeed, mockery, and adding insult to injury, for any to pretend, in the face of these "*stubborn facts*," that Free Masons do not mean to shield one another from the arm of the civil law.

It is an alarming consideration *that the public press has been so much under the control of Masonic Influence.* A free press may be considered the very bulwark of our civil and religious liberties. Who are our sentinels and watchmen, but those who manage the public press? But our editors, with a few honorable exceptions, relative to this subject, have been, as it appears to us, unreasonably reserved. Bating a few, who have been continually chaunting the praises of Free Masonry, and pouring forth abuse and Billingsgate on all who dare oppose; and here and there a champion for the truth, who had the temerity, in opposition to Masonic threats and Masonic corruption, to sound the alarm, and tell aloud the tale of

wo, which had yet scarce been *whispered* to the western zephyr; almost the whole corps seemed to be mute with astonishment. Masonic bribery had almost effectually poisoned all our streams of public information. No one could know the truth; no one could tell what to believe. Were it not for the Anti Masonic presses, which have sprung up, almost simultaneously, like here and there a star to "glitter upon the mantle of night;" our political horizon would still have been left in worse than Egyptian darkness. But from the demonstration we have had of Masonic control over the public press, a free people have reason to be jealous, and take the alarm. If the fountains of intelligence must either be stopped, or corrupted, by a powerful, secret combination, we may as well barter away our birth-right for a mess of pottage, or sell our liberties at auction, like the Roman empire, dispoiled of its strength, opulence and glory.

We cannot but learn, with serious apprehensions for our dearest rights, *the artful and insidious measures, with which Free Masons have been thrust into offices of power and trust.* In looking at these offices, in places where, perhaps, one eighth of the freeholders are Masons, we shall find more than seven eighths of the officers in possession of the brotherhood. Where, fellow citizens, will you find a public key, of any considerable importance, that is not in the hands of a Mason? Where will you find an important public office, of any considerable lucrative encouragement, that is not filled by a Mason? We are sure, that the disparity in official appointments, as divided between Free Masons and other classes of our fellow citizens, is so great, that it could not have been the result of accident. Who ever will examine this part of the subject, will find that facts speak for themselves, and that their testimony is irresistible.

Now, although we would not deny to Free Masons, as *men*, in common with others, any right, prerogative or perquisite, of civil community, to which talents and integrity may justly entitle them; yet we are constrained to consider any secret or clandestine measures, which they take to thrust their own members into office, as altogether a usurpation; and such an one as is directly calculated to subvert the very first principles of our confederate Republic.

We do not feel ourselves at liberty to conclude this document, without urging our fellow citizens to reflect upon the awful *imprecations* of Free Masonry. These are so numerous, that we could not give a full view of their horrid and blasphemous import, without transcribing a very considerable part of every Masonic "obligation." We will select, as an example only the following, from one of the Knight's degrees. In receiving his libation from a *human skull*, the candidate swears, "May this libation appear as a witness against me, both here and hereafter,—and as the sins of the world were laid upon the head of the Saviour, so may all the sins committed by the person whose skull this was, be heaped upon my head, in addition to my own, should I ever knowingly or wilfully

violate or transgress any obligation that I have heretofore taken, take at this time, or shall, at any future period, take in relation to any degree of Masonry, or order of Knighthood." Upon such imprecations as these, let every citizen make his own comment.

We also feel it our duty, though with great reluctance, to advert to the *malignant and persecuting spirit*, inculcated in some of the first principles of Free Masonry, and which has been too faithfully carried into effect against all those, who have had the temerity to transgress her secret and mysterious laws. Take, as an example, an extract from an obligation administered to the Thrice Illustrious Knight of the Red Cross. "You further swear, that should you know another to violate any essential point of this obligation, you will use your most decided endeavours, by the blessing of God, to bring such person to the strictest and most condign punishment, agreeably to the rules and usages of our most ancient fraternity; and this by pointing him out to the world as an unworthy vagabond; by opposing his interest, by deranging his business, by transferring his character after him wherever he may go, and exposing him to the contempt of the whole fraternity and the world, but of our illustrious order more especially, during his whole natural life." Here too, let our fellow citizens judge, whether such a spirit as this, enforced by a *sanguinary law*, becomes a "handmaid of religion," or of an institution professing to inculcate the first principles of "charity," "universal philanthropy," and sound "morality." As it respects ourselves, we are fully satisfied, that such obligations as the above, will account for the scandal and reproach, which, without discrimination have been heaped upon all those who have burst the bonds of the Masonic Institution, and borne testimony against its secret principles of iniquity.

There are several other topics, relative to this subject, which we think deserve the serious consideration of our fellow citizens; but this protracted address must come to a close, and leave much unsaid, which we could wish to have discussed. We cannot, however, sum up what we have already suggested, and what we might still desire to lay before the citizens of this Commonwealth, in more appropriate language, than that of the Le Roy Convention, in their Anti Masonic Declaration of Independence.

"That it (the Masonic Institution) is opposed to the genius and design of this government, the spirit and precepts of our holy religion, and the welfare of society generally, will appear from the following considerations:

"It exercises jurisdiction over the persons and lives of citizens of the republic.

"It arrogates to itself the right of punishing its members for offences unknown to the laws of this or any other nation.

"It requires the concealment of crime, and protects the guilty from punishment.

"It encourages the commission of crime, by affording to the guilty facilities of escape.

"It affords opportunities for the corrupt and designing to form plans against government, and the lives and characters of individuals.

"It assumes titles and dignities incompatible with a republican form of government, and enjoins an obedience to them derogatory to republican principles.

"It destroys all principles of equality, by bestowing favors on its own members, to the exclusion of others equally meritorious and deserving.

"It creates odious aristocracies by its obligations to support the interests of its members, in preference to others of equal qualifications.

"It blasphemes the name, and attempts a personification of the Great Jehovah.

"It prostitutes the Sacred Scriptures to unholy purposes, to subserve its own secular and trifling concerns.

"It weakens the sanctions of morality and religion, by the multiplication of profane oaths, and an immoral familiarity with religious forms and ceremonies.

"It destroys a veneration for religion and religious ordinances, by the profane use of religious forms.

"It substitutes the self righteousness and ceremonies of Masonry for the vital religion and ordinances of the Gospel.

"It promotes habits of idleness and intemperance, by its members neglecting their business to attend its meetings and drink its libations.

"It accumulates funds at the expense of indigent persons, and to the distress of their families, too often to be dissipated in rioting and pleasure, and its senseless ceremonies and exhibitions.

"It contracts the sympathies of the human heart for all the unfortunate, by confining its charities to its own members; and promotes the interests of a few at the expense of the many.

"An institution thus fraught with so many and great evils, is dangerous to our government and the safety of our citizens, and is unfit to exist among a free people: We, therefore, believing it a duty we owe to God, our country, and to posterity, resolve to expose its mystery, wickedness and tendency, to public view—and we exhort all citizens, who have a love of country and a veneration for its laws, a spirit of our holy religion, and a regard for the welfare of mankind, to aid us in the cause which we have espoused."

All of which is respectfully submitted.

MOSES THATCHER,

Per Order.

The above Report was unanimously accepted.

On motion of ASAPH CHURCHILL, Esq.

Voted, That Messrs. CHURCHILL, of Norfolk; ODIORNE, of Suffolk; ADAMS, of Middlesex; REED, of Essex; WHITE, of Franklin; SPRAGUE, of Plymouth; BURBANK, of Worcester, and RUSSELL, of Bristol, be a Committee to draft Resolutions, expressive of the sense of this Convention on the subject of Speculative Free Masonry. The following were reported and adopted by the Convention.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That all Societies should be open and amenable to the public, and that the existence of any Association whose objects, principles and measures are secret and concealed, is hostile to the spirit of our free Institutions.

Resolved, That the disclosures of Free Masonry made by Wm. Morgan, by the Le Roy Convention, and by Elder Bernard and others, show the system to be selfish, revengeful and impious, and its oaths to be dangerous to our private rights and our public interests.

Resolved, That there is evidence before this Convention that *Royal Arch* Free Masons, impelled by a sense of their Masonic obligations, have robbed their country of the services of a free citizen, that the Institution retains within its bosom the men who have done this violence, and that the Grand Lodge of New York has contributed of its funds to pay the expenses of the same, and that Chapters and subordinate Lodges have also appropriated liberally of their goods to support the perpetrators of *kidnapping* and *alleged murder*.

Resolved, That the system is one and indivisible, whether consisting of three degrees or fifty, that it is erected on the same foundation, constructed in the same form, inhabited by the same spirit, and governed by the same laws; that the acts of exalted Free Masons, and of Lodges and Chapters in one State, are the responsible acts of the whole system in the United States, and that it is proper to make Free Masonry answer for the conduct of its constituted authorities wherever they are situated.

Resolved, That in view of the premises we respectfully request the Grand Fraternities of Free Masons in the State of Massachusetts, to *disfellowship* the Grand Lodge, the Grand Chapter, and the Grand Encampment of the State of New York which hold in their Masonic embrace the perpetrators of the violence upon William Morgan, and either to deny the truth of the above named disclosures, or to renounce the system, and the oaths of Free Masonry which have been palmed upon the honest Free Masons of the present generation as the favorite work of the wise king Solomon, and of their tutelar, St. John.

Resolved, That the Anti-Masonic State Committee be directed to furnish each one of the Grand Officers of the Grand Lodge, and the

Grand Chapter, and the Grand Encampment, and the Grand Council of the Free Masons in this State with a copy of these Resolutions, particularly urging this our earnest request, and that when this Convention adjourns, it be to some day convenient to receive their answer, in the hope that the wisdom of their reply will relieve the public mind of any anxiety respecting the Institution of Speculative Free Masonry.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention the oaths imposed by Free Masonry are in a very high degree profane, and entirely destitute of any moral obligation, or legal binding force.

Resolved, On the Report of the Committee appointed to inquire how far Free Masonry and French Illuminism are connected,

That *there is evidence* of an intimate connexion between the higher orders of Free Masonry and French Illuminism.

On motion of Dr. ABNER PHELPS,

Voted, That Messrs. PHELPS, of Suffolk; GASSETT, of do. and CONGDON, of Bristol, be a committee to take into consideration the subject of a National Convention to be holden at Philadelphia, on the 11th September next. Who subsequently reported the following Resolve:

Resolved, That we highly approve of the proposition for a National Convention to be holden at Philadelphia, on the 11th of September next for the purposes recommended by the Patriots of the great State of New York, and that this Commonwealth ought to be fully represented in said Convention.

A Committee of one from each County subsequently nominated the following Gentlemen who were unanimously chosen to attend the National Convention, viz :

HENRY GASSETT, Esq.	} of Suffolk.
DR. ABNER PHELPS,	
AMASA WALKER,	
DR. ABRAHAM R. THOMPSON,	of Middlesex.
STEPHEN OLIVER, Esq. of Essex.	
Col. PLINY MERRICK,	} of Worcester.
Hon. BEZALEEL TAFT, Jr.	
Gen. EPAPHRUS HOYT, of Franklin.	
Rev. MOSES THATCHER,	} of Norfolk.
JOSEPH MORTON, Esq.	
NATHAN LAZELL, Jr. Esq. of Plymouth.	
MICAH H. RUGGLES, Esq. of Bristol.	

Voted, That the remaining Delegates be chosen hereafter in the Counties not represented in this Convention, and that the State Committee have power to fill all vacancies that may occur.

On motion of Gen. EPHRAIM HOYT,

Voted, That MESSRS. OLIVER, of Essex; CONEDON, of Bristol; LAZELL, of Plymouth; PETERS, of Worcester; WILLIAMS, of Franklin, THACHER, of Norfolk, and ADAMS, of Middlesex, be a Committee to take into consideration the expediency of organizing State, County, Town and District Committees, who subsequently made the following

REPORT.

That as the great object of this Convention is to spread information before the people on the subject of Free Masonry, it is obvious that assistance must be employed in various parts of this Commonwealth. They, therefore, respectfully recommend, that the gentlemen composing the *Suffolk Committee*, be appointed a *State Committee*, for the purpose of diffusing such information, holding such correspondence, publishing such documents and papers, and otherwise attending to all the objects of this Convention, as they may think proper.

Further, they recommend, that a *County Committee* be appointed in each County, (where they are not already chosen,) in such manner as the people in those Counties shall determine. And that it be the duty of each Anti-masonic County Committee in this Commonwealth to correspond with the State Committee, and Ward or Town Committees, within their respective Counties; collect and diffuse information on the subject of Free Masonry; call meetings and otherwise attend to the objects of this Convention as they may think proper; and also, that each Committee, appointed under this organization, fill their own vacancies; and when any member, or members of either State, County, Ward, Town or District Committee, shall be present at the meeting of either of the above named Committees, he or they shall be considered members of the same, and act accordingly.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

The above Report was unanimously accepted.

On motion of Mr. WALKER, of Suffolk,

Voted, That A. W. PAINE, Esq. of Suffolk, HENRY HOBART, Esq. of Worcester, and NATHAN PRATT, Esq. of do. be a Committee to take into consideration the Laws of this State, in relation to extra judicial oaths.

This Committee subsequently presented a very elaborate and interesting Report, in which was embodied a large mass of highly important information, but its great length prevents its insertion in this abstract of the proceedings. The Report was referred to the State Committee.

On motion of WILLIAM MARSTON, Esq.

Voted, That Messrs. MARSTON, of Suffolk, ALLEN, of Essex, BURBANK, of Worcester, ALLEN, of Plymouth, MORGRIDGE, of Bristol, ALLEN, of Norfolk, and WILLIAMS, of Franklin, be a Committee to ascertain the number of Lodges, Chapters, Encampments and Councils of Free Masons in this Commonwealth, and the number of Officers, Civil, Religious and Military, which are held by Free Masons.

The Report of this Committee was accepted, as follows :

REPORT.

Your Committee chosen to ascertain the number of Lodges, Chapters, Encampments and Councils of Free Masons in this Commonwealth, and the number of members of each, and what number of officers, civil, religious and military, are held by Free Masons : beg leave to report, that they feel the responsibility of this arduous, and important duty ; that all the Counties are not represented in this Convention ; therefore your Committee must of necessity go beyond the Counties here represented to ascertain the whole. That it requires more time than is allowed them at the present session of this Convention, they therefore respectfully ask the privilege of making their final report at the adjourned meeting of this Convention.

IN CONVENTION, JAN. 1, 1830.

The following Vote of Thanks was passed by the Convention, DOCTOR ABNER PHELPS, First Vice President, in the Chair.

On motion of Rev. Mr. SANBORN, of Middlesex,

Voted, That the *thanks* of this Convention be presented to PLINY MERRICK, Esq. for the important information which he has frankly communicated relative to the interesting subject of Free Masonry, and also for the able, dignified and impartial manner in which he has presided over its deliberations during the session.

After which, the President resumed the Chair, and made an appropriate reply.

On motion of Mr. THATCHER, of Norfolk,

Voted, That the thanks of the Convention be presented to the Vice Presidents and Secretaries for their important services in this body.

On motion of Mr. WHITNEY, Jr. of Suffolk,

Voted, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to HENRY DANA WARD, Esq. for his generous, patriotic and valuable services on this occasion.

On motion of Dr. THOMPSON, of Middlesex,

Voted, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to all the SECEDING MASONS present, for the important information and aid received from them, by this Convention.

On motion of Col. BURBANK, of Worcester,

Voted, That the thanks of this Convention, be presented to the SUFFOLK COMMITTEE, for their faithful, indefatigable and patriotic services in the great cause of Anti Masonry and civil liberty.

On motion of Mr. THAYER, of Suffolk,

Voted, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to the several ANTI MASONIC COUNTY COMMITTEES for their faithful and devoted services in the cause in which we are engaged.

On motion of Deacon W. CHEEVER, of Worcester,

Voted, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to the Honorable the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Boston, for the use of Faneuil Hall, during its sitting, and that the Secretary be requested to communicate this resolution to the Honorable Board.

The Committee on Adjournment, made the following Report, which was accepted.

The Committee to whom was referred the consideration of the adjournment of this Convention to a future day have attended to that duty and respectfully suggest,

That the further consideration of this subject be referred to the State Committee chosen by this Convention—and that said Committee be authorized to notify a meeting of said Convention at such time as they may deem expedient, provided it be done prior to the first of October next, and then to be convened in Boston, and when this Convention adjourn, it adjourn accordingly.

All which is respectfully submitted,

Per Order.

Voted, That this Convention do now adjourn.

BOSTON, JANUARY 1, 1830.

APPENDIX.

CHANGES IN COMMITTEES.

A communication having been received from Doctor **BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE** Middlesex, stating that in consequence of sickness in his family he should be unable to attend during the setting of the Convention.

Voted, That **HENRY DANA WARD**, Esq. be placed on the Committee on the Antiquity of Free Masonry, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the absence of Doctor **WATERHOUSE**.

HON. THOMAS KENDALL, Suffolk, addressed a note to the President of the Convention, saying that the death of one of the members of his family, would rendered it impracticable for him to give further attendance during the session, on which it was

Voted, That **W. W. BLAKE**, Esq. of Suffolk, be appointed to supply the vacancy in the Committee, on the Address to the people.

MR. PRATT, of Shrewsbury, was excused from serving any further upon the Committee, on Extra Judicial Oaths, and **MR. WALKER**, of Boston, was chosen in his place.

DELEGATES

Chosen at the several County Meetings, to the State Convention.

[The Publishing Committee have withdrawn the names of those who have publicly declined. There were some others who did not attend, but as no notice has been received of their having declined, the Committee did not feel authorized to suppress their names. They belonged principally to Essex and Middlesex.]

SUFFOLK.

John D. Williams,
Hon. Thomas Kendall,
Hon. George Odiorne,
Hon. Jacob Hall,
Hon. Heman Lincoln,
Henry Gosssett,
Jonathan French,
Thomas Walley,
Benjamin W. Lamb,
Daniel Weld,
Ebenezer Withington,
Dr. Abner Phelps,
William W. Blake,
Benjamin V. French,
William Marston,
Joel Thayer,
Jonathan Carleton,

Ephraim Hall,
John P. Whitwell,
Jonathan Simonds,
Charles Cleveland,
Joseph Hart,
Ebenezer Clough,
Israel Ames,
Thomas Barnes,
Newell Withington,
Amasa Walker,
A. Warren Paine,
Dr. Isaac H. Appleton,
Samuel S. Miles,
Simon K. Hewins,
N. Fisher Ames,
Moses Whitney, Jr.
Dr. Isaac Porter,
Silas Pierce,

Simon G. Shipley,
 Frederick A. Sumner,
 James Cheever,
 Joseph Mariner,
 Thomas N. Kingsbury,
 Richards Child,
 Levi Bliss,
 Dr. John O. Fay,
 Jonathan P. Stearns,
 John Marsh.

PLYMOUTH.

M. Pool, Esq. of Abington,
 Capt. John Corthrell, do.
 Elijah Ames, of Marshfield,
 Samuel Curtis, do.
 Daniel Parker, Hanson.
 Capt. Seth Allen, Halifax,
 Paul Bryant, do.
 N. Luzzell, Jr. Bridgewater,
 Holmes Sprague, do.
 Dea. Ezra Forbes, do.
 M. Jenkins, Jr. E. Bridgew'r
 Jacob Bates, do.
 Wm. Loring, Esq. Duxb'ry,
 Woodsworth Chandler, do.
 Ichabod Alden, Esq. do.
 S. P. Merritt, Scituate,
 Col. Samuel Tolman, do.
 Isaiah Alden, Jr. do.
 Rev. E. Smith, Hanover,
 Horatio Cushing, Esq. do.
 Dea. S. Thompson, Mid'bo.
 A. Hingman, Esq. N. Bridg'r.
 Capt. David Ames, do.

MIDDLESEX.

Dr. B. Waterhouse, Cam.
 Hon. Timothy Fuller, do.
 Francis Bowman, do.
 Jonas Tyler, Charlestown,
 Dr. A. R. Thompson, do.
 Charles Monro, do.
 Seth Davis, Newton.
 Stephen Goodhue, Esq. do.
 N. Adams, Esq. Medford,
 Darius Wait, do.
 Nahum Hardy, Waltham,
 Dea. Eliphalet Pearson, do.
 Willard Feachum, do.
 Rev. Jared Reid, Reading,
 Rev. Peter Sanborn, do.
 Capt. Eliab Parker, do.
 Ambrose Kingman, do.
 B. Wyman, Esq. Woburn,
 Jona. Thompson, Jr. do.
 Capt. J. Steel, Stoneham,
 Capt. John H. Wright, do.
 E. Tufts, West Cambridge,
 Dea. T. Baldwin, Brighton,
 J. Cutler, South Reading,
 A. Bigelow, Jr. Esq. do.
 Burrige Yale, do.
 Thomas Skinner, do.
 Adam Hawkes, do.
 Reuben Gerry, do.
 Col. J. P. Merriam, Lex'g'n.
 Nathaniel Cutler, do.

N. Phipps, Esq. Hopkinton
 John A. Fitch, Hopkinton.
 Thomas Odiorne, Malden,
 Francis Tuttle, Acton,
 Jno. Weatherbee, do.
 R. Brown, jr. Esq. Concord,
 Hon. Nathan Brooks, do.
 E. Brooks, Esq. Lincoln,
 T. Clark, Esq. E. Sudbury,
 W. W. Bridge, Esq. do.
 John Clark, Watertown,
 Jona. Eames, Wilmington,
 John Simonds, Bedford,
 Rev. J. Coggin, Tewksb'y.

NORFOLK.

Maj. A. Stetson, Braintree,
 Jacob Allen, do.
 Nath. French, 2d. Canton,
 Pliny Brigham, Dedham,
 Jabez Boyden, do.
 Herman Mann, do.
 Col. N. Ford, Dorchester,
 Lewis Pierce, do.
 Col. Edward Foster, do.
 Dr. G. M. Peck, Foxboro'
 H. C. Fisher, Franklin,
 M. Richardson, Medfield,
 S. Sanford, Medway,
 Joseph Morton, Milton,
 Asaph Churchill, do.
 Gen. T. Taylor, Quincy,
 William Wood, do.
 Seth Mann, Randolph,
 Zenas French, Esq. do.
 A. D. Williams, Roxbury,
 Capt. J. Curtis, do.
 Francis Brinley, do.
 L. D. Hewings, Sharon,
 Col. J. Pierce, Stoughton,
 Roger Sumner, do.
 Dea. E. Hunt, Weymouth,
 Dr. Appleton Howe, do.
 F. A. Kingsbury, Esq. do.
 Col. G. Hawes, Wrentham,
 Rev. M. Thacher, do.
 Lebeus Porter, do.

ESSEX.

R. Laird, Esq. Newburyport
 Wm. S. Allen, Esq. do.
 E. W. Allen, do.
 E. S. Williams, Esq. do.
 R. Cross, Esq. Amesbury,
 Joshua Aubin, do.
 James Homer, do.
 J. Gerish, Esq. Newbury,
 Robert Brown, do.
 Col. D. Adams, do.
 John Bailey, Byfield,
 Benj. Colman, do.
 George Rogers, Gloucester,
 Amos King, Jr. Danvers,
 D. P. King, Esq. do.
 Edward Southwick, do.
 Benj. Parker, Bradford,
 John Wood, Rowley,
 John Perley, do.

S. Brecklebank, Rowley.
David Saunders, do.
Wm. Mundy, Topsfield,
Frederick Perley, do.
Jacob Towne, Esq. do.
Thos. Mansfield, Saugus,
Joseph Dampney, do.
Jonathan Buffum, Lynn,
Stephen Oliver, do.
W. B. Breed, Esq. do.
Christ'r Bubier, do.
Charles Merritt, do.
Joseph B. Breed, do.
Joseph Breed, 3d. do.
Thomas Bowler, do.
John Alley, 3d. do.
Josiah R. Clough, do.
Nathan Breed, do.
David Taylor, Lynnfield,
John Upton, Jr. do.
Joshua Hawks, do.
Joshua Hewes, do.
Maj. J. Peabody, Boxford,
Charles Perley, do.

WORCESTER.

Col. P. Merrick, Worcester
Rev. J. Goff, Millbury,
J. Hobart, Esq. Leicester,
A. Rice, Esq. Northbridge,
L. Peters, Esq. Westboro'
Gen. F. Gregory, Royalston,
Col. G. Burbank, Worcester
Col. Z. Cary, Ward,
Dea. W. Cheever, N. Brookf.
Rev. J. Fiske, N. Braintree,
Benj. Wood, Upton,
Capt. E. Johnson, Southboro
N. Pratt, Shrewsbury.
J. Hinds, Esq. W. Boylston,
Hon. B. Taft, Jr. Uxbridge,
Col. W. Eager, Northboro

J. Lamb, Esq. Sturbridge,
E. Merriam, Esq. W. Brookf.
Rev. J. Clark, Rutland.

BRIISTOL.

M. Kempton, N. Bedford,
Chs. Morgridge, do.
Joseph Congdon, do.
Micah H. Ruggles, Troy,
David Anthony, do.
James Shearman, do.
John S. Russell, Taunton,
George Walker, Jr. do.
John Read, Jr. do.
Gideon Chase, Somerset,
Luther Lincoln, Norton,
Chs. Whitmarsh, Dighton,
B. Allen, Fair Haven,
Robert Shearman, Swansea,
Tillinghast Almy, Weymouth,
Sam'l French, Jr. Berkley,
Lemuel Morse, Rehoboth,
Abiather Thayer, Attleboro'
Row'd Greene, Mansfield,
J. C. Starkweather, Pawt'kt.
Lyman S. Claflin, Seekonk,
Earl Sampson, Freetown,
G. Robertson, Raynham.

FRANKLIN.

Gen. E. Hoyt, Deerfield,
Stephen Whitney, Esq. do.
Elijah Williams, 2d. do.
William Russell, do.
Samuel Peirce, Colerain,
Michael M'Clennan, do.
Isaac Brown, Charlemont,
Col. J. Longley, Hawley,
Joseph W. Hunt, Heath.
Ephr'm Pratt, Shutesbury,
Lewis Stone, Wendell,
Wm. Smith, New Salem,
Capt. J. White, Northfield.

ADDENDA.

☞ The Report of the Committee on the connection between FRENCH ILLUMINISM and the higher degrees of FREE MASONRY came into the hands of the Publishing Committee at a late hour, and upon reflection they deemed it expedient to insert it in this publication.

REPORT.

Your Committee, appointed to inquire how far Free Masonry and French Illuminism are connected, beg leave to report:

That, in forming a decision upon this question, they must have recourse to historical facts. And nothing shall knowingly be adduced as such, but what is substantiated with ample evidence.

We must be permitted to exhibit the *origin and nature of Illuminism*; and the evidence of its being *planted* in our *United States*! In these will be found its connexion with Free Masonry.

1. The *origin and design* of Illuminism will be given.

When the French revolution astonished the world, in 1789, we rejoiced in the thought that it was from a spark of the true spirit of liberty from America, caught across the Atlantic. But the enormities of the French revolution soon evinced, that it had an origin very different from that of the revolution in America. And in the reign of terror there, the world stood aghast, not knowing the cause. But soon it was developed. Two authors, at once, exhibited it to the world. The celebrated JOHN ROBINSON, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, and the Abbe BARRUEL, of France, two men in different kingdoms, unacquainted with each other, wrote each his volume, to unfold a most horrid system. They pursued different plans; but met, in every essential point, and gave the same original letters, documents, and watch words; and thus exhibited the best possible evidence that their developments were correct, and might be fully relied on. Dr. ROBINSON's character was at once attacked, according to the express plan of Illuminism, to destroy his testimony. This occasioned an inquiry into his character; which was ascertained to be most excellent in point of morality, stability, and excellence; and he was indeed ranked among the highest literary dignitaries of Europe and America. [See Payson's *Modern Anti-Christ*: and Smith on the *Prophecies*, 2d edition.] Some facts from the contents of these volumes will now be concisely given.

The French Philosopher, VOLTAIRE, about the middle of the last century, formed a plot to destroy the Christian Religion. He was wont to say, "I am weary of hearing people repeat, that twelve men established Christianity: I will prove, that one may suffice to overthrow it!" And to this object he vowed to dedicate his life. To one, who said to him, you will never overthrow Christianity; he replied, "that is what we shall see."

To effect this task, he adopted the *mask of philosophy*. This he put forth as the only "*governess of life*." Under it, he waged war with revealed Religion. VOLTAIRE now associated with himself a number of French philosophers, who had as great enmity as himself against our revealed Religion; also the celebrated FREDERICK, of Prussia; with seven other crowned heads of Europe, of whom he was heard to boast *by name*; and besides, six or seven princes, and princesses. Here were the first champions of the plot, which was formed with a most profound depth of intrigue, and of concealment.—The leaders all received fictitious names; and also transacted their business in a language newly invented for the purpose. Their operations commenced: and their successes, in corrupt Catholic regions, were astonishing even to themselves. And they soon began to boast among themselves of the power of secret societies; and of the facility, with which the world may be bound with invisible hands! Among their watch words, were the following: "Hurl the javelin; but conceal the hand!" "Crush the wretch," meaning the Lord JESUS CHRIST! "Strike deep; but hide the hand that gives the blow."

The destruction of the Christian Religion, was the first object of this conspiracy. But its managers were led to associate with it the subversion of all legitimate civil government; and all moral restraints upon the lusts and passions of man.

The plot for this two-fold object, received its finishing touch from the celebrated infidel, ADAM WEIßHAUPT, Professor of canon laws, in the University of Ingolstadt, in Germany. This horrid scheme he perfected under the name of *Illuminism*, or *System of Light*. This was framed into a system of higher degrees of Masonry; and Speculative Masonry it now took into its grasp, as a most fit cover for its occult operations. But its real designs were, with the greatest possible caution, concealed from the view of Masons in the first degrees of their order. They were permitted to learn only, that Masonry was a far more noble institution than they had ever conceived; ascending to higher and higher degrees: till it reached a wonderful height of perfection and bliss.

A candidate, marked for their prey, would have his attention arrested by some hint, (dropped in his hearing by some man of good appearance, but seeming to be accidental,) of the great power and benefit of secret societies! That *there* were such societies under the direction of the greatest and best of men, who were going to reform the world, and render it happy. Where the bait was found to be taking, the candidate soon found himself conducted to the avenue of this system of light and glory. He was here, of course, laid under the most binding obligations of infallible secrecy; and of obedience to unknown leaders. And he was thence led on, through rising degrees, by some of the adepts, whose real object was, to form a full acquaintance with him; and to erase from his mind all impressions of religion and morality, which might be there found. He was hence to be prepared for higher degrees of their infidel cast. To these higher degrees he was admitted, as soon as it was found he might receive them without alarm; and his admission was with the most imposing formalities. But where his pliancy for infidelity was doubtful, the doubtful candidate received his "*sta bene*," and was carried no higher. Those who proceeded onward, were trained in a school of infidelity, and inured to cruelty and blood, by *rites* and *fables*, the most appropriate for the purpose.

Their highest secret, (which in the French revolution was thrown open without disguise) was, "There is no God!" "Death is an eternal sleep!" Their sentiments now came forth to the light, amply stored with such sentences as the following: "All ideas of justice and injustice, of virtue and vice, and of glory and infamy, are purely arbitrary." "The man that is above law, can commit without remorse the act that may serve his purpose." "The fear of the Lord is so far from being the beginning of wisdom, that it is the beginning of folly." "Modesty is only an invention of refined voluptuousness." "The God of the Jews and of Christians is but a chimera, a phantom. JESUS CHRIST is an impostor."

The practical maxims of this system, were such as follows: "Extend and multiply the children of light, till force and numbers shall throw power into

your hands; then hesitate no longer, but begin to render yourselves formidable." "Nations must be brought back by whatever means: peaceably, if it may be: if not, then by force. All subordination must be made to vanish from the earth!" In this system, the words "*reason*," "*toleration*," "*humanity*," were used as a *quietus*, till they could call to arms.

The ranks of Illuminism were thus swelled; and hundreds of thousands became fully prepared to rise in arms, to carry their designs into effect, and the world was presented with a nation of *armed atheists*! The horrors of the French revolution burst forth like a river of burning lava.

When honest Masons, of the lower degrees, (who had not gone up to the higher secrets of infidelity and anarchy, and had not known their designs,) learned the use thus made of their Masonic order, they closed their temple, and fled! One addressed his Masonic associates, of the lower degrees, thus: "Brethren, and companions; give free vent to your sorrow! The days of innocent equality are gone by. However holy our mysteries may have been, the Lodges are now profaned and sullied. Let your tears flow. Attired in your mourning robes, attend, and let us seal up the gates of our temples; for the profane have found means to penetrate into them. They have turned them into retreats for their impiety, and dens of conspirators. Within the sacred walls they have planned their horrid deeds, and the ruin of nations. Let us weep over our legions, whom they have seduced. Lodges that may serve as hiding places for conspirators, must for ever remain shut, both to us and to every good citizen." Professor ROBINSON himself had been a Mason. But, on discovering the fact, that Illuminism had been planted by its side, and had been perfecting its horrid designs under its *cover*, he renounced it for ever; and advised all his masonic brethren, *in the world*, to do the same.

We thus learn the words of honest European Masons, relative to the connexion between Masons, and Illuminism. That Masonry had actually been adopted as a most fit vehicle of Illuminism; while yet this was designed to be most cautiously concealed from Masons in the lower degrees.

2. This thing may further appear, when we consider that Illuminism has been planted in our United States. Illuminism was not designed for amusement; but to bind the *world* with invisible hands; and to bring back the *nations* from their Christian religion, and legitimate governments. Would such a field as America then, be overlooked by the Illuminees? Sooner would it have a tenfold proportion of their efforts! Every consideration, every important circumstance testifies to this. And both ROBINSON and BARRUEL testify to the fact. Upon the list of their societies given by the former, several are mentioned as existing in America before the year 1786. BARRUEL, mentions a lodge of this order in Portsmouth, Virginia; and two lodges as having descended from it. President DWIGHT, hence wrote, in 1793, "Illuminism exists in this country; and the impious mockery of the sacramental supper, described by ROBINSON, is acted here." Again he thus wrote; "under these circumstances were founded the societies of Illuminism. They spread of course with a rapidity, which nothing but fact could have induced a sober mind to believe. Before the year 1786, they were established in great numbers throughout Germany, in Sweden, Madrid, Poland, Austria, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, England, Scotland, and *America*. In all these places was taught the grand weeping principle of corruption, that the goodness of the end sanctifies the means." GIRTANNER, in his *Memoirs on the French Revolution*, says, "The active members of the propagandists were (in 1791) 50,000. Their funds were then thirty millions of livres. They are extended over the face of the world, having for their object the promotion of revolutions, and the doctrines of Atheism. And it is a maxim in their code that it is better to defer their attempts fifty years, than to fail of success through too much precipitancy."

First-rate Masons in our land did, many years ago, acknowledge that Illuminism was planted here. A grand chaplain, by the name of ERNST, of the royal Arch Masons of New York, (28 years ago) warned his brethren thus: "The deep designs of modern Masons, called the Illuminati, who have inundated Europe, and are fast gaining ground in America, have clearly demonstrated the abuse untied Masonic Lodges have met with, and how they, when

not presided over and guarded by men of genuine Masonic principles, can be overthrown, revolutionized, and moulded at pleasure!" Grand Master Masons have repeatedly given similar warning. A principle officer of the order wrote to President Dwight, thus: "The Lodge, to which you allude, was considered by me as under the modern term of Masonry, (Illuminism.) Its members (in 1791) were mostly French." To the same he again wrote thus: "That you had good reason to suspect the designs of that French Lodge, I have no reason, nor ever had, to doubt."

The late Rev. Dr. MORSE, many years ago in a printed sermon, assured the public of an official communication from the Illuminated Lodge Wisdom, of Portsmouth, Virginia, to the Illuminated Lodge Union. The letter was intercepted. In it were the names of their officers, and the number of their adepts; being then 100, mostly French. In this letter, it appeared that there were thousands of such Lodges of Illuminism in the world; and many in this western world. That this Lodge Wisdom, was a descendant of the Grand Orient of Paris—that the Lodge Union addressed was the fourteenth in these regions. The letter contained emblems of death and carnage. It had this motto, "Men believe their eyes further than their ears. The way by precept is long; but short and efficacious by examples." A hint seems here to be given, of the design of their *Masonic emblems and fables*: being a practical teaching of infidelity.

A member of that Lodge Wisdom was heard to boast, (while the French revolution was well thought of in America,) that he belonged to a Lodge in Germany, in which that revolution was planned!

Various other direct evidences might be here adduced from writings, credible declarations, and facts from more than twenty years; but those printed must suffice.

It is needless for your committee here to remark, that *modern events* in our land, and the high degrees of American Masonry, *now published and well known*, afford a full demonstration that Illuminism has indeed been planted, and has taken deep root in the United States.

As in Europe, Illuminism was most secretly planted by the side of Speculative Masonry, and led (in a way unknown to Masons in the first degrees) to gross infidelity and licentiousness; so it has been in our nation.

Your Committee then, are of opinion that a distinction should be made between Masonry, and Masons in the lower degrees. That, while we utterly condemn the former, as having been found capable, both in Europe and America, of becoming a cover of Illuminism; as in its nature tending to infidelity;—as containing anti-republican and dangerous partialities among citizens!—and as resting on shocking and barbarous oaths and penalties, which ought never to be considered as possessing any *moral binding force*; we ought to feel a tender concern for many of our fellow citizens, in the lower degrees of Masonry, who have been led to unite in their present connexion, with no designs of promoting the horrid objects of Illuminism. That we should, with open hearts and arms, invite and urge them to follow the examples of the many, who have renounced all connexion with a system so alarming, and so immensely wicked and dangerous.

All which is respectfully submitted.

ETHAN SMITH, *Chairman of the Committee.*

8.

MASONRY
PROVED TO BE A
WORK OF DARKNESS,
REPUGNANT TO THE
CHRISTIAN RELIGION;
AND
INIMICAL TO A
REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT.

—
BY
LEBBEUS ARMSTRONG,
LATE PASTOR OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NORTHAMPTON AND
EDINBURGH, IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

—
DELIVERED IN
Philadelphia, New York, Newark, and other places, September 1830.

—
PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

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New York :

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.

—
1830.

NEWARK, *September 28, 1830.*

DEAR SIR,—

A number of individuals who had the opportunity of hearing your discourse last evening, delivered in the meeting-house of the Second Presbyterian Church in this place, on the subject of Speculative Freemasonry, have expressed a desire that the same be published; in furtherance of the wish so expressed, we are of opinion that it will subserve the cause of correct principles, to give publicity to the same, by having the above stated discourse printed,—we therefore request that you will furnish the manuscript for publication.

Respectfully yours,

JAMES VANDERPOOL,
JOHN ALLING,
P. S. PLATT,
ELLISON CONGER,
LUTHER GOBLE,
EDWARD JONES.

REV. LEBBEUS ARMSTRONG.

NEW YORK, *October 5, 1830.*

To Messrs. James Vanderpool, John Alling, P. S. Platt, Ellison Conger, Luther Goble, and Edward Jones.

GENTLEMEN,—In conformity to the above desire, with deference to the opinion expressed, and, especially in view of the reason which you have been pleased to assign in support of that opinion, I cheerfully comply with your request, and do hereby transmit a copy of the manuscript of my discourse, above alluded to, for publication.

I am respectfully,

Your most obedient servant,

LEBBEUS ARMSTRONG.

DISCOURSE.

EPHESIANS V. 11.

Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them, for it is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret.

THE works of darkness comprise all that belongs to the system of moral evil. Opposition to God, and holiness, characterizes their nature; the love and practice of them constitute the guilt, and lead to the destruction of mankind. Satan, the first great enemy of God, introduced them into this world, and it is by his special instigation and agency that they still prevail.

Every period of the world has been marked with some peculiar enormity, designed to dishonour God, and to ruin the souls of men. Before the flood, the wickedness of man was great in the earth. Subsequently, idolatry led mankind almost universally, to the violation of the first commandment of that great law of inspiration, "Thou shalt have no other Gods before me." Hence, the ancients worshipped their Apis and Crocodile, Baal and Moloch, Jupiter and Venus, and a host of inferior deities.

At the commencement of the Christian Era, the world was overspread with Paganism, and the various modes of heathen worship constituted the principal religion of mankind. Greece had long been the seat of philosophical literature, and the Eleusinian festivals were the most splendid and popular of all the heathen ceremonies. These were periodically celebrated by the Athenians, in honour of Ceres, the goddess of agriculture, and her daughter Proserpine, who, according to the fabulous legends of heathen mythology, was stolen by Pluto from the plains of Sicily, and was transported to the infernal regions, where she became queen of the world of darkness. To prepare for the Grand Festivals was the principal object of the schools of philosophy, and the public celebrations were scenes of the most abominable wickedness. We are informed in the history of the ancients, that there were secrets belonging to this heathen festival which were "so superstitiously observed, that if any one ever revealed them, it was supposed he called divine vengeance on his head, and the wretch was put to an ignominious death."

Such abominations were practised in the apostolic age, and to them the holy apostle, doubtless, had allusion, when he exhorted the Ephesian Christians to "Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them;" and to enforce his admonition, added, "For it is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret."

This apostolic admonition is of universal application, and mankind at this period, as well as in ages past, and especially all professing Christians, are bound to renounce the works of darkness which prevail in the world, of whatsoever kind they may be.

Among the various stratagems of Satan in opposition to God and holiness, and for the purpose of destroying the souls of men, the institution of Speculative Freemasonry holds a pre-eminent rank. Whatever may have been the circumstances of its origin, and the modes of its primary existence, the following are undeniable facts: That the claims of Freemasonry are very extensive; that the long boasted secrets of its nature are divulged to the world; and that the exposure has proved it to be a work of darkness. As long as Masonry could be kept concealed, the world was unable, successfully, either to dispute its claims, or to oppose its interest.

So deep laid, and strongly fortified by its own internal powers of concealment, was the institution of Freemasonry, that no earthly opponent could enervate its influence, derogate from its professed importance, nor impede the progress of its usurpation. During the years of its prosperity, it passed in the world as a boasted Mystery of Wonders, unsuspected of possessing means to control the energies of civil, military, and ecclesiastical governments; unsuspected of possessing power to take the lives of its members privately for the slightest offence; and unsuspected of being adequate to the work of forging chains to bind a nation in the tyranny of Masonic Despotism.

But the light of TRUTH has been permitted to shine into the dark recess, and discover to the world the enormity of the Masonic institution. The diabolical enchantment is broken. The mask of disguise which concealed the turpitude of its nature, has been rent asunder; and the fact is notorious, that Freemasonry has fallen before the TRUTH, like the Philistines' Dagon before the Ark of the God of Israel. Like the fallen idol, its head and hands are broken off and dashed to atoms. Like those of Judas, its bowels are gushed out; and instead of being the mystical wonder of the world, it has become the contempt of an enlightened public; an object of the special abhorrence of many of its once deluded votaries who have renounced it; and every class of community may possess the means of information, become acquainted with its nature and tendency, and judge for themselves whether it is good or bad.

From the revelation which is made of its principles, it is now proposed to prove that the institution of Freemasonry is a work of darkness, and that its adherents are bound by the authority of heaven to renounce it.

I. The institution of Freemasonry is a work of darkness, because

IT GROSSLY PERVERTS THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

Many of the names of masonic signs, and pass-words, and tokens, and professed history of degrees, are taken from the sacred writings, and hence the doctrine is palmed upon the world that Masonry is founded on the word of God. Boaz and Jachin, Shibboleth and Tubal Cain, Joppa, Markwell, Rabboni, Jah, Jehovah, and many other masonic terms are taken from the Bible, and candidates for masonic degrees are instructed to believe that masonry is hence of divine origin, and that its professed sublime principles are in accordance with divine inspiration.

That such premises and conclusion constitute a gross perversion of scripture, must be obvious to every person of serious reflection. By this rule scripture terms and phrases might be selected, and so managed as to support the doctrine of systematic infidelity, with all its complicated auxiliaries of falsehood, deception, libertinism, and epicurean revelry, in connexion with the unrestrained gratification of every vile propensity of fallen nature. To this use of scripture Satan resorted when he tempted our Saviour in the wilderness. And it would be no less preposterous to conclude, that Satan's principles, and doctrine, and motives were pure, and founded on the word of God, because he quoted a mutilated passage of scripture to prove that there would be no danger of falling to the rocks below, if Jesus should cast himself headlong from the pinnacle of the temple in Jerusalem, than, to conclude, that because masonic terms are taken from the bible, therefore, masonry is of divine origin.

Freemasonry perverts the holy scriptures by introducing masonic traditions, and interpolations, to supply pretended deficiencies of the bible. Of this description is the lamentable masonic tragedy of the assassination of Hiram the widow's son. It is well known to the public that every candidate for the Master Mason's Degree, is made to personify Hiram, the ingenious artificer who assisted in building king Solomon's temple. And because the scriptures are silent respecting the circumstances of his death, masonic tradition undertakes to supply this pretended deficiency of the bible, with a description of the doleful tragedy which constitutes a portion of the sworn secrets of the masonic institution. The amount of the story is, that Hiram was assaulted by three Fellowcraft Masons, who demanded of him the Master's Word, on pretence of a journey to some foreign land in quest of masonic

employment. But being refused the word which they demanded, each gave Hiram a blow, the last of which deprived him of life, and the body was concealed in an obscure place under ground. To detect the perpetrators, king Solomon, it is said, laid an embargo on all ships sailing from the various ports of his kingdom to prevent their escape, and by vigilant search the assassins were detected, brought to justice by suffering the penalty of their masonic obligation as an example to deter others from a violation of masonic rules; and the body of Hiram, when found, was taken from the place of its concealment, and masonically interred under the *sanctum sanctorum* of the Temple.

Every candidate for the Master Mason's Degree is taught this lesson of masonic tradition in a manner, the recollection of which is truly sickening, and must forever be disgusting to every pious mind. After the obligation is taken by which the candidate is masonically sworn to keep secret, forever, every point of the degree, a Farce is introduced, in which the candidate is made to represent and personify Hiram in the various scenes of his pretended assassination, concealment, and subsequent masonic interment. Thus, he is hoodwinked and led round the professed "*Sanctum Sanctorum*," (the name of every lodge-room) for the proof of his fidelity. A masonic prayer is made for his success, and a portion of the scriptures read, to prepare his mind for the awful scene of falling a victim to the vengeance of aspiring disappointed villains. Unsuspecting any danger, the candidate is violently seized, and demanded to give the Master's Word on peril of death in case of refusal. Of this word, the candidate himself, is yet ignorant. His conductor pleads in vain for a postponement, until the word can be masonically obtained. The pretended assailant, (who is an officer of the lodge,) affects to be in a rage, and gives the candidate a blow with a masonic implement. Passing onward a little farther, the candidate is again assaulted by another wretch, who makes the same demand, and on refusal, gives him another blow. But the mortal wound is reserved for the assassin called Jubelum, who in a rage for the same cause as above, gives the blind candidate a blow on the head with a small leather mallet stuffed with wool, at which instant he is twitched backward into a sheet, wrapped up, and dragged into a corner of the room, thus personifying the death and burial of Hiram !!!

Who can describe the feelings of a person in this horrible situation, submitting to the degrading and wicked farce of personifying a dead body in the grave, until the scene is acted in the lodge-room of detecting the assassins, and in continuation of the farce, executing the penalty of their masonic obligations as the just reward of their crimes?

After this, the candidate is made to represent Hiram, in the removal of his dead body from the place of concealment by the assassins, to the place of deposit under the *Sanctum Sanctorum* of the temple. The place of its concealment is said to have been discovered by a sprig of cassia on a new made grave; to represent which, each mason casts a sprig of evergreen into the grave of a brother, in the ceremony of masonic funerals. A number of entered apprentice masons are commissioned to remove the dead body. They repair to the place; i. e. go to the candidate wrapped in his sheet personifying the dead. One of them takes hold of his hand, pulls a little, and lets the hand slip off. Returning to the East end of the room, they report to the Master of the Lodge, that such is the putrid state of the body, the entered apprentice grip, (Boaz,) will not raise him. A select number of Fellowcraft masons are next sent, and after the same unsuccessful manner, they return and report, that in consequence of the putrid state of the body, the Fellowcraft grip, (Jachin,) will not raise him. The Master of the Lodge, representing king Solomon, then goes himself, with a number of Master Masons, and by the grip of the "*lion's paw*," (a grasp round the wrist,) the candidate is raised upon his feet, and instructed to understand that when Hiram was raised from the grave, the first word spoken by the Master was, "There is marrow in the bone." From this is derived the Master's Word, "*Mah-hah-bone*," as a substitute for the word which was professedly lost at the death of Hiram. This word is never to be given but on the Five points of masonic fellowship: i. e. foot to foot, knee to knee,

breast to breast, hand to back, and mouth to ear, in which position the putrid Hiram of a candidate receives the Master's Word in a whisper from the Worshipful Master, all which ceremonies are illustrated in the following points of the oath on the Master's degree: "I promise and swear that I will never give the Master Mason's Word, but on the Five points of Fellowship, and then not above my breath." Foot to foot—"I swear that I will go on a Master Mason's errand the length of my cable tow, when required, though barefoot." Knee to knee—"I promise and swear that I will never forget to pray for a Master Mason when on my knees." Breast to breast—"I promise and swear that a Master Mason's secrets shall remain as secure in my breast as in his own." Hand to back—"I promise and swear that I will support and promote a Master Mason's interest if in my power." And mouth to ear—"I swear that I will always apprise him of any danger to which I know him to be exposed."

Such are the five points of masonic fellowship, with their illustration; and whatever a mason communicates to his brother mason on the "*Five Points*," is considered a masonic secret, the preservation of which is inviolably secured by the oath and penalty of the degree. Such masonic tradition in relation to the death of Hiram, designed to supply the deficiency of holy writ, must be considered an unwarrantable assumption; a gross perversion of the word of God; and, consequently, a work of darkness.

Another specimen of a perversion of the Bible, is the Farce in the Royal Arch Degree, of the taking of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, the carrying away of the Jews into the captivity of Babylon, and their return to Jerusalem.

In receiving the Royal Arch Degree, three candidates are hoodwinked, and bound together with a strong rope round the body, at the distance of about four feet apart. Thus prepared, a most tremendous *hue and cry* is raised by the fraternity, "*The Chaldeans are upon us*." Cannon balls, or other round substances, are rolled over the floor of the Chapter-room, to represent the rumbling sound of the pretended chariot wheels of the enemy. Horror fills the room. The sounding of horns, the rattling of bells, imitations of martial music, the clashing of arms, the discharge of pistols, accompanied by the most hideous cries, "*The Chaldeans are upon us*," are designed to fill the candidates with terror, while they are dragged away headlong to Babylon: i. e. huddled into a small adjoining room. Here they continue in a state of captivity *seventy years*: i. e. perhaps five or ten minutes, at the expiration of which, their liberty is proclaimed by the edict of Cyrus the Persian, and a proposal is made for volunteers to return and build up the waste places of Jerusalem. The candidates volunteer under the direction of a masonic officer, styled "*PRINCIPAL SOJOURNER*," representing an old experienced Jew, and thus, in the farce, a march is set out from Babylon to Jerusalem. A rugged road is now to be travelled—ropes are stretched across their path, and stumbling-blocks, benches, billets of wood, and a variety of obstructions are put in the way of the blind candidates bound together. A row of Masons are stationed on each side of their path, with hands joined to form the arch under which they are to pass, and a team of masons are forward tugging at the rope, sufficiently strong to drag them headlong, which is often done, when all the candidates have stumbled, and are prostrate on the floor.

Arriving at Jerusalem the several vails of the temple are to be passed, at each of which they meet with opposition, and are pretendedly suspected of being spies, and enemies, until the Principal Sojourner evinces the contrary, by an imitation of the signs and tokens which Moses wrought before Pharaoh to prove his divine mission. In this part of the Farce a crooked staff with the head in the form of a serpent, is thrown upon the floor, and appears like a serpent; is taken again into the hand and proves only to be a crooked staff. The hand thrust into the bosom and taken out, pretendly, leprous, and thrust into the bosom again, and taken out fair; an imitation of water thrown upon the land and becoming blood; and other like imitations of the signs and tokens of the ancient Prophet of God, prove, at length satisfactorily to the Masters of the respective vails, and officers of the masonic

temple, that the candidates are true men; and they are admitted as masonic labourers in repairing the desolations of Jerusalem and the Temple.

All these imitations of scripture facts, exhibited in a masonic farce, together with the imitation of the vision of the burning bush, in which Jehovah is personified by a masonic officer in a chapter-room; the professed discovery of the ark of the covenant among the rubbish, containing a key of an alphabet to understand a mystical language, by which the long lost Master's word is found to be God, professedly expressed in three different languages, forming the Royal Arch Word, Jah-Buh-Lun; together with the fooleries of raising a living arch by three times three in the name of God, and in a manner highly profane and impious, all which are palmed on masonic candidates as traditions of the order founded on the authority of divine revelation, can be viewed in no other light, if truth is our guide, than a shameless and wicked perversion of the holy scriptures, and adds to the list of testimony to prove that Freemasonry is a work of darkness.

In the Mark Master's degree, the representation of a stone in the form of the key-stone of an arch, adorned with a mystic circular inscription of the initials "H. T. W. S. S. T. K. S." is presented by the candidate to masonic inspectors as a specimen of workmanship, and on account of its irregular form, is condemned as useless, and cast among the rubbish. Masonic tradition states, that such was the fact in condemning and casting away a refuse stone at the building of king Solomon's temple. In the Royal Arch degree, the candidates are represented as finding this long condemned stone among the rubbish, and are masonically instructed to understand that it was to this very stone the Psalmist and Apostle had reference, when the former, evidently predicted the humiliation and exaltation of the Messiah to come; and the latter, applied that prediction as having been fulfilled in the sufferings, death, and triumphant resurrection of the Lord Jesus. Here is a bold specimen of the manner in which the name of Jesus is explained away by masonic theorists. Jesus, the Lamb of God, once despised, rejected and slain by the pretended Jewish builders of the Church of God—Jesus, who humbled himself unto death, and was exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour, the head of the corner, the foundation of the Church of God, the name which angels adore, and which is precious to all the saints on earth and in heaven, finds no place in the masonic temple. The institution of Freemasonry acknowledges no human depravity which needs a Saviour's atonement, and records neither the sufferings nor triumphant glories of the Saviour of men. Like the inn of Bethlehem, which afforded no room nor accommodation for his birth, masonry, prefers the key-stone of an arch, professedly wrought in the forest of Lebanon, and inscribed with masonic initials, signifying "Hiram, Tyrian, Widow's Son, Sent, To, King, Solomon." Yes, bearers, such a masonic key-stone is the masonic amount of the import of those impressive passages of holy writ, which declare that Jesus Christ, the great Redeemer, is the stone which the Jewish builders rejected, and that Jesus Christ is the foundation and chief corner stone of the Church of God. "The stone," said the pious Psalmist, in a prophetic strain, "which the builders refused, is become the headstone of the corner." And, "this is the stone," said the holy Apostle, addressing the unbelieving Jews, and applying the foregoing prediction to the crucified and risen Saviour, "this is the stone which was set at nought of you builders, which is become the head of the corner. Neither is their salvation in any other, for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved." To apply such passages to the key-stone of a masonic temple, is a perversion of scripture which affords great weight of evidence that the institution of Freemasonry belongs to the works of darkness.

II. The institution of Freemasonry is a work of darkness, because

IT MAKES PROVISION FOR THE COMMISSION AND CONCEALMENT OF CAPITAL AND OTHER CRIMES.

The provision alluded to, is comprised in masonic obligations. By the obligations of masonry, we are to understand the oaths and penalties which candidates for masonic degrees are required to take upon themselves, on receiving each and every

degree of masonry, by repeating the words after the Master, always concluding with, "So help me God, make me steadfast and faithful to perform the same." A violation of the least point of masonic obligation, subjects the perpetrator to the penalty of a barbarous death. This is evident from the express words of masonic obligations, each of which closes with a penalty, of which the following is a specimen. "Binding myself under no less penalty than to have my throat cut, my tongue torn out by the roots, my left breast torn open, and my heart and vitals taken from thence; my body severed in the midst, divided to the North and South, my bowels burned to ashes in the centre, my skull smote off." Such are some of the penalties of masonic obligations, under which every mason swears that he will never reveal any part, or parts, point or points of the secrets of Freemasonry. The following words are found in masonic obligations generally: "Binding myself under no less penalty, &c., if I should ever be guilty of so great a crime as to violate ANY PART of this my solemn oath and obligation." This proves that a mason forfeits his life by the least deviation from his masonic oath. A disclosure of the masonic secret that the name of the grip of the Entered Apprentice degree is "BOAZ;" or a disclosure of the secret that the pass-word to the next degree is "SHIBBOLETH," and the name of the grip "JACHIN;" or that the pass-word from thence to the Master's degree is "TUBAL-CAIN," and the Master's word is "MAH-RAH-BONE;" yes, hearers, the disclosure of a single point of the foregoing nonsensical secrets, would be a crime, in masonic estimation, worthy of death. If a mason wrong a brother mason out of twopence, or forget to pray for every brother mason when on his knees, or fail to attend a summoned meeting of a lodge, when it is in his power to attend, he violates his masonic obligation, and commits a crime worthy of death by masonic law. That such is the nature of masonic obligations is evident from the united testimony of Seceding Masons.

Two points are now carefully to be examined. First, to consider whether there is any proof before the public that the penalty of death has ever, in any case, been inflicted by masons on violators of masonic obligations? And, secondly, to consider whether such execution of masonic penalties, is justifiable by the laws of civilization, or whether it is to be considered a crime of murder.

The first of these points we affirm, and declare that there is proof before the public that the penalty of death has been inflicted by masons on violators of masonic obligations. William Morgan, a mason, wrote a book entitled "ILLUSTRATIONS OF MASONRY," which is proved to be a true and faithful revelation of the secrets of that institution, on its three First Degrees. For this masonic offence he was taken by masons, and forcibly transported from Batavia to Canandaigua, and from thence to fort Niagara, in the state of New York. That he is dead is evident from two existing facts. One is, that it is four years since his abduction by masons, and to this day, no one of the fraternity is found to give any account where he is, which they most assuredly would do, if he were alive, to save their institution from public impeachment.

Another circumstance that evinces the death of William Morgan is, that the body of a dead man was found on the beach of Lake Ontario, at Oak Orchard Creek, nearly a year after Morgan's abduction; and on the examination of a Coroner's inquest, in presence of hundreds of spectators, it was found to possess particular marks, which were previously sworn by his widow, and other creditable witnesses, to have been on the body of William Morgan in his life time. Much excitement existing at the time, to prevent all suspicions of imposture, a number of depositions were made in writing, subscribed and sworn to before the dead body had been seen by the deponents. In these depositions the following marks were identified for substance thus, that on the great toe of the left foot of William Morgan was a lump of considerable size and hard substance, occasioned by a sore some years previous. Another mark particularized in the deposition was, that the teeth of William Morgan were all double, that two of his teeth were missing, designating the jaw from which they had been extracted; and that the tooth joining the vacancy, on one side, was in part split off. On examination these very marks were found on that dead body, answering in all respects, the description previously given of them by the witnesses. Mrs. Morgan, the afflicted widow, in presence of a numerous

assembly, presented the identical teeth of her husband, which had been extracted, from his jaw years before, and which she had carefully preserved. The same physician who extracted them from the jaw of William Morgan in his life time, took these teeth from the hand of Mrs. Morgan, and applying them to the jaw of the dead body, found them to fit, and fill the vacuity, exactly forming a complete set of double teeth round, except the one which had been partly split off. Other marks specified in the depositions were also satisfactorily found to exist on the dead body, such as long white hairs in the ears, extreme hairiness of the body, with the height, and apparent age.

Objections arising from the improbability that a body would continue in such state of preservation so long time in water, were answered by the physicians then present, who united in testimony, that human bodies under water, and not exposed to air, might be preserved during such period, in as good, if not *better* state than the corpses before them. And although Mrs. Morgan acknowledged that the clothing on the dead body was not such as her husband had on when he went from home; yet, she hesitated not to declare under oath, that she verily believed that corpse to be the dead body of William Morgan, her husband, and so said all, or nearly all the witnesses then present. The whole assembly examined for themselves, the result of which was a general conviction that the object of examination was the dead body of William Morgan. Such, also, was the verdict of the jury of inquest, which was recorded and published under the signature of the Coroner, and with all the names of the jury inserted.

From such testimony we hesitate not to affirm, that William Morgan is dead, and that his dead body was providentially discovered on the shore of Lake Ontario, and was laid to rest in the grave. But who put him to death is the question? It is acknowledged that positive testimony has not been legally adduced, sufficient to convict any person or persons of taking his life, in a manner which would justify the execution of the penalty of the civil law against them. Four years have passed by; vigilant efforts have been made; much money has been expended; but this point has not been gained. The testimony to prove, identically, the circumstances of his last struggles, such as, the time when, the place where, the manner how, and the person or persons by whom William Morgan was put to death, together with all who were accessory to his death, depends entirely on masons. They are bound by oath, paramount, in their estimation, to that of the civil law, to keep the whole matter a secret for ever. Hence, when called to testify on the case, they have declared that they knew nothing about it, or they have obstinately refused to give testimony, and suffered the penalty of two hundred and fifty dollars fine, and from one to three months imprisonment, rather than testify the truth, and expose the enormity of masonry, as was the well known case of Erasmus Turner, Eli Bruce, and John Whitney, in the late trials at the west. But why would not these men testify on a case, the circumstances of which they well knew? Let Erasmus Turner answer for them all. "It will have a tendency to render me infamous or disgraced. It will furnish evidence against me in an indictment for murder." From their own admissions then, the proof is incontestable, that masons did put William Morgan to death. By considering masonic obligations paramount to the civil oath, and by suffering the penalty of the latter for contumacy of its authority, rather than incur the penalty of masonic law, which would cut their throat and smite off their skull, they have proved the very facts which we now positively and fearlessly affirm, that masons did put William Morgan to death, in the execution of the penalty of masonic obligation, for the violation of masonic law, and in conformity with the sworn requirements of Freemasonry. They are positive witnesses against themselves, both by their admissions, and obstinate refusal to testify on the case, that they, and all others who have equivocated or refused to testify, (and the Lord knows how many more,) were either perpetrators of the horrid deed of taking the life of William Morgan, or were accessaries to the crime.

Another instance of the execution of masonic penalty, is the death of William Miller, of Belfast, in Ireland. Samuel G. Anderton, a well known, and respectable inhabitant of Boston, whose occupation for many years has been that of a sea-

far-seeing man, and whose reputation has been publicly certified to be above the im-
peachment of slander, has declared upon his oath before John W. Quincy, a jus-
tice of the peace in the city of Boston, which deposition was made in the month of
March last, and for substance is as follows : That in the year 1809, he was made a
Mason in a lodge-room near Lyme kiln dock, in the city of Belfast, in Ireland, and
became acquainted with a mason by the name of William Miller, a miller by occu-
pation, and resident of that place. That in the year 1813, he was taken prisoner
of war on the high seas, and was transported to England, from whence, through
masonic influence, he was liberated, found means of conveyance to Ireland, and on
the morning of the 4th day of June, which was the king's birth-day, he was in
Belfast, saw, and had conversation with his friend William Miller. That Miller
then told him that "the masons had offered to make him a Knight Templar, free
of expense, and that he had been strongly urged to attend that evening, which he
had agreed to do." Mr. Anderton had agreed also to attend the same meeting.
In the evening Mr. Anderton received several degrees of masonry, among which
was the Knight Templar. Some time in the evening he was informed that there
was to be a masonic execution that night ; that a mason had violated his masonic
obligation, by saying, "*that a book entitled Jachin and Boaz was a true book,*" in
connexion with some other remarks, for which he deserved to die. Struck with
horror, Mr. Anderton wished to leave the room, but was peremptorily denied per-
mission to retire, being told, "*that is never allowed on such occasions.*" Lot was
cast to decide who should be the executioners. The lot fell on a Dane, a Swede,
and Mr. Anderton. Learning that William Miller was the person to be executed,
by the most heart rending entreaties, Mr. Anderton was excused from the masonic
duty of being an executioner of his friend. The others plead no excuse. A cap
of coarse cloth to be drawn over the head, strung with a rope in the hem, to be
drawn by the executioners round the neck, was the instrument which contained
the machinery of death for the unsuspecting victim. The hour of midnight dark-
ness arrived, the executioners took their stand near, and at the left hand of the
presiding masonic officer. All things being in readiness, Mr. Miller, mistrusting
no danger, but with expectation of receiving a degree of masonry, according to
the promise made to him, was led into the room, hood-winked, with his coat off,
and in a slow march was conducted near to the executioners. The question was
asked and repeated, agreeably to masonic custom—"Who comes there? Who
comes there?" The answer was bawled out, as the executioners seized him, "a
damned traitor who has broken his masonic obligation." As the cap of death came
over his head, he had just time to cry, "O my God! are you going to murder me?
O my wife, my children!" when his cries were stopped short by the suffocating
cord drawn round his neck, with the full strength of the undaunted executioners,
and the victim fell to the floor in the agonies of death. The executioners, bracing
their feet against his body, continued their tug at the rope with increasing violence,
"while others of the fraternity fell upon the body, cut the throat, and then his left
side and breast open, so as to show his heart;" during which horrid scene some of
the thirty-five or forty persons in the room, exhibited signs of sympathy, but the
greater part, to use Mr. Anderton's own words, "using the most profane, revenge-
ful language, with their fists clenched, grinned with horrid approbation!!!"

After the execution, they carefully conveyed the body from the lodge-room in
the third story of a building, and threw it into Lyme kiln dock, after which Mr.
Anderton left the city as soon as possible, and embarked for America in a Russian
ship. Mr. Anderton further states, that he had experienced instances of ship-
wreck, and had met the enemies of his country at the awful cannon's mouth, but
never before had those feelings which he experienced on being a witness to the
masonic execution of William Miller. Many particulars of Mr. Anderton's affi-
davit have been passed over for the sake of brevity, and the substance only of the
whole has been given.

In corroboration of the foregoing statement, a Mrs. Agnes Bell, now resident of
the city of Boston, has made oath before the same John W. Quincy, justice, tes-
tifying, for substance, as follows : "That she was born in Belfast, in Ireland, and

brought up within sight of Mr. Greenwood's house, where a tavern was kept in the lower story of the building at Lymekiln dock, over which, in the third story, was the masonic lodge-room described by Mr. Anderton. That she distinctly recollects seeing the dead body of William Miller, wet and muddy, before the hall of Mr. Greenwood, on the day after the king's birth-day, in a certain year of his life, which she particularly designates, and which exactly corresponds with the year 1813, and the 5th day of June in that year, which was the very day following the evening of the horrid execution, as testified by Mr. Anderton. And she further states, that Mrs. Miller was heard to say that her husband went to the lodge the evening before in health, and that she hoped she should live to know who murdered him. And further, that the masonic fraternity assembled on the occasion, formed one of the most numerous processions of the kind ever known in Belfast, and interred the body with masonic honours! O horrid works of darkness! Masons assembled in large procession, clad in the habiliments of mourning, professedly to lament over, and perform the masonic ceremony of "*Into thy hands, Almighty Father, we commend the soul of our loving brother,*"—and thus inter the body of a professed worthy brother, whom they had masonically executed the night before, as a perjured wretch, and a violator of masonic obligations.

In farther confirmation of the masonic execution of William Miller, as testified by Mr. Anderton, there are also several gentlemen now residing in America, who were citizens of Belfast at that time, and have recently favoured the public with certificates of their knowledge of the excitement produced in Belfast, and that region, by the murder of William Miller, under circumstances corresponding with Mr. Anderton's affidavit.

Other instances of masonic execution are before the public, and might be brought into the amount of testimony on the point before us, if it were necessary. But let it suffice to say, in general terms, that there is little, if any room, to doubt that many of the numerous murders which have polluted this, and other lands, with blood, which horrid deeds have been palmed on some innocent, or unknown persons, have been really the bloody fruits of masonic executions, while, as at Belfast, the perpetrators themselves were mingled with the crowd, perhaps distinguished by masonic badges of mourning, and heard to say, "*alas brother!*" while the blood of vengeance was crying against them from the horrid place of execution. And it is awfully to be feared, that when the light of eternity shall shine on the deeds of darkness, and every secret thing shall be brought into judgment, it will then be found, that many of the sudden deaths in the world have been the result of masonic VENGEANCE, in the execution of penalty in a lodge-room, or personal dispatch by poison, or assassination, as the ghosts of the murdered Artemas Kenedy, near Boston, the poisoned Simmons, of Albany, and a host of others, would, doubtless, testify now, were they permitted to speak.

Let it next be considered, whether the laws of civilization justify the execution of masonic penalty, or whether such execution, in the eye of civil law, constitutes the act of murder.

The former position must be denied, and the latter affirmed, for this obvious reason, that the civil law makes no provision for the private trial, private conviction, private condemnation, and secret execution of any human being, in any case, or for any offence whatever. The civil law requires that all accusations, trials, convictions, and executions, shall be public, and subject to public investigation. But the whole process, which leads to, and terminates in masonic executions, are done in secret. If masonic law is violated, the accusation and trial of the offender are performed in the secret conclave of Freemasonry, and not a witness is admitted, even on the defence, unless he belongs to the fraternity. If masonic testimony convicts the culprit, no sacrifice can atone. Death is the penalty; and VENGEANCE never can be appeased short of execution. Either the laws of masonry must be totally disregarded, or offenders against the majesty of masonic laws must be put to death in the execution of masonic penalty. And the whole process from beginning to end, must be done under cover of midnight darkness, or with the most

profound secrecy. Hence, masonic executions, being conducted in direct violation of the requirements of civil law, must be pronounced unlawful.

In masonic executions the design is to take life. The act is premeditated. And in the performance, it may safely be concluded, that there is no want of the spirit of malice aforethought, and vengeance, in operation. The conclusion, on the whole, then, must be obvious, that the civil law does not, *cannot* justify the execution of masonic penalties, but condemns it *in toto* as an act of murder. This must be evident from the very nature of the crime. What is it that constitutes murder in the judgment of civil law? It is the taking of human life unlawfully, with design, and with malice aforethought. All these concomitants are comprised in every masonic execution. The life of man is taken *unlawfully*, because done in secret; with *design*, because premeditated; and with *malice aforethought*, because done in the spirit of vengeance. Consequently, every masonic execution constitutes an act of murder. This doctrine is virtually admitted even by masons themselves. Why did not the witnesses testify what they knew, when legally required so to do, in the case of the noted abduction in the state of New York? They tell us why. They were consciously dumb, and obstinately refused to declare the truth, for fear of implicating themselves in the murder of Morgan! How often is the question asked, "Must the whole masonic fraternity be impeached, because a few miscreants, or outlaw masons have *murdered Morgan*?" The import of this masonic question is an implicit acknowledgment, that those who did *put Morgan* to death, *MURDERED* him. If so, it is equally true, that all who advised, and aided knowingly, whether directly or indirectly, were accessaries to his death, and consequently were murderers in the judgment of civil law, and in the sight of God. This settles the point, that the masonic institution stands chargeable with the blood of all the victims who have fallen sacrifices to its vengeance, in the execution of masonic penalties. Although the horrid deeds of death may have been perpetrated by a few conscience-hardened, heaven-daring masons, of high sounding titles; and unknown to thousands of lower degrees, who would shudder at the thought of being accessory to an act of murder; yet such is the nature of the masonic institution, that it makes provision for the commission of the highest crimes, and all who know this fact, and have been voluntary accessaries to any instance of masonic execution, are guilty of the blood which is charged upon the institution, whose blood-stained laws they have sworn to support, and still determine to maintain.

The institution of Freemasonry not only makes provision for the commission of crime, but also for the CONCEALMENT of all crimes perpetrated under cover of masonic secrecy.

One clause of masonic obligation is thus expressed, "I promise and swear that a Master Mason's secrets, committed to me as such, and I knowing him to be such, shall remain as inviolable in my breast as in his own, Murder and Treason excepted, and they left at my own election." In this masonic oath, provision is made to conceal Perjury, Theft, Arson, and all other crimes, with the above conditional exception. Should any crime, except murder and treason be perpetrated, and the circumstances of the act be committed as a secret, to a brother mason, that brother is bound by his masonic oath, even in the Master Mason's Degree, to keep the secret for ever, on penalty of death. But in the oath of the Royal Arch Degree, masons are bound to keep the secrets of a companion without exception. The words are, "I promise and swear, that a companion Royal Arch Mason's secrets, committed to me as such, and I knowing him to be such, shall remain as inviolable in my breast as in his own, MURDER AND TREASON NOT EXCEPTED." A modification of this oath, "to keep *all* the secrets of a companion, *WITHOUT EXCEPTION*," amounts to the same import. For, as murder and treason are conditionally excepted in a *lower* degree of masonry, the oath of a *higher* degree to keep *ALL* the secrets of a Companion *WITHOUT EXCEPTION*, amounts to the very same, as, *murder and treason not excepted*.

Such provision is made by the institution of Masonry, to conceal enormous crimes. This awful truth has been verified to the shame, confusion, and guilt of our whole country. The crime of murder has been concealed, so far as to protect

the perpetrators from the hand of justice, by an accumulated amount of perjury. And as long as masons adhere, strictly, to the obligations of their institution, murder, and treason, and every other crime which may be perpetrated by masons, and known only to such as consider the obligations of masonry sacredly binding, will continue to be concealed, let the amount of perjury, or fines, or imprisonment, be what they may. If forty masonic offenders should be executed privately; forty widows be left in charge of two hundred and forty fatherless children; and forty thousand masons were executioners, or accessories to the scenes of death, not a word of testimony could be drawn from one of them, to convict an individual of crime, so long as all concerned adhered strictly to the obligations of masonry. Subpoena the forty thousand men, put them under oath to declare the whole truth, strict adherence to their masonic obligations would induce them to remain obstinately silent on the stand, in contumacy and defiance of the power of civil law, or to testify confederately, that they knew nothing of the affair, and thus perjure themselves, to conceal the crime of murder, though each were fined two hundred and fifty dollars, amounting to ten millions, which should be drawn from the funds of Lodges, Chapters, and Encampments, to defray the expense of masonic fidelity.

The spirit of Freemasonry exerts every nerve of power to suppress the circulation of its enormities, even after their public disclosure. How carefully was the Morgan abduction, and all the abominations connected with that heaven-daring outrage, kept out of every newspaper in our country which was under masonic influence! Doubtless, the account would have been suppressed, and the public would have remained ignorant of the facts to this day, had not the independent spirit of FREE PRESSERS broke the masonic enchantment, and set the awful truth before the public. And even after the dead body of Morgan was found, indisputably identified, and laid down to rest in the grave, what, but the spirit of darkness could have invented a stratagem equal to the masonic imposture which was played off upon the public, by the claims of a Canadian pretender to that body, for the purpose of disproving the death of Morgan, and to conceal the crime which had brought him to the tomb. On any other principle than artifice to conceal masonic crime, who can account for the facts, that a Mrs. Monroe, from Canada, should journey into the state of New York, in quest of the dead body of her husband, with witnesses to prove the claim, and after finding the body which had been so clearly proved to be the dead body of William Morgan, by incontestable marks, should lay claim to the same body, and prove the claim, by the colour and texture of the clothing only; yet, to the full satisfaction of masons far and near. And on any other principle than device to conceal masonic crime, which masons are sworn to do, who can account for the bountiful masonic reward of fifty dollars, which has been publicly declared, without confutation, was given to Mrs. Monroe, by a mason at the West, with whom had been deposited a large donation from Jerusalem Chapter, in the city of New York, together with sums of money from other masonic bodies, for the relief of the western sufferers, in consequence of the Morgan abduction? All the apparent mystery which veils any part of this subject, from the most obvious light of truth, is explained in a single sentence; *the works of darkness are always employed to conceal the works of darkness.*

With this self-evident position before us, we may examine all the newspapers in our country, which are edited by the square, compass, and cabletow rule, and see how many will be found to contain an insertion of the affidavits of Samuel G. Anderton, and Agnes Bell, in relation to the murder of William Miller. Not one it is presumed; while in many of their columns may be found masonic burlesque on a well authenticated account of the perpetration of a horrid murder, evidently designing to calumniate the character of the deponents, and disprove the truth of their disclosure. After such an example, how often are masons, or their abettors, heard to speak with a *meer* on the subject of the *Belfast murder*, as though it were a mere ridiculous fabrication? But why is a subject of so much interest treated with so much contempt? Is the account of atrocious murders, in cases where masonry is not concerned, thus withheld from the public, or turned into ridicule? If Morgan and Miller had been executed privately, by Elders of Presbyte-

rian churches, for cheating their ministers out of the salary which they had promised, and the facts had afterwards been disclosed and sworn to by some of those revolting Elders who witnessed the scene, and confessed that they were under oath to keep the transaction a secret for ever, but conscience goaded them to a public disclosure, the circumstances of which were corroborated beyond a reasonable doubt; how long time would it have required to spread every item of the horrid transaction before the American public, and the world, till not a man, woman, nor child, that could read or understand, would be found ignorant of the facts? None would have been uninterested. The story would have been published in every paper; told in every house; and condemned as a deed of darkness by the whole community. But thousands of the American people are doubtless, to this very day, ignorant of the most horrid masonic murders, because they are under masonic influence, by which the publicity of such works of darkness is suppressed. Thousands are so consummately ignorant to this very day, as to believe that William Morgan is yet alive, speculating on his book of masonic illustrations; and that Mr. Anderson's account of the murder of William Miller is a mere Antimasonic story, to create public prejudice against masonry. Such ignorance is the result of masonic device, to conceal the atrocity of the institution. One important fact, however, is uncontestedly proved by the masonic power of concealment, which is, that all unsuccessful attempts to elicit testimony to prove the wicked acts which the oaths of masonry bind its votaries to keep secret, adds substantially to the list of testimony to prove that the whole masonic fabrick, from the foundation to the topstone, belongs to the works of darkness. When God shall bring all these hidden things to light, then will be known to the world of intelligent beings, the secret murders, the perjury, and all the horrid deeds of darkness which the oaths of masonry have kept concealed.

III. The institution of Freemasonry is a work of darkness, because

IT SUBVERTS JUSTICE; IS BASED ON IMPOSTURE; AND HAS BEEN RENDERED POPULAR ONLY BY SELF EXALTATION.

IT SUBVERTS JUSTICE. The mystic power by which this is done, is in conformity to the following points of masonic obligations. "I promise and swear that I will obey all signs given, handed, sent, or thrown to me by the hand of a brother mason." And, "I promise and swear that I will aid and assist a companion Royal Arch Mason, whenever I see him engaged in any difficulty, and espouse his cause so far as to extricate him from the same, if it be in my power, *whether he be right or wrong.*"

Strict adherence to these masonic oaths is capable of producing immense mischief in the subversion of justice. A masonic judge on the bench, receiving a sign from the hand of a culprit before him at the bar, is bound by his masonic oath to espouse that culprit's cause, "*right or wrong,*" and acquit him if possible. A masonic witness, seeing the same sign, is bound by his masonic oath, to favour the culprit's cause, "*right or wrong,*" and testify that he knows nothing about the affair, or obstinately refuse to give testimony, though it cost him a fine of two hundred and fifty dollars, and three months imprisonment. A masonic jurymen seeing the same sign, is masonically bound to bring in a verdict of NOT GUILTY, "*right or wrong.*" A masonic civil officer, seeing the same sign, and having charge of a brother prisoner, is bound by his masonic oath to give the culprit an opportunity to escape from justice, "*right or wrong.*" A failure in any of these instances, would be a violation of masonic obligations, and subject the offender to the execution of the penalty of death. Doubtless, in the course of human affairs, many innocent persons have been condemned; the guilty, acquitted; and the rights of the just, given to the unjust oppressor, through the influence of the mystic power of masonry to subvert justice.

THE INSTITUTION OF FREEMASONRY IS BASED ON IMPOSTURE.

Many of its most boasted claims are found to be a mere imposition on the world. It claims a divine origin, while proof is plain before us that it is a work of dark-

ness. It claims antiquity in its present form, when it is evident that its antique form, if any such form existed, was merely a compound of Jewish ceremonies, and heathen mysteries, while the history of Freemasonry clearly proves that the degrees of its present form are the result of modern invention. It claims a superior degree of the light of science; but when its science is analyzed, it is found to be merely the science of hoodwinking candidates, and teaching them the meaning of *Boaz*, and *Jachin*, *Shibboleth*, and *Mah-hah-bone*, and a variety of ceremonies too silly to occupy the time of children, and too wicked ever to be practised by christians.

Masonry claims to possess, in a high degree, the virtues of morality, such as charity, honesty, truth, and good-will to mankind. But, on investigation of its moral principles by the test of truth, it proves to be a system of gross immorality. Its *benevolence* is mere selfishness, confining fraternal charity to the fraternity only. Its *honesty* consists, merely, in being under oath not to defraud a brother mason out of twopence. Its *truth*, when put to the test, is found to be an oath on penalty of death, to *conceal the truth*, even unto perjury, for the preservation of masonic secrets, and for the concealment of masonic crimes, let the amount of fines and imprisonment be what they may. And its *good will to mankind*, is found to exist in an oath to execute secret vengeance on members of the human family, for offences of the most trifling nature.

And, as the finishing stroke and topmost point of all its superlative arrogations, masonry claims an indissoluble affinity with christianity. It professedly combines the hope of the christian, and that of the mason, to one common centre. Its aim is to inspire the belief, that heaven itself is the superlative Grand Lodge of perfection; that God is the Great Grand Master Mason of the universe; that christianity and masonry united, will prepare mankind for the eternal celebrations of the upper Grand Lodge; and that all who are thus prepared, will be honoured with the chief seats, and be entitled to wear the most precious jewels of the heavenly temple, where the never ending employment will be to labour with imperishable masonic implements, and participate the sublime refreshments of an eternal meeting in the celestial "*Sanctum Sanctorum*." Such anticipations, doubtless, have made thousands of *masonic christians*; inspired them with hope, high as the throne of God; and filled them with expectations of future happiness, as expansive as the universe, while not a mallet was lifted, nor a stroke employed, nor a step taken, nor a prayer offered, nor a desire raised to the throne of mercy, for that purity of heart, that holiness of life, and that good hope through the grace of the Saviour, which alone can secure the blessings of a glorious immortality.

But the light of truth has disclosed the secret, that the masonic claim of oneness with christianity is altogether fallacious. No system can be correct which inculcates directly contrary principles. Masonry does this by a studied union with all kinds of religion. It perfectly accords with the religion of the Pagan, who worships the Apis and Crocodile, in Egypt. It conforms to the religion of the Hindoo, who kneels before the household earthen images which are to be annually offered for sacrifice, in consecrated waters to the gods of Neptune: or him who joins in the sacrifice of human victims on the funeral pile, or expiates for sin under the wheels of the temple of Jugernaut. Masonry perfectly accords with the religion of Mahomet, and holds the Alcoran in as high veneration as the christian's bible. And it equally harmonises with the religion of the infidel, who rejects the bible as a fabrication of human invention; who denies the necessity of a Redeemer; who pours contempt on the doctrine of Christ crucified; who ridicules the christian's fears and hopes, as the chimera of fanaticism, or the vision of a deluded imagination, and prides himself in the belief that reason, unassisted by divine revelation, is the all-sufficient guide to happiness, both here and hereafter. As a proof that Freemasonry is equally partial to infidelity, as to christianity, you are presented at one view with the emblems of each order at every masonic procession in the land of Christendom. The open bible is carried in masonic processions, as an emblem of the christian's rule of life; while the square and compass, *on the open bible*, are displayed with equal pomp, as emblematical of the governing

principle of **MASSON**, the only rule of life acknowledged by the infidel. By this boasted union with various systems of religion, of directly contrary principles, Freemasonry proves itself to be antichristian, a system of imposture, totally destitute of the doctrine of salvation, devoid of a platform of correct moral principle, and fit only to be classed with the works of darkness.

THE INSTITUTION OF FREEMASONRY HAS BEEN RENDERED POPULAR ONLY BY SELF EXALTATION.

No institution has been so highly extolled as Freemasonry. Its favourite orators have exerted their highest stretch of power to proclaim its praises to the wonderig world. Ignorant of its real character, which was masked in disguise, the world could not dispute its claims, and, consequently, its pathway to honour was unobstructed. Under such circumstances, it has been the policy of the prince of darkness to raise the popularity of the institution of Freemasonry, by enlisting the great, the learned, and nobles of the earth to become members of the fraternity. While of the religion of the Lord Jesus, it has been said, "Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called:" of masonry, it has been the boast of its panegyrists, that great men, mighty men, nobles, kings of the earth, chief captains of hosts, great lords and counsellors, honourable rulers, chief judges, and magistrates, great merchants, rich men, great heroes, great philosophers, learned prelates, dignitaries, bishops, elders, and many members of christian churches, have honoured the institution of Freemasonry with their membership. This has been the triumph of the institution; the theme of its orators, and the boast of all its powers of self-exaltation.

But the period has at last arrived when the mask of masonic disguise no longer obstructs the power of perception; and the wondering world is now able to understand the manner in which all these great, and mighty, and noble, and honourable, and learned men, were made masons. Every one of those great wonders of men, who, in his kingly, or pontifical attire, appears in a masonic procession like an inhabitant of some other planet than the earth, whose tinselled and tinkling robe, with golden bells and pomegranates, and, whose apparently celestial mitre, with "*Holiness to the Lord*," written in large capitals on the forehead, attracting the gaze even of the children and servants of the streets; yes, hearers, every such great man, in order to become a great mason, has submitted to be stripped of every article of wearing apparel, to the last article of decency, and that divested of pins and sleeve-buttons; and to be invested with the additional clothing of a pair of masonic drawers, tried on with strings, reaching a little below the knees; an old slipper on one foot, and the other bare; a tight bandage round the head to cover the eyes, and constitute a poor blind candidate, in search of masonic light; and a rope, called cabletow, about ten feet long, with one end noosed round the neck. Such is the mere preparation to enter a lodge-room. How dignified must a great man, or a minister of the gospel appear, in this pitiful plight! And yet every great man, to become a mason, has been thus prepared, in a little adjoining apartment, to enter the temple of masonic science, totally ignorant of matter, and form, and oath, and ceremony, which were there to be required of him. He saw nothing. He knew nothing, for he appeared to himself like a fool. But his friendly guide announced his readiness to go forward; and after a round of ceremonies, the door of the lodge-room was opened, and he was permitted to enter. As he passed the threshold of the "*Sanctum Sanctorum*," to his sudden and great surprise, his left breast came in painful contact with the sharp point of a compass, held, and guided by a masonic officer. At the same instant he was, probably, almost shocked out of his wit, by the apparent thunder of a fraternal stamp on the floor with the foot, which every mason in the room performed with his might. After travelling awhile round the room, in darkness, he was directed to kneel on the floor, for the benefit of a prayer, which is usually a written form, without the name of Jesus in it. After further ceremonies, he was directed to kneel on his left knee, to place his left hand under the bible, and his right hand on the open book, square and compass, in which position he was required to take the oath of an entered apprentice, swearing to keep all the secrets of masonry, on penalty of death. Amidst the roar

of another fraternal stamp, the bandage from the eyes being suddenly removed, he was next brought to behold the *amazing* light of three burning candles, the almost dazzling brightness of which, he was instructed to understand represented the sun, moon, and *Worshipful* Master of a lodge. What most wonderful light! What sublime representations! Next, he was instructed to understand, that pressing his thumb nail hard upon the upper joint of the fore finger of a person with whom he shakes hands, is the grip, the sign, and the first token of a mason, and that its name is Bo-az, which name he was sworn never to reveal, on penalty of having his throat cut, and his tongue torn out by the roots. After a round of ceremonies of similar importance, to teach him the royal masonic art of keeping a secret, and bestowing *charity on worthy brother masons*, he was divested of his drawers and slipper, invested again with his own apparel, presented with a masonic apron, taught how to tie it on and wear it, and, he was masonically pronounced an **ENTERED APPRENTICE FREEMASON**.

Such is the manner in which men enter the door leading to all the honour and *greatness* to which a multitude of masonic degrees, equal in folly, and far superior in wickedness, can raise a human being. And now the world must be excused for deciding that Freemasonry has been transported into popularity by self exaltation without merit. For the light of truth has discovered, that all its accumulated greatness derived existence only from the profusion of its own praise. All its boast of wonder, has proved to be the empty sound of the trumpet of self-exaltation. This alone has rendered masonry popular in the world; and the public knowledge of this fact has tumbled the whole self exalted fabrick into the depths of degradation. It has become a proverb and a by-word, a reproach among mankind. For, among other abominations, its subversion of justice, its deceptive pretensions, and its self exalted nothingness, have engraven it on the list of the works of darkness, never to be obliterated.

LASTLY. The institution of Freemasonry is a work of darkness, because **IT BEARS DECIDED MARKS, OF BEING ONE OF THE CONFEDERATE POWERS OF INIQUITY, PREDICTED BY THE APOSTLE JOHN, ON THE ISLE OF PATMOS, WHICH WOULD COMBINE THE WORLD IN ARMS AGAINST GOD, AND BE OVERCOME AT THE BATTLE OF THE GREAT DAY JUST BEFORE THE MILLENIUM.**

In the sixteenth chapter of the Revelation, and under the representation of the pouring out of the sixth vial, St. John declares a vision thus, "And I saw three unclean spirits like frogs proceeding out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet. For they are the spirits of devils, working miracles, and going to the kings of the earth and to the whole world, to gather them together to the battle of the great day of God Almighty."

This vision, doubtless imported, that, in the latter days, there would arise a confluence of opposition to God, to the gospel of Jesus Christ, and to the interest of holiness, and that from various sources a combination of the powers of darkness would agree to form one vast and mighty phalanx to oppose, root out, destroy, and, if possible, exterminate true religion from the world.

By the "*Great day of God Almighty*," we may understand the period when there will be a signal display of omnipotence, in the total defeat of the combined powers of darkness, comprising the last dreadful conflict which will precede the dawn of millennial glory. The powers which would form this combination of opposition to holiness, and collect the world in arms against Jehovah, were represented by "three unclean spirits like frogs proceeding out of the mouths of the dragon, beast, and false prophet," and denominated "the spirits of devils working miracles."

Frogs are amphibious animals, that can live in air or in water; and it was a miraculous multiplicity of their number that once covered the whole land of Egypt, and constituted one of the dreadful plagues of that guilty nation. Probably, in allusion to that awful judgment of a whole kingdom covered with those unclean animals, St. John saw in a vision, that the world itself would be comparatively covered with an unclean host of opposition to God and holiness from three combined sources of the powers of darkness.

Let it not be considered arrogance in us, if we attempt to examine, whether any objects or events in the history of our world may be found to have existed, and to have been so combined in their efforts to unite the forces of the world in arms against God, as may answer in any measure to the inspired description of the foregoing vision of St. John, on the Isle of Patmos.

One of the unclean spirits like frogs, we are told, proceeded out of the mouth of the "FALSE PROPHET."

By the False Prophet of the Revelation may we not understand, Mahomet, the arch deceiver of the Eastern world, who commenced his career in the fore part of the seventh century, on the assumption of being the Great and only Prophet of God, superior to Jesus Christ himself.

By the "spirit like a frog," proceeding out of his mouth, may we not understand the great delusive system of Mahometanism, which was devised, and matured by Mahomet, until, by the power of the sword, a vast proportion of the Eastern world was brought into subjection to an established religion, in opposition to the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and which was calculated to bear down like the force of a mighty torrent, against every thing that would tend to favour Christianity. On this hypothesis, Mahometanism with all its false pretensions, and destructive delusions which have prevailed for more than a thousand years, deluging the Eastern nations with a flood of errors, may be considered as one of the spirits like frogs, which belong to the combination of the spirits of devils working miracles, and going to the kings of the earth, to gather the nations in battle at the great day of God.

Another of these unclean spirits like frogs, we are told, proceeded out of the mouth of the "BEAST,"

By the "*Beast*," may we not understand that power of iniquity which arose out of the sea of national commotion, about the middle of the eighth century, comprising the supreme authority of a combination of Church and State, forming a civil and ecclesiastical polity, by which the nations of Europe were brought into subjection to the power of Anti-christian despotism.

If the power of Anti-christian Despotism is the *Beast*, may we not understand, the unclean spirit like a frog proceeding out of his mouth, to signify the *exercise* of that power, lorded over the consciences of men, prostrating all civil and religious liberty at the feet of an inflexible Tyranny; trampling under foot the laws of heaven; setting at open defiance the authority of God, and wielding the sword of persecution against the followers of Jesus to drive religion from the earth. Such a drama has been acted in the world for more than a thousand years. The abomination still exists, and will continue, until it is overthrown by the power of God. Such is the nature of the unclean spirit like a frog proceeding from the mouth of the *Beast*.

But there is still one spirit more to complete the Triple confederation of Anti-christian powers against the Almighty. This is the first mentioned by the Apostle, in his vision, and proceeded out of the mouth of the Dragon. By the Dragon we may understand Satan the Prince of darkness. An unclean spirit like a frog, is represented as going out of his mouth. It is now submitted to the good sense of all who read and understand the Bible, who are acquainted with the history of nations, and the providence of God, to determine, and show, whether there is any existing object or power in the universe, that will answer the description of the unclean spirit like a frog proceeding out of the mouth of the Dragon, as destined by the Prince of darkness, to close up the ranks of the allied powers of opposition, and complete the confederation against the Almighty, if the Institution of Freemasonry is not that object. From the nature of the institution as it now appears before the world, and is confirmed by incontestible authority, it will suffer nothing by a comparison with either of the other powers of the confederation, neither in relation to extent of dominion, force of demoralizing influence on the human mind, pointed opposition to all that is spiritually and experimentally good, and power to deceive and destroy immortal souls.

From such considerations the opinion is hazarded, that the Institution of Free-

masonry is the object designated by the unclean spirit like a frog which proceeded out of the mouth of the Dragon, agreeably to the vision of the holy Apostle on the Isle of Patmos. Admitting this to be the fact, the Grand Confederation is complete, comprising Mahometanism, Anti-christian Despotism, and Freemasonry. Their number is Three, their nature is One, and their extent is equal to the inspired vision. They are three powers of iniquity. This is what constitutes their natures unclean, i. e. unholy. Their affinity consists, only, in their agreement to oppose God and holiness, to deceive mankind, and to destroy their souls. In this work of darkness their powers combine and concentrate. And thus they go unitedly to the kings of the earth and to the whole world, to gather them together to the battle of the great day. But, their combined forces will be broken, and triumphantly overcome. All opposition to the Gospel of Jesus shall be put down. The sun of millennial glory will arise, Satan will be bound, and the earth will be filled with the knowledge of God.

IMPROVEMENT.

If such is the nature of speculative Freemasonry, then all lovers of God, lovers of mankind, and well-wishers to the best interests of community, are under special obligation to renounce it, to withdraw fellowship from all who adhere to it; to reprove it by precept and example; and, by every laudable effort, endeavour to exterminate its influence from the society of mankind. Such is the admonition of an inspired Apostle. "Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them." Particularly on a review of the foregoing subject, it may be remarked,

FIRST. THAT ALL MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL OF EVERY DENOMINATION, WHO ARE MASONS, AND ALL MASONIC MEMBERS OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, ARE COLLECTIVELY AND INDIVIDUALLY BOUND BY THE AUTHORITY OF GOD'S HOLY WORD, TO RENOUNCE FELLOWSHIP WITH FREEMASONRY.

They are under no less obligation to renounce fellowship with *this work* of darkness, and to reprove it, than they are to renounce, abstain from, and reprove Adultery, Intemperance, Profanity, Sabbath-breaking, Theft, Perjury, Murder, or any other work of darkness that can be named. Adherence to the principles of an institution, combined in its efforts to maintain opposition to God, cannot consist with the maintenance of Christian character. As well may there be fellowship between light and darkness; as well may there be concord between Christ and Belial; as well may he that believeth have part with an infidel, as for a professed minister of the gospel, or any private Christian, to continue connexion and fellowship with Freemasonry, and still maintain an unblemished Christian character, and an holy walk with God.

One distinguished part of the device of the Prince of darkness, in promoting the institution of Freemasonry, has been to influence ministers of the gospel, and members of christian churches, to become members of the fraternity. Various measures have been adopted to accomplish this purpose. Ministers have been told, that the knowledge of masonry would enable them to understand their Bible better, and qualify them for more extensive usefulness to mankind. As a farther inducement, the Grand Lodge has decreed, and the decree has been published and practised in the subordinate lodges, that ministers of the gospel should be entitled to the degrees of masonry *gratis*. The devices of the adversary have so well succeeded, that no small proportion of the ministers of the gospel have become masons, and, as a matter of course, many of the members of their respective churches have followed the example of their Pastors. It would be rational to suppose that ministers, and all professors of christianity, after taking the first degree of masonry, in the degrading manner which we have before described, would be convinced that all the light they had received belonged to the works of darkness, and that they would have instantly withdrawn themselves from all fellowship with it, and humbled themselves by deep repentance before God, and unreserved confession befo

men. Some, it is believed, have done this, but others have not. Should the question be asked me, why I permitted myself to take Twenty-one degrees of masonry before I renounced it, I could only answer, that such is the indescribable power of masonic infatuation, that one step into darkness prepares for another, and onward many press, as I foolishly did, in search for light, and science, and knowledge, and wonders, till Satan, the old infernal spider, has wound the web of masonic oaths and penalties, Five, Ten, Fifteen, yea, Twenty times and upwards round them, binding them by the penalty of death, to continue all their life time, in the fellowship and practice of the works of darkness. How deplorable would have been the condition of masonic ministers, and all the masonic members of Christian churches thus entangled, had there been no method devised by which they might lawfully escape the snare of the adversary, and obey the commandments of God!

Many imbibe the idea, that this is in fact the case; that their masonic obligations are perpetually and sacredly binding; and that to renounce Freemasonry, would be a crime of perjury. But, if masonry is a work of darkness, how can men be bound by its obligations, when God commands them to renounce it? The obligations themselves belong to the work of darkness, and to repent of the sin of taking masonic oaths, and to break them instantly, is the import of the divine command, when God says, "Have no fellowship with the works of darkness." A determination to adhere to masonic obligations, is, in effect, to proclaim open war with God and heaven, to set at naught the councils of Jehovah, and pursue the road to destruction.

How perfectly absurd is the idea, that ministers of the gospel, and professors of christianity, who are entangled in the works of darkness, should be bound by oath under penalty of death, to continue in their sinful abominations during life! The amount is, We have sworn to serve Satan for ever, and the oath must be performed. What can be more preposterous? It is clearly proved that the oaths of masonry are unlawful and wicked, and that to adhere to them will lead men to destruction. It is the doctrine of common sense that unlawful oaths are not binding. If a man takes an unlawful oath, he is bound by the authority of heaven to repent of that act, to break that oath, to humble himself before God, and seek for pardon. This is Bible doctrine. This is common sense. Were the Forty men of old bound to murder St. Paul, because they had rashly sworn to do it on penalty of death, in case of failure? And would they have perjured themselves, had they repented and publicly renounced their wicked oath? Was Herod bound to take the life of John the Baptist, because he had sworn to grant the request of a giddy young female? Suppose a man should rashly swear in the morning, that he would kill his neighbour before sunset, would he be bound to keep and perform that oath? Or would it be his duty to break the oath, and repent of the wickedness of malicious swearing to perpetrate the most horrid crime? Or, suppose a man should be decoyed to take an oath of partnership with a company thus bound by an oath of confederacy, and it should turn out that they were a band of highway robbers; would this man be bound by his oath to rob mails, pick pockets, break open houses, and plunder for gain, at the risk of life and expense of blood, because he had sworn thus to do? Or would it be his duty to break the oath which bound to perform such nocturnal depredations, in violation of all laws, human and divine, and to repent, forsake, and expose the wickedness of the combination? Who can hesitate a moment in deciding each of the above cases against the binding force of oaths to commit unlawful acts? Every such oath is wicked, and ought to be broken; and such are the obligations of masonry. Every mason is, hence, sacredly bound by the authority of heaven, to renounce all his oaths of allegiance to the institution of Freemasonry, because they bind to the performance of things, unlawful in their nature, absurd and ridiculous in their observance, and destructive in their consequences.

With such contamination, the churches of our Lord Jesus Christ are polluted. Many ministers are masons, and refuse to hear the admonitions and reproof of heaven. Many of their members follow their example. Doubtless Satan triumphs in such fidelity to his cause. A minister of the gospel, who renounces masonry,

can scarcely find the door of a church open to his labours among some denominations, for the reason that there are so many adherents to masonry in the church. Many ministers who are not masons, dare not unite in the fellowship of a seceding brother, for fear of offending some of their masonic hearers and supporters. General A, Colonel B, Doctor C, Esquire D, Lawyers E and F, Merchants G and H, and other Great men down to X, Y, and Z, are masons. Every eye is upon the minister. The least word or deed that might be construed against masonry, will ensure to the Pastor, what is termed by some a "*walking paper*," i. e. some complaint must be preferred against him, and he must be dismissed (in disgrace if possible) from his congregation. Such is the influence of masonry in the church. Satan has planted his infernal standard in the centre. Many a church door is tyled with the drawn sword of masonic power. The ordinances of God are contaminated with the spirit of masonic vengeance. Many will profess to lament that it is so, and express a wish that it were otherwise. But under the banner of the works of darkness, who will dare to face the enemy, and boldly testify the truth of God! Not he, who is a mason, and holds to the binding force of its obligations; nor he who is awed to silence by masonic influence. Such watchmen will have fellowship with the works of darkness, when God commands them to renounce, be separate, reprove, and touch not the unclean thing. O when shall the sons of Levi be purified from the defiling powers of darkness! When shall the church be purged from the abominations of masonry!

SECONDLY. On a review of the foregoing subject, we remark,

THAT IT IS THE DUTY OF ALL THE MINISTERS OF RELIGION TO PREACH AGAINST THE ATROCIOUS NATURE OF THE INSTITUTION OF FREEMASONRY, WITH THE SAME PLAINNESS AND ENERGY THAT THEY ARE REQUIRED TO USE IN PREACHING AGAINST SABBATH-BREAKING, PROFANITY, INTEMPERANCE, OR ANY OTHER GROSS IMMORALITY.

One essential characteristic of God's faithful ministers in all ages of the world, has been to sound an alarm, when danger appeared; to point out, in detail, the prevailing sins of the times; and plainly warn, and admonish the people to repentance and reformation. Those, who failed to do this, forfeited the title of their commission, incurred the displeasure of God, and were held accountable for the guilt and blood of lost souls. Freemasonry, the once pretended "*Handmaid of Religion*," has proved to be in reality a work of darkness. And it may, with propriety, be termed Satan's Grand Master Piece, the very Cap of the Climax, of all his stratagems to accomplish the work of destruction. Perversion of God's holy word; a blasphemous use of his great name; a profanation of sacred and holy things; the subversion of Justice; abominable imposture, perjury, blood, and murder are found in its skirts. Can the ministers of the holy religion of Jesus be justified, then, in the practice of passing over, in total silence, the enormities of prevailing Freemasonry, which threaten destruction to all that is dear in life, hopeful in death, and blissful in eternity? Can they be justified, it is asked, on the ground of being masons themselves? Not, indeed, as long as the words "Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness" stand written in the book of God. Can they be justified in such neglect, for fear of offending some of their masonic hearers and supporters, or *their* friends? As well might they connive at Sabbath-breaking, Profanity, Drunkenness, Theft, Falsehood, Infidelity, and all other abominable wickedness, for fear of offending some of their immoral hearers and supporters, or *their* connexions. O how can the Watchmen on the walls of Zion clear their skirts from the blood of souls, while, for the love of praise, or to preserve a false peace, or for fear of losing some of their friends, and a portion of their salary, they shut their eyes and ears, and put a seal on their lips, by the plea, "We know nothing about masonry, and prudence leads us to say nothing about it; or we are members of the Institution ourselves, and will never violate its most sacred obligations!" Surely, such ministerial fidelity to the blood-stained Institution of Freemasonry, must be the result of "*DARKNESS VISIBLE*," as Milton

describes it ; yea, Darkness incomprehensible issuing from the smoke of the bottomless pit.

In view of such considerations, I feel it to be my indispensable duty, arising from a sense of my own shameful experience of the knowledge of masonry, to entreat my brethren in the holy ministry, and add to my entreaty a solemn warning, especially to those who are masons, to renounce, come out, and be separate from masonic abominations. All others, I would entreat and beseech to lift up their voice, and be not afraid, but testify publicly, and privately, against the works of darkness. If masonic members of churches will cleave to masonry, and falsely deny the enormities of its nature, exclude them from the communion of the church, that the sanctuary may be purified from the foul contamination. Yea, I would entreat, and beseech the judicatories of the church, of all denominations of Christians, to unite their wisdom, their talents, and pious efforts, to withstand, suppress, and root out this formidable enemy of righteousness, with all its combined and complicated powers of deception, until it is exterminated from our land, and banished from the world. If ministers have been instrumental in promoting its popularity, let ministers humble themselves to be more instrumental in promoting its overthrow. Though it may cost them their good name, the hatred and opposition of Satan ; the contempt and persecution of wicked men, and the VENGEANCE of masons, yet God will not fail to reward them with his promised blessing. And as a seal of the testimony which I have borne, and now bear, against the institution of Freemasonry, I do now most solemnly protest against, and totally disavow, the prevailing usage of those churches of all denominations of professing Christians, who consider it no breach of gospel rule, to hold in their connexion and fellowship the avowed adherents of an institution which belongs to the works of darkness, firmly believing it to be my duty to renounce the fellowship of all professing Christians who denominate themselves Freemasons, who knowingly and sentimentally avow the usages, and professedly hold in sacred veneration the masonic binding force and virtue of the obligations of speculative Freemasonry.

TO CONCLUDE.

**IF THE INSTITUTION OF FREEMASONRY BELONGS TO THE WORKS OF DARKNESS,
THEN OUR CIVIL INSTITUTIONS ARE IN JEOPARDY.**

The light of truth has disclosed the long concealed fact, that one of the principal objects of the institution of Freemasonry, is to secure the posts of office, the seats of honor, the ensigns of power, with all their emoluments, and thus sway the energies of civil government. To secure this march to the summit of elevation, is the clause in the oath of the Royal Arch Degree, which, it is well known, has been introduced in some lodges as a part of the *Master Mason's Obligation* : "I promise and swear that I will vote for a brother or companion mason, and promote his election to office, in preference to any other candidate of equal qualification." It is on this principle, and this only, that it can now be accounted for, that about two-thirds, if not three-fourths, of all the offices of our civil, military, and municipal departments of government have been filled with masons. Even from the responsible trust of the Presidential chair, to the most inferior town office throughout our wide spread Republic, a *majority* of masons, it is believed, still bear rule ; and masonry, (with other things designated by Agur of old,) will never say "*It is enough.*" as long as there is an office within the bounds of the nation, which is not filled with a mason.

Secret societies are always dangerous to civil government ; and none is in greater danger from their influence, than a Republican form of government. Its offices being filled by the elective franchise, public and individual

rights can be secured only by the suffrage of a free people. But the whole body politic cannot be free and independent so long as a part of the community are combined under oath of secrecy, and under circumstances to arrogate to themselves the power of confederate influence, to promote each others' elevation to office, honor, wealth, and power, in preference to members of the other part of community, who are acknowledged to possess equal qualifications. This is precisely the advantage, which Freemasons, under the mask of charity and good will to man, have exercised over the rest of community. By this advantage, it has evidently been their aim to secure the exclusive right of office, emolument, and government. And ere the Commonwealth was apprised of the imposture, or discovered omens of danger, the chains of masonic despotism were forging, and preparations fast making to bind the nation in its power. What the result would have been, had the works of darkness met with no repulse, is beyond the power of present calculation. Suppose the secret machinations of masonry had succeeded without molestation, until, by its mystic power of elevation, all the commanding officers of the military and maritime forces of our national defence, all officers of civil government, post masters, and directors of the various banking establishments had been masons; and all the financial sources of the nation had been brought within the compass of masonic grasp.

After all this preparation, suppose a plot had been formed to overthrow our dearbought Republican Government, to erect a throne in this western world, and place on it a Grand, Sublime, Royal, Ten Times Thrice Illustrious, and Absolutely Sovereign Masonic King. Suppose the "*Thirteenth day of the month Adar*" had been selected to blow the trumpet in Washington, and proclaim "GOD SAVE THE MASONIC KING," while all the members of the Grand and Subordinate Lodges, Chapters, and Encampments in the Union, having been notified by posts, to prepare themselves on the day appointed, were well harnessed, with Sword, Shield, and Buckler, and commissioned to kill, slay, and utterly destroy all who would not respond at the sound of the national trumpet, "GOD SAVE THE MASONIC KING." To defray the expense of all necessary force of arms, in securing the triumph of a Coronation, and unconditional submission to his Sovereign Masonic Majesty, suppose the grasp had been made on the vaults of the numerous Banks, and money offered in exuberance to all who would enter the field in support of the Revolution. Under such circumstances, what could have prevented the total overthrow of our national government, and the establishment of an absolute Masonic Monarchy? If the government of France was revolutionized in *three* days, might not the government of these United States have been changed to Monarchy in *one* day by the Mystic Power of Masonic Stratagem? Nothing could have prevented such a revolution, but the interposition of that Divine Providence which has broken asunder the strongly fortified enchantments of Freemasonry, and exposed its works of darkness to the world. The God of Israel has interposed. Glory be to his name; the Lord of Hosts has hitherto prevented our national ruin.

But even on the supposition that the exposures of the abominations of Freemasonry should terminate in civil war, as has been already insinuated, how many thousands of the miscreants of our land, would be found base enough, for the love of money, and rum, and war, to shoulder fire-arms, unsheath the sword, join the masons, and swear by the strength of the cable-otw, that they would conquer Anti-masonry or die?—This is no Chimera.

It is a measure that is comprised within the "*Compass, Square, and Angle*" of masonic effort. And who can calculate the result of such an outrage on the American government? The amount of the loss of blood and treasure, might be such as Vengeance itself might not be able to countervail, nor to sustain.

Our only hope is in God. Our prayer is, that under the Divine Protection, Americans, who have been taught the lesson of Freedom at the expense of the blood of their Fathers, and the widowhood of their Mothers, will still be *FREE*. The titles, and honors, and mottos of Masonry, savour hard of Royalty, Sovereignty, and Despotism. Let masonry prevail and prosper, and the deplorable results may be looked for, of a Masonic Monarchy for our form of government; a masonic established religion; a masonic church; a masonic way to a masonic heaven; and blood and massacre, and destruction to all who subscribe not to support the Monarch, who sways the energies, and rewards the services of the works of darkness.

Then might be written with tears and blood, America is fallen! The last ray of her independence is covered with despotic darkness! Her Hope is withered! Wo, Wo unfurls the banner of moral desolation over the length and breadth of the once happy land; while an unholy religion defended and nurtured by masonic VENGEANCE, shall lead millions of immortal beings from the masonic conclaves of darkness on earth, to the pit of eternal darkness below. O, my countrymen! my countrymen! beware of the enchanting, delusive adversary, and awake to secure the best interest of the nation! If Freemasonry is a work of darkness, engendering destruction to the morals, and happiness, and souls of men, and inimical to the very existence of our inestimable government, then to oppose its progress by every laudable measure, trusting in God for success, and praying for the promised brightness of his coming to destroy these works of the adversary, must be the indispensable duty of every lover of Righteousness, of Liberty, and Independence. This is the true spirit of Anti-masonry. Opposition to the masonic works of darkness, is the amount of its import. Hence, if Freemasonry is bad, Anti-masonry is good. To promote this cause, was the object of the late National Convention in Philadelphia. May God follow their deliberations with his blessing. May the measures which have been adopted, diffuse a savour of the knowledge of the evils of Freemasonry over the Republic of America, and to the remotest regions of earth. May the march of the destroyer be successfully and triumphantly opposed at every rallying point of defence, until its power and influence shall be so weakened, that there shall not even be strength enough to cry *Quarters!* And being banished to the land of oblivion, may the blessings of Freedom and Peace be guaranteed to the nation, by the suffrage of an independent people, and thus be perpetuated, without contamination, to the latest posterity.

9.

A

LETTER

TO A FRIEND

ON THE CONNEXION BETWEEN

THE NEW DOCTRINES AND THE NEW
MEASURES.

BY EDWARD D. GRIFFIN, D. D.
PRESIDENT OF WILLIAMS COLLEGE.

ALBANY:
PRINTED BY HOSFORD AND WAIT.
.....
1833.

LETTER.

Williams College, April 2, 1833.

My Dear Sir,

You ask what connexion there is between the new doctrines and new measures? It is certain that some who regard the new measures with considerable favor, have not adopted the new doctrines. It is certain also that others who have fallen in with the new doctrines as far as they understand them, do, from their natural temperament and their acquired habits of thinking, stand in doubt of the new measures. But in far the greater number of instances the doctrines and the measures go together unless separated by imperious circumstances. Among the steady habits of New-England, and in the polished precincts of our cities, it would be difficult for the doctrines to break a way for the measures; and a necessary regard for public opinion will hold men back from attempting such unpalatable innovations. But the measures have really grown out of the doctrines by fair logical deduction, and that in three ways.

1. From the power ascribed to motives. The moment you have arrived at the conclusion that nothing can touch the mind but motives, it becomes your interest to throw motives on the mind as fast and as forcibly as you can: and to carry the pressure to the greatest extent possible, you are tempted, especially if your taste is bad, to overleap propriety. What is a violation of order compared with the lodgement of the only sanctifying power among the sensibilities of the soul? That infinite advantage atones for every fault in the manner.

2. From the independent power ascribed to sinners. They are fully competent to turn themselves, and why should they not be beset by every means that can possibly work on creatures of such a constitution? No matter whether the meas-

ures are addressed to conscience or selfishness or imagination or the social affections or the animal passions; if they can only induce the man, however wicked, to consent to fall in with the motives presented in divine truth, he is forever saved. Who then will hesitate to work upon him by every means in his power? No matter what motives move that previous consent of the wicked man; the holiness lies in his subsequent submission to the truth.

3. From the language employed respecting the divisions of the mind. In these doctrines the heart and will are wrapt up under the common name of will, and the exercises of both are called volitions. By Arminian philosophers this language is used in a sense above the vulgar meaning of the terms: but in unphilosophical lips the systematic phrases are brought down to their import in common conversation. The immeasurable difficulty of moulding a depraved heart is lost in the sinking of its name, and in imagination every thing becomes as easy as it is to will. It is only for a man to will to be good and he is good. But this is altogether deceptive. The will does not control the heart. Let that worldling resolve to-day at ten o'clock that he will love God at twelve, and what will it avail? And yet this is the precise action of the will that is urged upon awakened sinners. "Resolve that you will submit before you leave the house." "Resolve that you will do it before you rise from prayer." "Promise me that you will submit by such a time, and I will pray for you." The pressure upon the stupid is different. As it is thought that the chief influence of their depravity lies in drawing away their attention from the truth, and that their attention fixed on the truth has a tendency to mould their affections, and if continued will probably prevail, they are urged to resolve and to promise to attend to the subject. The pressure of that resolution is without objection; for the will has much influence over the attention, and would perhaps steadily control it were it not for the fitfulness of memory.

The grand thing then to be done is to work up sinners to a resolution; first to a resolution to attend, and afterwards to a resolution to submit. Such a resolution persisted in will, it is thought, be effectual. Who then can hesitate to work upon sinners, by all possible means, to raise them up and to keep them raised to this saving resolution? Who will hesitate to work upon them, not merely, as believers in divine effi-

ciency do, by truths calculated to call forth *holy* affections and purposes, but by *any* truths or facts, (or falsehoods, so far as I can see,) that will induce them to *resolve*? For the resolution which causes the goodness is not good; for then a thing would be the cause of itself: and yet the resolution, however induced, can, when formed, change the heart.

If I believed that a resolution persisted in for a little season, was the almighty sanctifier, though itself unholy, I see not how I could avoid going out of the ordinary way to ransack the world for all sorts of means, good, bad, and indifferent, that could by any chance work upon the human constitution and set in motion the self-determining power. At least I should fearlessly address the selfish passions, for in them I should expect to find my most powerful auxiliaries: and any thing to make the man resolve, and hold him to his resolution. No matter how wicked that resolution is: it cannot be holy, for it is only the cause of holiness: it must be supremely selfish, for the heart is not yet transferred to God: it must be full of enmity against God, for it is not subject to his law. But no matter what it is, or by what impure motives it is raised: if I believed the doctrine, I see not how I could avoid searching the world for motives of every description that could work upon the human frame, and that could induce a bad man to form an unholy resolution to change the affections of his heart.

Thus we have found three distinct reasons which may be supposed to stimulate the advocates of these doctrines to inundate the world with motives of all possible sorts and forms, and to besiege sinners, (as fully competent to convert themselves,) with the most vehement and unyielding importunity to consent to fall in with the motives and to resolve to give their hearts to God. Under the urgency of these reasons most preachers, instead of limiting themselves to the direct pressure of divine truth upon the conscience, will be carried away into humanly invented means, to multiply motives not known to divine truth: motives, for instance, growing out of a public call to take "the anxious seats," out of a call to rise up to request public prayers, out of public meetings, or prayers with individuals, continued till a late hour of the night, out of protracted meetings too often repeated or too long continued, out of hasty admissions to the church, out of new and strange forms of speech and of prayer, out of public prayers for neighbourhoods and individuals expressly named as wicked above

others, and in some instances, out of actual disorders of various kinds. Motives of these sorts, except so far as they incidentally aid in conveying truth to the mind, are not addressed to reason, but to imagination, to the selfish and animal passions, and are fitted only to promote unseemly extravagancies and fatal delusions. The imagination and animal feelings were doubtless implanted in our nature to subserve the purposes of religion, as well as to promote the union and happiness of society : but when they assume dominion, they distort religion into the wild workings of unsanctified nature, which fatally delude the subjects, and drive many others into doubt if not into infidelity. In numerous instances, where the delusion is fed by the sacred elements, it may last till death ; in many others it dissolves, after a few months, into a spirit more wicked than the first, and perhaps into judicial blindness which seals their doom. I have seen, since these new operations began, instances of delusion enough to break the heart, and have had solemn fears that the Spirit of God may be grieved from our churches. There is immense danger in making onsets upon the passions with but sparsely scattered rays of divine truth. This danger would be revealed to all by a close study of the human constitution. Would to God that this study and this view of danger may become universal. Under the most judicious conduct of revivals, and with the most cautious modes of address, there is always danger that the supposed subjects will mistake natural feelings for spiritual affections. This is the grand besetting danger to a race whose " heart is deceitful above all things." The remedy is, the clearest possible exhibition of divine truth, with no other excitement of passion than naturally follows from the unmixed truths of the Gospel offered in their most affecting attitudes and relations. But where little truth is presented and much done by other means to move the passions, the danger of fatal delusions is incalculably increased. And if by these measures you introduce an unsanctified soul into the church, you almost ensure its eternal destruction. How few, how very few, give evidence of being converted after they join the church, though multitudes in the church give evidence of being without religion. The evils of this course are infinite. Your example may excite a thousand others to do the same, and they a million ; until the evil is cured by the boundless disasters thrown upon the eyes of all men. To pursue a course so calculated to delude immortal

beings and to bring contempt on the religion of Christ, involves a more widely extended injury and a more awful responsibility than any other. God forbid that I should speak against earnestness of address. Let the truths of heaven, in their own unmixed glory and pungency, be urged upon the conscience as though your own life was at stake, and with all the pleadings of a bended knee: but while you feel your absolute dependance on God, you will deliver your message, not with the violence of one storming a castle, but with all the humble and corrected earnestness of a servant who deeply feels the truths he delivers, whose heart is dissolved in love for dying men and the glory of God, but who realizes that he is as incompetent to raise the dead as Ezekiel was over the valley of the slain. That prophet went forth to preach exactly the preaching which God bid him. He delivered his message without the change of a word; without any discouragement from the deadness and exceeding dryness of the bones; with his eyes fixed on the heavens and his hope in God alone. And when he had finished, at the bidding of God he silently retired to prophesy to the wind, or as it would be expressed in Gospel language, to pray for the Spirit. All was ineffable desire, conscious nothingness, absolute dependance, and agonizing prayer.

I knew a man once, who, in a very large and crowded school house, when the whole assembly were dissolved by the sudden descent of the Holy Spirit, and he himself, under an overpowering sense of Gospel truth, felt as if he had always been an infidel before, seldom raised his voice the whole evening above the ordinary tone in a private room. The effect upon the audience was a crushing impression of truth without passion. When the meeting was dismissed the whole assembly stood. After a while the preacher arose and uttered a few words and sat down. The assembly still remained immoveable. They were then desired to retire. Not a person left the house. The preacher, after sitting some time, began to speak in a low voice to two or three near him. Instantly the distant members ascended the seats. When the meeting broke up many followed him home. A large portion of the assembly from that evening became anxious inquirers, and in the end hopeful converts. And yet during the evening every thing was as still as a funeral.

The converts of that day were weighed down with a deep sense of eternal truth, and were strongly marked with humility

and self-distrust; differing in these respects, I fear, from the mass who are brought forward under present measures. They were more disposed to hide themselves in a secret corner, than to make their voice to be heard on high; to retire for prayer and self-examination, than to lead in the first public meeting; to acquire the rudiments of Christian knowledge, than to turn public teachers at once.

These new measures, among their other tendencies, serve to discourage the friends of the old revivals from going forward, lest they should excite action which they disapprove and dread. In some circumstances it requires a strong desire, with some distinct encouragement that God is present, to rise above this tremendous apprehension. How far our brethren who have not gone into the doctrines, will feel warranted to hold back from the bolder measures for the sake of united action, is for them to determine. I would give up no man for mere measures. But when the doctrines and the stronger measures are united, they place men within the pale of another denomination, and leave the same space between us and them as intervenes between Presbyterians and Methodists.

I am, My Dear Sir, truly and affectionately yours.

E. D. GRIFFIN.

10.

LETTER

TO

THE REV. ANSEL D. EDDY,

OF CANANDAIGUA, N. Y.

ON THE NARRATIVE OF THE

LATE REVIVALS OF RELIGION,

IN THE

PRESBYTERY OF GENEVA.

BY EDWARD D. GRIFFIN,
PRESIDENT OF WILLIAMS COLLEGE.

Williamstown:
PRINTED BY RIDLEY BANNISTER.

.....
1882.

LETTER.

Williams College Aug. 6, 1832.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

I have received and attentively read the Narrative of the late Revivals of Religion in the Presbytery of Geneva, drawn up by a Committee of Presbytery, and founded on reports made by the different Sessions in February last. I have not before had leisure to fulfil my promise of sending you some remarks on that Narrative. It is a noble paper, and exhibits, in a most gratifying and instructive manner, the mighty power of God. That central and elevated Presbytery, we are told, was never visited with so great an influence before; an influence extending, with two exceptions, to all the congregations supplied with pastors, and producing a result, in less than a year and a half, of twenty two hundred added to the churches; and the work still in glorious progress in several congregations when the Narrative went to press the last of March.

This is enough to show that powerful revivals are not dependant on the new measures, and that it is unjust to stigmatize as enemies to revivals all who do not fall in with these measures.

It is highly gratifying to see so large and respectable a Presbytery, centrally located in the western part of New York, take so dignified a stand, with a unanimity almost unbroken; and still more to see the blessed fruits of these revivals in sixty or eighty youth studying for the Gospel ministry, and their benignant influence on the cause of temperance and sabbath schools and charitable contributions. The church in Castleton, not yet four years old, and heretofore sustained by the Home Missionary Society, gave last year more than sixty dollars for foreign missions. The church in West Dresden, organized in 1830, an equal sum for the same object. The church in Galen has three Sabbath Schools, a Tract Society, a large Temperance Society, a Bible Society which the last year supplied every destitute family in the town, and has given forty dollars for foreign missions. The church in Penn-Yan has formed "an auxiliary to almost every benevolent society in the land." The church in East Bloomfield gave the last year for different objects more than nine hundred dollars, and the church in Geneva more than forty seven hundred dollars. A society auxiliary to the A B C F M has just sprung up in the Presbytery, which has contributed at once thirty four hundred dollars. In view of these results every friend of revivals may kneel and look up and with a trickling tear thank the Author of all benevolence.

The cautious and prudent and truly evangelical

course which this Presbytery have pursued, is worthy of all praise. They have not adopted the opinion that some of those truths which Paul and Calvin and Watts and Edwards and Brainerd preached, must now be suppressed, or rarely taught, lest they should check revivals. "In all the services," says one, "a special prominence was given to the doctrines of the Gospel." "In no year," says another, "since my connexion with this church, have the distinguishing doctrines of the Gospel been so often exhibited and so much insisted on as during the last year; and the divine blessing has evidently sanctioned this course." Another says of his own congregation, "I am afraid that the sovereign efficacy of divine grace and the reason of its necessity were presented with less frequency and plainness than I now think should have been done." And yet it is testified by others that they were enforced there with great frequency and plainness. The Committee say of the whole Presbytery, "The doctrines which have held a prominent place in the preaching generally, are the plain and humbling doctrines of the orthodox faith.—These have been exhibited, not as matters of controversy or as problems, but as matters of fact and of faith.—The doctrine of divine sovereignty and divine decrees, the doctrine of election and effectual calling, of regeneration by the Holy Spirit,—have been constantly kept in view." On the other hand, one of the Presbytery tells us, "The preaching was designed to urge upon sinners the

duty and the reasonableness of immediate repentance and the renunciation of every self-justifying excuse." Another says, "The means which have been owned and blessed of God in promoting this work, have been—the exhibition of divine truth, enforcing the sinner's obligation immediately to submit to God, keeping constantly in view the necessity of the Spirit's influences, and the ability and the obligation of the sinner to yield to them and to choose without delay the Lord Jesus as his God and Saviour."

This is as it should be. Though the doctrines of sovereignty, election, and dependance may be disproportionately urged, yet I have found them, in the revivals of forty years, of great efficacy in causing the sinner to die to all hope from himself and casting him wholly upon God. His obligations to immediate repentance ought certainly to be urged with the most imperious decision; but to confine the preaching to this and neglect the other doctrines, is to turn the whole into declamation and to encourage that destructive self-dependance which it ought to be our constant labour to oppose. It is in short withholding an essential part of that body of truth which unitedly is "the sword of the Spirit."

That sword is divine truth addressed to the understanding and conscience, and not mere devices to work on the imagination and passions. As far as divine truth, in all its affecting attitudes and relations, is calculated to move the passions, let them

be moved. I would not confine myself to cold speculations for fear of moving the passions. They were made to be moved by divine truth. But mere tricks which have no other object than to move the passions, and convey no light at all, are to be avoided as producing nothing but an animal religion which will fill the Church with un sanctified members, delude millions to death, and bring forward multitudes of unqualified pastors to turn away the people from the truth. A preacher who feels authorized to address dry bones because God has commanded him, and who relies for success on nothing but the sovereign power of God, will be contented to present truth, in all its nakedness and pungency, to the understanding and conscience, and there leave it, while he retires to pray. But he who depends on no ally, — who feels that he must accomplish the work alone, — at least that motives must do the whole, — will not stop here. If sinners do not submit at once, he will go in among their passions, and seize their imagination, and work upon their animal spirits, by every art in his power, until perhaps he has driven his audience, not to Christ, but to the wildest excesses. I am glad therefore to hear that in your Presbytery, with scarcely an exception, there is no calling upon sinners to rise up in public assemblies, either to desire prayers or to proclaim their determination to submit at once. Besides the power which these measures have over the imagination and passions, (and which by management may be indefi-

nately increased,) they promote a boldness and forwardness which deform religion, give an injurious warp to the character, (especially of young females,) and greatly encourage false hopes. If more show is made and greater numbers are counted, it is no proof that more are prepared for heaven.

As might have been expected, among you have appeared few or no disorders. "All the services," says one, "have been characterized by perfect order and regularity, both as to time and manner. No public meetings have been continued after nine o'clock in the evening." "The meetings," says another, "were characterized by great stillness and solemnity." "No irregularities," says a third, "were witnessed, no crying out in public worship, no boisterous expressions of joy, no audible sighing or groaning." The Committee say of the whole Presbytery, "The religious services generally have been orderly, still, and solemn; never interrupted by loud and boisterous expressions, either of grief or joy; never rendered offensive to the ear of refinement by low allusions or coarse and vulgar expressions, nor painful to the ear of piety by an irreverent and affected familiarity with sacred things. No quaint and questionable expedients have been resorted to for the purpose of effect; no audible praying of females in promiscuous assemblies."

While passionate and disorderly revivals produce fatal delusions without number, your Presbytery have guarded with most commendable cau-

tion against false hopes. This they have done in three ways. . . First, by substituting knowledge for high excitement. . . "Many," says one, "whose hope at first was strong and sanguine, were, on being instructed in the nature and evidence of a change of heart, induced to relinquish their hope entirely, and have since given conclusive evidence that it was at first but a delusion. This course of instruction and personal examination has in all cases been previous to their presenting themselves for admission to the church." Secondly, by in-uring the subjects of the work to reserve and humility, instead of boldness and forwardness and rashness, which serve to hurry others into a passionate, showy, headlong delusion. Their exhortations, we are told, were "generally in a way of individual influence. This influence was exerted, not in the public meeting, but in the private interview. The young converts did not become exhorters, nor arrogate to themselves the prerogatives of teachers." Thirdly, by holding them off for a considerable time from a profession. Instead of urging them forward in a week, under all the excitements of the recent change, the churches have kept them back "in most cases for two or three months." I wish it had been said, for three months as a settled rule.

As a consequence of all this caution, we are told by more than one, the subjects of the work wear well.

In these matters much depends on using lan-

guage according to truth and calling things by their right names. In some places it has become common to speak of conversions with a confidence which hides the deceitfulness of the heart and assumes that every apparent change is real. They say, Such a man was converted on such a day ; so many were converted at such a meeting. In this Narrative a more cautious language for the most part is used. I wish it had been uniform. In a still more important respect your language is highly exemplary. With you there are no *anxious meetings* or *anxious rooms* or *anxious seats*. This is not a point of mere grammatical criticism ; it involves the honour of revivals and the salvation of men. Let a low and barbarous cant be generally connected with revivals, and you drive men of learning and taste from them and plunge them in perdition. This slang of *anxious meetings* and the like, is an unwarrantable departure from the analogy of the language. In no other case do we denominate a meeting from the internal feelings of its members ; (we do not say a repenting meeting, or a believing meeting, or a rejoicing meeting ;) nor do we name a meeting even from the outward marks of its members ; (we do not say a white meeting, or a handsome meeting, or a homely meeting ;) but we take the appellation from the business done at the meeting. Thus we say a prayer meeting, a conference meeting, a singing meeting, a missionary meeting. And in the present case we ought to say an *inquiry* meeting ; not

an inquiring meeting; that is like praying meeting, conferring meeting. We are *obliged* to say singing meeting, because we have no other word to employ.

It is a subject of heartfelt congratulation that your distinguished Presbytery do not give up their dependance on God for holiness and cast themselves on an arm of flesh. Christians, says one of them, "manifested a deep sense of their dependance and unworthiness. In the early stages of the work, and while the church seemed relying on an arm of flesh, a desire was expressed by some to call in the aid of some itinerant evangelist, and that a course of measures might be introduced which had been said to have been employed with success in other places. But the people of God were soon brought to see and to feel that in God alone was their hope; and no wish was afterwards expressed for any other means than the means of God's own appointment, nor any other aid than the aid of the Holy Spirit." Says another, "There was indeed much *concernation* about a revival previous to this, and a solicitude was often expressed to call in such foreign aid as some imagined would secure the desired result. At one period the solicitude on this subject was considerable: but in all this it could be distinctly seen that there was little or nothing of that deep self abasement, that humility and dependance upon God alone, which are ordinarily the first indications of a work of grace. They did not go directly to the throne of God, and

with the Psalmist exclaims, 'Wilt thou not revive us again that thy people may rejoice in thee?' but there was manifestly an unwarrantable reliance upon an arm of flesh. It was going 'down to Egypt for help, staying upon horses and trusting in chariots,' instead of looking 'to the Holy One of Israel and trusting in the Lord.' And it was not until all expectations of this description were cut off, and the church brought to realize that all their strength was in God, and all their hope was in his mercy, that the work of divine grace actually commenced."

In the same spirit the Committee say, "In some instances the labour of itinerants was employed, but, (with few exceptions,) with no very obvious success. Scarcely perhaps has the case been known in which God has so obviously honoured the means of his own appointment, in distinction from those of human invention, and the labours of a stated ministry, in distinction from those of itinerant evangelists." In "a few" of the churches the new measures were attempted. "These churches however were, with perhaps one exception, without pastors, and the innovations" were "introduced by itinerant preachers who do not belong to this Presbytery. But few if any of these innovations are now regarded as improvements; and facts have shown that generally, if not universally, the revivals have been the most powerful, of the longest continuance, and most desirable in their results, in those places where there has been the

least departure from the ordinary methods of conducting revivals in the Presbyterian Church.” In one congregation where the new measures were introduced, “since the revival the state of religion—has been on the decline, and there is much to be deplored in the present state of things.”

I fear this will be the effect of those measures in every place where ignorance prevails. I have long hesitated to express this opinion lest I should be found fighting against God. But events have fixed my judgment, and pressed me with the obligation to declare it openly, earnestly, and continually. My daily prayer is that I may not feel uncharitably towards my brethren who differ from me. I think I do not : and certainly nothing shall extort from me railing or recriminating language ; for there is no better evidence of a bad cause than that it is supported by an unchristian and unmanly style. I am,

Dear Sir,

With sincere regard,

Your friend and brother.

E. D. GRIFFIN.

Rev. ANSEL D. EDDY.

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A

NARRATIVE

OF THE

REVIVAL OF RELIGION,

**WITHIN THE BOUNDS OF THE PRESBYTERY OF
ALBANY, IN THE YEAR 1820.**

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE PRESBYTERY.

SCHENECTADY:

PRINTED BY ISAAC RIGGS, 1821.

At a meeting of the Presbytery of Albany, held in Schenectady, on the 8th June, 1820 :

“ Resolved, That the Rev. Dr. McAuley, the Rev. Mark Tucker, and the Rev. Halsey A. Wood, be a committee to receive statements from the members of Presbytery, of the origin, progress, and present state, &c. &c. of the great work of God’s grace within their congregations, and to embody them in the form of a narrative, together with whatever may appear to have helped the progress, or hastened the decline of the revival.”

At a meeting of the Presbytery, in Amsterdam, held on the 9th January, 1821 :

“ Resolved, That the Rev. Elisha Yale and the Rev. Walter Monteith, be a committee to prepare a report of the state of religion within our bounds ; and that said committee be added to the committee appointed on the 8th June, 1820, for the purpose of drawing up a narrative of the origin, &c. &c. of the awakening ; and that their report be incorporated with the narrative of the aforesaid committee, and that the whole be presented to the Presbytery at its adjourned meeting to be held in Malta, on the 6th February next.”

At a meeting of the Presbytery, Malta, 6th February, 1821 :

“ The joint committee appointed at the two last stated meetings, to draw up a *narrative* of the great work of God’s grace, including a report of the present state of religion within the bounds of the presbytery, presented the following narrative, which was accepted.

And on motion, the said narrative was re-committed to the joint committee aforesaid, with the addition of the Rev. Dr. Nott, for revisal, and *ordered to be printed*.

Attest,

WALTER MONTEITH,
Stated Clerk.

NARRATIVE.

To the Rev'd. Presbytery of Albany.

THE committee, appointed "to receive written statements from the members of presbytery, detailing the *Origin and Extent, Progress and Present State* of the great work of God's grace within your bounds; together with *the causes helping its progress or hastening its decline*, and to embody them in the form of a regular narrative," beg leave to report, that they have attended to that duty, and that from such *written statements* as were forwarded to them; and also from *the statements made by the ministers and elders in presbytery, at Stillwater and Amsterdam*; and also from *their own knowledge of God's wonderful workings*, within the prescribed bounds, they have drawn up the following narrative, with the accompanying observations, which they most respectfully submit to the presbytery:

1st. THE ORIGIN AND EXTENT.

As to the origin of this great work, your committee feel constrained to speak with great diffidence; almost every congregation traces it to a cause, originating in and operative only upon itself. Sometimes it seems to have commenced in two very distant places

at the same time ; and again in two very contiguous places, at very different times. At one place in a Sabbath school ; at another, in a prayer meeting ; in another, at a conference or an evening lecture, and still at another, in the secret exercise of prayer among God's children.

The *sensible cause* too, was not uniform ; sometimes it was recounting God's wonders among other sinners ; sometimes urging God's children to their duty, or warning sinners of their danger. In one place, a sudden death ; in another place a plain unpolished sermon. In one place, an unaccountable impression, that God was about to pour out his spirit ; exciting christians to self-examination and prayer, and to double diligence in the discharge of their duties ; and in another still, visiting from house to house, and warning every man of his duty and danger, and pressing every one to attend to the great concern of salvation. But as to the great, invisible, all-pervading and operative cause, there is no diversity, TWAS GOD THE HOLY SPIRIT, operating by the gospel. There were indeed a very great diversity of operations, but the same spirit wrought all things in all.

In August and September of 1819, there was some attention to religion in and around the village of Saratoga Springs: subsequent to this, the township of Malta was visited with the refreshing influences of God's grace. About the same time there were very encouraging symptoms of an awakening in Stillwater, which had been preceded by a very powerful, although a very short work in Pittstown-Hollow : throughout all that region, every meeting was crowded, every mean and every effort blessed. God's people were unusually animated in their prayers, and encouraged and

comforted in their approaches to God. For some months, the special influences of God's spirit, seemed to rest only upon the region just described ; nor were they felt beyond, until in January and February of 1820, when the eye of faith and the heart of affection, hailed their approach and felt their influence throughout Amsterdam, West-Galway, East-Galway, Ballston and Schenectady ; not all at once indeed, nor in regular succession, as to local situation, but in very rapid succession as to time. Union College too, was neither the last nor the least sharer in the influences of God's sovereign grace. In February, the first, second and fourth wards of the city of Schenectady, the town of Charlton and other places, were benignly visited. In March and April, Milton, Greenbush and Nassau, and in May the third ward of Schenectady, were visited with overwhelming power.

In May it began to decline, every where almost ; or rather, it was found to have declined, excepting in the third ward, where it had just commenced, and from which it spread into Princetown in June, and where it is still slowly operative, as it is in several other places within the bounds of your presbytery.

Since that period the church has enjoyed much of God's presence, and the light and consolations of his holy spirit. The multitudes who have been gathered into Christ's fold, are walking together in love, growing in grace, in knowledge and in humility ; are progressing in holiness, free from contention, from error, from schism, and adorning the doctrines of God their Saviour by a gospel faith and practice.

With this outline of the *origin and extent* of this great work before you, your committee have no doubt

of your feeling a deep interest in the progress of it, which they are about to present to you in detail.

2d HEAD—PROGRESS AND PRESENT STATE.

SARATOGA.

In July or August, 1819, the Rev. Mr. Nettleton, visited Saratoga Springs, for the benefit of his health. Shortly after that time he visited at a house in Malta, where a few people were assembled together. And if we might express our opinion we would say, this little providential meeting was the blessed means of commencing the great work of God in Malta. From thence Mr. N. passed on to the Springs; but all was dead or dying there; the gospel had been long preached there, but with very little apparent effect. The circumstances of that place, so peculiarly unfavourable to gospel holiness, are well known to the presbytery; and those circumstances were never more unfavourable or influential, than at that time. This messenger of God had come to prove the healing influence of the Saratoga waters; but having had long experience of the life-giving influence of the *waters of salvation*, he could not rest day or night, until he had endeavoured *by all means* to bring dying sinners to prove *their* efficacy: and God was with him, and God's anointed servant placed there, was with him in sentiment, in love and in labour. At first there were some found mocking, and others saying, "what will this babbler say now?" but God honored his own cause. An invisible agency was operative on many an heart; pride and prejudice, hatred and hardness, ignorance and enmity, guilt and pollution yielded to its influence. The views and feelings, hopes and fears and affections of many were almost instantly changed. And with the exception of a few *high-toned blasphe-*

mers, evidently left as a beacon on some hidden shoal, to be seen and known of all men, to warn them back from certain destruction; all the scoffers and sceptics, infidels and unbelievers of the place were soon found mingling in humble undistinguished company with sinners of every other name, inquiring what they must do to be saved? In September and October the work was progressive, every day was fully employed by the people of God. The pastor of the village, and his helping brother, publicly and privately, and from house to house were engaged warning every man, and persuading every man, in season and out of season, exhorting, rebuking and entreating; and the Lord¹ was found every where present! Many were pricked in their hearts and forced to cry out; men and brethren what shall we do! More than *fifty* were brought to rejoice in the hope of eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord. And although this number may appear but small when compared with the numbers that flocked to Jesus elsewhere; yet, let it be remembered, that the numbers from which they were gathered were very small. The permanent residents in the village are few, and the surrounding country is circumscribed and very thinly inhabited. There have been fifty-five added to the church; eighteen adults baptized. The awakening continued until the commencement of the watering season in 1820, when it seemed to cease all at once. Some doctrinal disputation in the north part of the settlement had a very injurious effect. Sabbath schools are flourishing and very beneficial; monthly concert well attended; *some few instances of recent conversion*; children are catechised weekly; and as a fruit of holiness in the lives of those who have named the name

of Christ, we would mention a female charitable society, which, amongst the acts of its benevolence, has sent down twenty-three dollars in aid of the funds of your presbytery for the education of poor, pious youth for the gospel ministry ! One of their number has departed this life triumphantly.

MALTA.

Your committee would next turn your attention to Malta, literally a moral wild. With the exception of a very small methodist church in one corner of the town, and two or three of God's children in another corner, there was neither piety nor prayer, no mean of grace nor desire of salvation. There had indeed, many years before, been a small church there, but it was broken down and in ruins ; not a single member remained who had any claim to right or privilege in it. The pride and prejudice and ambition of rule, that broke it down, were still in existence indeed, brooding over the ruins of their own producing, endeavoring sedulously to raise them as a bulwark between sinners and salvation, and rejoicing in their long continued success. There had been several attempts made to introduce the stated ministration of the gospel, but without any encouraging effect. Such was the state of things in the fall of the year 1819, when Mr. Nettleton first preached among them. There had been one or two hopeful conversions in August ; and in September and October, there were a few awakened. About the beginning of October, Mr. Hunter, a licentiate from the presbytery of New-York, visited the place, and his preaching and other labours of love were greatly blessed among them. Mr. Waterbury and Mr. Olmsted, from the theological seminary of Princeton and Mr. Armstrong of Moreau,

were all providentially led to the place, and continued for some time to labour in their several spheres of action, with very encouraging success, so much so, that on the 26th of October, there was a little church collected and organized consisting of twenty-four members, mostly recent converts to the faith of Christ. Other ministers had preached occasionally in the place; but from the time when the church was formed, Mr. Nettleton preached for seven or eight months almost constantly among them, and his labour of love was highly rewarded by the great head of the church. From the very commencement of his labours, the work of the Lord's spirit became more powerful, and rapidly progressive. It was but a little while until weeping and anxious distress were found in almost every house; the habitations of sin; the families of discord; the haunts of intemperance; the strong holds of error; the retreats of pharasaic pride; the entrenchments of self-righteousness, were all equally penetrated by the power of the Holy Ghost. Foundations of sand sunk out of the reach of feeling and deceived confidence! Refuges of lies fled from the eye, and fancied security from the heart of the unregenerated.

In some cases sorrow was soon turned into joy, but in other cases anxious distress continued long; it was deep, heart-felt and awfully pungent; and brought the distressed almost down to the gates of death.—Under its influence, error lost all its alluring importance; and violated obligation, forfeited happiness, a long rejected Saviour, and approaching wrath, death and judgment, with the retributions of eternity, filled every heart, occupied every thought, and agitated every feeling. Often and anxiously was the inquiry made, "What shall we do?" During several weeks,

the awakening spread over different parts of the town until it became almost universal. Nor were the attempts so often and so offensively made to draw the attention to doctrinal disputation, very influential in stopping its progress. Every house exhibited the solemnity and silence of a continued Sabbath; so profound was this stillness and solemnity, that a recent death could have added nothing to it in many families. Common conversation was rarely engaged in, while every ear was open to hear the gospel, every heart prepared to receive the tidings of salvation. There were some melancholy exceptions indeed, but we shall not name them. The breath of the Lord rested on their unholy influence, and it was wilted and withered and gone for ever. The holy one paralyzed their efforts against his anointed, and scorned their opposition to the spread of Messiah's kingdom. Within the year there were added to the church more than one hundred, and there were perhaps fifty others who cherished a hope of forgiven sin. Some of those who joined the church have been severely tried; but the trial of their faith has eventuated in the confirming of their hope and confidence in God. All who have named the name of Christ, are giving good reason to believe, that they have rested on the sure foundation, and gained a dwelling in the ark of safety. There is no tendency to error amongst them, but a great and growing attention to the pure and simple doctrines of the bible. There were fifty adults baptized.

There were some special cases, clearly manifesting the sovereignty of God's grace and the freeness of his salvation.

STILLWATER.

Your committee would invite your attention, in the next place, to Stillwater, where the Lord hath displayed the wonderful riches of his grace. Verily "the Lord's ways are not our ways, nor his thoughts our thoughts." If he smiles on the wilderness, it is in a moment like the garden of God. The most obdurate heart is "willing," in the day of his power.

Late in the summer of 1819, the spirit of the Lord was poured out upon Pittstown-Hollow. Many, pricked in their hearts, were inquiring what they must do to be saved? And many were fleeing to the only hope of the wretched, and finding in him everlasting security, and receiving with him joy and peace. We mention Pittstown in connection with Stillwater, because it was principally through the voluntary labours of Love of the *minister of Stillwater*, that God's gospel became the ministration of life unto so many in that very destitute region, where a little church was soon gathered and a good many added to the disciples of Christ. The glad tidings of God's grace to the sinners of Pittstown-Hollow, had a very awakening influence on God's people in Stillwater! where minister and people gave themselves to prayer, publicly, privately and secretly. A concert for secret prayer was held at sunrise on Sabbath mornings, and very generally observed. They cried unto the Lord, and he hearkened and heard them, and granted, in his own time, their whole desire. A deep solemnity spread over the whole community; every meeting was crowded; some were deeply impressed with a sense of sin, and fully convinced of their need of an interest in Christ. Sinners from a distance came to hear the gospel, and hung on the lips of the

preacher, as though they heard for their lives. And again did they return to listen, with increased attention, to the glad tidings of great joy ; peace on earth, good will towards men !

Such was the state of things down to the beginning of October, when their pastor, having attended the annual meeting of the Synod of Albany, which held its session at Cherry-Valley, returned home, and with an heart overflowing, recounted to his people the wonders of grace which God was doing in Cooperstown, New-Hartford, Utica, &c. and noticing God's mercy to their neighbours in Malta, warned and admonished them of their danger and their duty. His exhortation was brought home by the holy spirit, in demonstration and power. It was sealed upon every heart, it seized upon every conscience.

The bible class, and the Sunday schools, were deeply affected. They felt the first influences of God's spirit. The great work commenced with them ! many of them soon became reconciled unto God ; meetings became more frequent, full, crowded ! In the course of a few days, the spirit was poured out on several neighbourhoods, on families of every habit. The benign influence spread over into Schaghticoke, where at a single lecture, preached by the Pastor of Stillwater, between thirty and forty were awakened ! And so did it flourish there, that in a little while almost that whole number were rejoicing in hope !

In the north part of Stillwater, where the means of grace were seldom enjoyed, the work of the Lord commenced and became very powerful. Scarcely one family has been passed over. In a large district, though harrassed by sectarian contentions, where praying families were very rarely found, there is now

scarcely one house where prayer is not wont to be made ; where sacrifice, and a pure offering, is not daily offered up to God ! Many whole families, young and old, every soul, were hopefully converted to Christ. But, in *the village*, God's power was most conspicuous. Many of the inhabitants were of the most hopeless kind. Boatmen, tipplers, tavern-haunters, gamblers, gain-sayers, infidels and atheists, were mingled and mixed with the unholy multitude. The ways of Zion languished and mourned because few came to her solemn feasts. There were many who lived in the village who scarcely ever attended in the house of God, or in any other visible way acknowledged his supremacy. They were literally stout-hearted and far from righteousness, without God and without hope in the world ; and yet, (we cannot refrain from ascribing glory to God in the highest,) this multitude, bad and unblessed as it was, felt the power of the Holy Ghost, and yielded to his influence, and received the gospel of his grace gladly, and submitted themselves to him whose right it is to reign, and in whom all the families of the earth are blessed.

We dare not descend to particulars here. The narrative would fill a volume. Our limits will not suffer us do more than simply state, that whether the Lord moved among the most pure in morals and manners, or among the most polluted in heart and life ; as soon as the eye saw that it *was God*, the heart felt its own pollutions and abhorred itself in dust and ashes, and trembled at the Lord's word. Fearfulness seized upon the hypocrite ; the careless, the scoffer and sceptic alike were brought down to the lowest dust. You might have heard them inquiring with all the apprehensive anxiety of the jailer, "men and breth-

ren, what must we do to be saved?" and in all the humility of the publican, praying, " God be merciful to us" miserable " sinners."

In the upper congregation, where there had been a great work of grace in 1815, there were little appearances of any awakening until late in the winter of 1820; but the Lord's mercies were not clean gone, for he appeared there also in his great glory. And so universally did his grace abound, that there remains not one family, in all that congregation, where there is not one or more witnessing souls. The awakening was not confined to any one age, or sex, or class of character; it was general! And to the glory of God's grace be it spoken, the most profligate, generally, were the most prompt in their submission to God. The language of fact corresponds with the words of Christ, publicans and harlots are first in entering the kingdom of God. The converts were of all ages, from seventy-five years down to twelve years; and in the short space of six months, one hundred and ninety-four were added to the church, of whom one hundred and three were added in one day, and there have been twenty-three added since, making the whole number two hundred and seventeen. There were ninety-four adults baptized. The whole number who cherish a hope of forgiven sin, is considerably over three hundred, within the township; some of whom have joined other churches, and some have not gained strength enough to confess Christ before men in any church.

The attention began to decline, as the spring opened with all its engaging and perplexing cares. Three weeks suspension of the means of grace, too, had a very deadening influence. Those who have named the name of Christ, are walking worthy of their high voca-

tion. There has appeared only one or two cases of hopeless declension. At the present time appearances are becoming more favorable. The monthly concert is well attended, and the church offers its alms with its prayers. At every concert they make a collection for the benefit of foreign missions. They have a *bible society*, and have recently formed a *female cent society*, consisting of nearly three hundred members, who charge themselves with the entire education of one poor, pious young man for the gospel ministry. The *bible class* and *Sabbath schools* are well attended.

There is no tendency among the young converts to error, but a remarkable progress in bible knowledge and practical piety.

MILTON.

In Milton there was some attention in the spring of the past year ; but the world gained the ascendancy. Their minister was obliged to leave them, a little while previous to the appearance of the religious attention, for want of subsistence. How far this operated unfavourably, the Lord knoweth. Your committee would only notice, that Milton, although almost surrounded by the awakening, from its origin until its end, scarcely counts twenty converts ; and it is believed few of these were awakened there.

At present all is cold and lifeless there.

BALLSTON.

Of Ballston, your committee need say but little, as there has been a report published, which has put you in possession of all the important facts relating to the origin, progress and present state of the awakening in that place. Nor would they deem it expedient to make any report at all, were it not for the sake of connection.

The work of grace does not appear to have commenced in Ballston, until after it had begun to decline in Saratoga, and had nearly gained its height in Malta and Stillwater. At that time the people were very generally cold and careless, and were not free from serious apprehensions that they would be unable to retain their minister. But the Lord had mercy in store for them. The good news from Malta, Saratoga and Stillwater, seemed to arouse some among them. Minister and Session, in free conversation, candidly confessed to each other their consciousness of many defects in the discharge of their several duties. They confessed and mourned over these in the presence of God, and entered into new engagements to be more faithful in future. They districted the congregation, and resolved to visit every house. They called together the church members, and conversed freely with them on the state of their hearts. They agreed to avoid all doctrinal disputation and to attend to their own hearts, and so to let their light shine, that others seeing it, might be led to glorify their heavenly father. This was about the beginning of January, 1820. Just about this time or a little previous to this, several of the session and others, attended the communion in Malta, and various other meetings in succession. Their hearts were greatly refreshed. They caught the holy flame of divine love, and returned home making the solemn inquiry, What do we here all the day idle? They commenced the work of domestic visits and personal conversation; and to their utter surprize, found the spirit of the Lord working every where before them. They urged sinners to pray, and sinners complied! And while they were yet praying, the Lord heard them, and many an heart of hardness was broken

and melted and removed! The heart of rebellious stoutness submitted! The heart of unbelief yielded! and while repentance melted down the most obstinate, they were led by the right hand of God's righteousness, to trust in the mercy of God and rest for acceptance and salvation on the righteousness of Jesus Christ. Some entire house-holds were converted to God. Five children out of one family were born again. Convictions were deep, powerful and pungent, generally of short continuance when compared with those in other places. In eight months one hundred and sixty were added to the church; perhaps forty others cherished a hope in Christ. Sectarian folly, was evidently injurious to the awakening. We "know that offences must come," "but wo to" every one "by whom they come." Those who have been admitted to the fellowship of the church, are dwelling together in unity, cherishing a spirit of gospel peace. There has only one case of hopeless backsliding occurred. No tendency to error visible amongst them. Sabbath schools are greatly blessed; monthly concerts well attended; bible class making a very encouraging progress; the young converts evidently learn faster than before they became pious. There were seventy-six adults baptized.

Of the happy results of this awakening, we have to notice, that a female member of this church was led, in the dispensations of Divine Providence, to take charge of a female academy in South-Carolina. The young ladies under her care were of all ages, from eight to eighteen. On the Sabbath day she confined their attention to the *Bible* and *Baxter's Saints Rest*, and has had the unspeakable satisfaction of seeing

twelve of her pupils brought to rejoice in Jesus, as their only Redeemer, and that too in one single week.

CHARLTON.

Your committee would further report, that there appears to have been a very general attention to religion in Charlton ; especially among the young.—The work seems to have been a slow, progressive opening of the heart, to receive divine truth ; and a powerful influencing of conscience to obey the truth. And although the work was not so rapid in its progress, nor powerful in its operations, at any time, as to entitle it to the name of an awakening ; yet it was sufficiently so, to denominate it *a time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord*. It was encumbered with many embarrassments ; but the Lord did not suddenly take away his holy spirit. Conference and prayer-meetings were instituted and continued, generally well attended and greatly blessed. Anxious meetings too, were productive of very extensive blessings. There were eighty-four members added to the church during the past year ; and God has granted a pastor to that people, and every thing is now very encouraging among them. No schism, no error, no cases of backsliding. The hopes of God's people are greatly elevated. The Lord's name be for ever praised. There were eighteen adults baptized during the year.

EAST-GALWAY.

Your committee would next present East-Galway to the notice of presbytery ; a place this, highly favored of the Lord ! Visited once and again, with an outpouring of his spirit. Your committee feel themselves again met, and relieved from the labor of a lengthy report, by a very excellent statement, publish-

ed some time ago, by a member of the session of that church. But still, for the sake of connection, they will take a cursory view of the awakening there. The church had been destitute of a pastor for three years; its members were greatly diminished in number, cold, stupid and discouraged. They were in this state in the fall of 1819, when Mr. Chester, a licentiate under your care, commenced his labours among them. His labours were greatly blessed, in establishing Sabbath schools and reviving the attention of professing christians. But his health failing, he was obliged to intermit his labours, until the beginning of May, after which he became their *stated pastor*. The session districted the congregation and visited every member. On the first Sabbath in March, 1820, the Rev. Dr. Nott administered the communion of the Lord's supper. About a week previous to which, there appeared an unusual attention to bible reading, in a school, near the centre of the town, particularly among the female scholars. On the Friday of that week, several of the scholars were borne down with a sense of their sin. The school was visited; and on one side where the females sat, many were weeping for their sin, while on the other side, some were disposed to mock; but in a little while they also gave up their opposition, and were melted down. This was not noised abroad, lest opposers should say, that *the children were frightened!* On the Sabbath, seven came forward and confessed their faith in Christ Jesus before the world; and on that day many were deeply convicted of sin. On Monday the attention in the school was increased, and the monthly concert in the evening was crowded. At the regular conference on

Tuesday evening, from twenty to thirty were so distressed, that they could not leave their seats. Some stout-hearted young men were found wringing their hands, in the greatest agony, and asking what they should do to be saved? The next day more than forty were found to be under deep and powerful convictions! Conference rooms soon became too small. The church was soon crowded to overflowing. And although the number was so great, there was an awful silence, a stillness in which *the breath of a child* might have been heard. The mouths of gainsayers were soon stopped; and even infidels were constrained to acknowledge the power of God. There was no settled minister there, nor even a transient one; and with the exception of seven or eight Sabbaths, in which the Rev. Dr. Nott preached, there was no means used, excepting the little that the session and some students from the college at Schenectady, were able to do, in visiting and in meeting with the anxious. The preaching alluded to, was greatly blessed; it was accompanied with the demonstration of the holy spirit and with power. And the church in that place will long remember, this labour of love, this ministration of grace; so seasonable, so salutary, so saving! Many whole families were converted to God. From some families seven, from others six, and from others five, were brought to rejoice in hope of forgiven sin. In all the wonderful work of God's spirit, through this community, we have witnessed nothing equal to His work in this place; either in the pungency of convictions, or shortness of their duration. In a few weeks, more than two hundred and fifty of every age, from eighty-two down to ten years, were rejoicing in hope; of whom one hundred and sixty were added to the

church. Several others to the highly respectable Baptist churches in the town, and some to the Methodist church; but your committee are not able to state the precise number. It was altogether the Lord's doings, and marvellous in our eyes!

There are none who seem to have apostatized.— They are all, holding on their way, very lively in their affections, animated in their hopes, consistent in their christian walk, growing in gospel grace, stedfast in doctrine, and abounding in deeds of charity. They charge themselves with the entire expense of the education of *one young man*, and half the expense of the education of *another* for the gospel ministry.

There are two bible classes, well attended; and several Sabbath schools, in a very flourishing condition. Catechetical exercises are well attended and greatly blessed. The elders visit frequently from house to house, and talk freely with every professor, on the subject of personal religion and growth in grace.

There have been fifty-seven adults baptized.

WEST-GALWAY.

Your committee have not been put in possession of the history of the awakening in West-Galway. Mr. Farrer, the minister of that congregation, was in ill-health, during the latter part of that glorious display of God's power to save. *He now sleeps in Jesus!*

All that your committee can state, with confidence, is, that the awakening commenced and progressed in a manner very similar to that in East-Galway; or rather, was identified with it. There were ninety-five added to the church. Several others are cherishing a hope of eternal life. Sabbath schools and monthly concerts are well attended. Only one instance of

backsliding. No doctrinal difficulties. They have received the gospel of God, without any doubtful disputations.

There were twenty-eight adults baptized.

EDINBURGH.

There has been no special attention at Edinburgh, during the last year, and there were only two added to the church.

PALATINE.

. In this newly formed church, there has been no revival, but there are two Sabbath schools. The monthly concert is observed. The church is very small and weak.

JOHNSTOWN.

From Johnstown, that old and very respectable corner of God's vineyard, your committee have no heart cheering intelligence to communicate. A little dew from heaven above, seems to descend upon it. Just enough to keep it from total sterility! But the early and latter rains are withheld; no refreshing shower, causes it to bud and blossom and bring forth fruit. There have been only twelve added during the past year, to the communion of the church. There is much of the exterior of godliness among the people; and we trust a good deal of its power among old professors; but very few are enquiring the way to Zion. The means of grace are well attended. Love and harmony prevail in the church. There are bible classes in seven different districts, attended weekly, with evident good effect. Ministerial visitations, catechetical exercises, monthly concerts, are all punctually and well attended. Surely they are a people prepared for the Lord. O! for a time of refreshing from his presence among them!

AMSTERDAM.

The church in Amsterdam dates the commencement of its revival, from the first of March, 1820 ; but there were very interesting symptoms of it, previous to that date. Christians had been awakened ; had trimmed their lamps ; a spirit of prayer had been poured out upon them ; vice of every kind had become more bold and openly daring ; profligates more than usually hardened in sin, and working iniquity with uncommon greediness, putting heaven's power and God's abounding grace to the proof ! And in addition to all this, a few had been brought to Jesus, by means which seemed very inadequate. There were sure indications, that God was, in very deed, in that place.

But from the first of March, the work assumed a very decided character. Several neighbourhoods, in the township, were awakened at once. Cries for help, came from every quarter ; and minister and session, soon found themselves in the very midst of God's wonderful workings ! Their meetings, of every name, were full, were crowded. The whole of every day in the week, and as much of the Sabbath as remained after the public services in God's house were over, was employed, in visiting from house to house. The evenings were spent in conference, or prayer or anxious meetings. And although many who attended these meetings, were often heard, when at home, in their families, in their fields and in their secret retirements, to groan out in agony, or to cry out aloud in the anguish of heart ! when pierced with the sword, or broken down under the influences of the spirit ; yet, in these meetings, there was no noise, no confusion, no disorder ! Sometimes, indeed, the prayer for mercy was

forced from the broken heart in a heavy whisper ; or in a stifled, agonizing groan. Sometimes too, the dreadful struggle within was rendered visible, in the palsied frame, or writhing hands, or other symptoms of spiritual distress, deeply affecting all around ; but nothing like rant, or confusion, or enthusiasm ! Instead of this, an awe ! a stillness ! an oppressive silence, which cannot be described, pervaded the whole, and often rendered it difficult to breathe. It was the sinking of the wounded heart ! the fainting which precedes the last agony of life. The hearts of rebellion had received their mortal wounds, and were yielding beneath the power of God ! Many who visited these meetings from motives of curiosity, totally careless ! beholding the mighty power of God, were terrified at their own hard and impenitent hearts ; convicted of sin ; awakened to a sense of the misery of their state, the madness and folly of their present course, and forced to inquire also, what they must do to be saved. On one evening, set apart for lecture, and personal conversation, fifteen were powerfully awakened.

There was no difficulty in assembling the people, but often, very great difficulty in separating and getting them to return home. Sometimes, sleigh loads of convinced sinners, after leaving the meeting, and riding half a mile, or a mile, homewards, would turn back again to the place of prayer, to hear still more about the salvation of Jesus ! And they often did this too, through lanes and ways and snows, that would have been deemed by persons in any other state of mind, to have been impassible. The awakening in Amsterdam had one very prominent feature, somewhat peculiar to itself, and which we deem worthy of notice : sinners were generally, very suddenly

and alarmingly aroused ; their convictions suddenly raised to the highest ; extremely painful in their operations, and yet protracted beyond any thing witnessed in other places. Your committee would not dare to decide, whether this was owing to the constitutional habits of the subjects of the work, or whether it was exclusively owing to the sovereign working of the great God, who works as he pleases, and baffles the feebleness of human reason.

The truths which bore most heavily on the minds of sinners, in this awakening, were the awful depravity of the heart, so manifest in its unreasonable and continued rebellion against God. Their own personal guilt, and pollution ; their evident danger of eternal death. Every one thought his own heart the worst, and his own case peculiarly aggravated.

Generally the first dawning of comfort, in the soul, has been through the application of precious bible truth, while reading the bible, or hearing it explained, or while in the act of secret prayer. The reality of the change, which so many profess to have experienced, becomes every day more visible, by the love and unity, and growing holiness, and increasing light, and gospel knowledge of those who have named the name of Christ.

Thus far, there have been no instances of backsliding, or apostacy. Every one who has turned toward Zion, is still progressing. In this, your committee recognize a clear evidence that the work is the Lord's ! wrought by the power of the Holy Ghost ! In this there is a proof of the out-pouring of God's spirit, which neither the enemies of God, or of revivals, can refute. Persons of every shade of colour, and

character, have become subjects of this great work, and are made one in Christ Jesus.

One hundred and sixty-three have professed the name of Christ, and been added to the church; forty-two of whom were baptized. A few have been connected with other churches, and there are, perhaps nearly fifty, who cherish a hope that they are new creatures; yet, have not ventured to make a public profession, but are still praying, and looking, and waiting, for more satisfactory evidence of the certainty of their change.

The general excitement has subsided; but still there are frequent cases of conviction occurring. God is yet in that place; they feel his influence! they acknowledge his power! They look and pray for another glorious display of his powerful working. Meetings are well attended; monthly concerts, and bible classes, signally useful. Liberality increasing; their faith is productive of gospel good works.

PRINCETOWN & DUANESEBURGH.

The Lord has visited, in his mercy, this neighbourhood, and poured out of his spirit upon it. Many are deeply convicted of sin; some are rejoicing in hope. About thirty have been added to the church. Gainsayers are closing their lips of folly, and sitting down in silence. God's dear people are encouraged to say: "This is our God! we have waited for him, and he will save us! This is the Lord, we have waited for him, we will be glad and rejoice in his salvation; for in this mountain, shall the hand of the Lord rest."

NEW-SCOTLAND.

Your committee have nothing to report from New-Scotland; but much to mourn over, because there is so little of the spirit or power of religion there.

ESPERANCE, BOWMAN'S CREEK, BERN, HAMILTON-UNION & WESTERLO.

In these five churches there is little to claim your notice, except coldness and deadness. In Bowman's creek, there is a little excitement, and some favourable symptoms in Westerlo ; but no general attention. O that the Lord would no longer leave these parts of his vineyard, to receive his grace in vain ! There have been a few added to some of these churches during the year, and to others of them, none at all !

CARLISLE.

In the church of Carlisle, every thing seems well. The pastor of that little flock returned, last September, from the meeting of the Synod at Brownville. His heart animated and enlarged ; and fully resolved to give himself wholly to the labour of the Lord's vineyard ; and the Lord has blessed his labours already. Very recently he has beheld ten in one family connexion awakened ; and two of them cherishing an hope of forgiven sin. The attention is becoming more general ; prayer meetings more numerous ; bible classes well attended ; Sabbath schools very useful. He has admitted seventeen to the church, during the past year.

1st. & 2d. CHURCH—ALBANY.

In this ancient corner of the Lord's vineyard, there have been much care and culture. It has been pruned, and hedged, and watched, and watered with much praiseworthy pains ; but alas it brings forth very little fruit ; "a cluster or two on the tops of the youngest boughs." There have been thirty-seven added to the first church, and twenty-eight to the second church, during the last year.

There is no part of the church committed to your care, that needs so much your prayers, or should so much excite your sympathies, as the two churches in Albany! Let it be a distinct and never to be forgotten article in every prayer, that the Lord would return and visit that place, and make it a praise in the earth!

SCHENECTADY & UNION COLLEGE.

Your committee would invite your attention, in the last place, to the city of Schenectady, and Union College, situated there. In the third week of January, 1820, there was a very sudden death in the College. A member of the Senior class, in the full vigor of life, was suddenly removed. The alarm was very great; the call was loud, and sensibly heard and felt. There were prayer-meetings held around the *bier*, which was placed in an officer's room. There, for two days, did the students resort, from feelings of sorrowing sympathy; and there, was the question often proposed, "Suppose this call of God had been directed to you, were you ready to obey it?" The *negative answer*, was often carried back to the heart, by the holy spirit, and rendered productive of genuine convictions. Many, indeed, thought it was all fright! and would soon pass over. But the Lord's ways are not the ways of man, no, not of the most sanctified of men! *A nine days wonder!* was the common name given to the students' anxious distress. But nine days only augmented their misery, multiplied their convictions, and deepened their distress. The fright! *if such it must be called*, became more general. There was indeed a fright, a fear of death! But, be it remembered, it was fear of death eternal! There was a strong desire of life, but it was life eter-

nal ! There were many on the Lord's side, who believing that the spirit of the Lord was among us in his mighty operations, held prayer-meetings, and meetings for conference and personal address. Anxious meetings too, were often held. The sinners' danger and the sinners' duty, were often and closely pressed ; and some, at last, began to rejoice, not that they had escaped an early grave, no ! but that they had obtained an interest in him, who is the resurrection and the life ; that they had received the Lord's Christ, and became the sons of God, through faith in his name. So powerful and rapid was this great work of God's grace, that in the third week of February, *eleven*, and in the first week of April *between thirty and forty* were rejoicing in hope of forgiven sin ! During the time of the awakening, it was discovered, that a few of those, under exercises of mind, had been so for a long time, but had concealed it, in their own hearts, until it became a common subject. Of all these, there is but *one* who seems to have been a self-deceiver, and to have deceived others. The rest are giving good reason to believe, that their change was a real change. Seventeen joined themselves to the presbyterian church, six or seven to the Dutch church, and six or seven to the episcopal church ; and there are a few who have not yet joined themselves to any church. Several, who have been admitted to the first degree in the arts, have devoted themselves to the gospel ministry. The effect on college was visible and salutary. There seldom was a session of so much order, tranquillity and industry. The subjects of the work, generally, acted on the principle, that they could not be fervent in spirit unless they were diligent in their business.

From the *college*, the *awakening* spread down into the city. And in February became very interesting. Its first appearances were among the few praying people, the females especially, who met weekly to pray. Their hearts were drawn out to God, most entirely and ardently. A few evening lectures, at private houses, were blessed greatly. Many date their convictions from those meetings. The numbers began rapidly to increase. A private house would not hold the people. The academy room sufficed only for a few weeks; and, before it was yet believed that the spirit of the Lord was moving on the hearts of sinners, the *presbyterian church* was scarcely large enough to accommodate the Wednesday evening lecture. The church was destitute of a stated pastor, and help was obtained as it was found most practicable. The Lord was their great help! Lectures were very much crowded; conference meetings, and meetings for prayer, and meetings for anxious sinners, were full, and solemn, and greatly blessed. Young and old, moral and profane, felt the benign influence. It was not confined to any one denomination; and be it remembered, to the glory of God's grace, that a *great unity* of feeling and action, pervaded the whole. There were scarcely any sectarian feelings, or divided views manifested, until the close of the whole work. It was a very silent, solemn, heart-felt operation; slow in progress, but blessed in result. Nearly three hundred, we trust, were hopefully converted to God. Of these, one hundred and forty-six were added to the *presbyterian church*, about eleven or twelve to the *episcopalian*, about one hundred and fifteen to the *Dutch*, and a considerable number to the *methodist church*, who are generally holding on their way rejoicing. There ~~has~~

not one case of *hopeless declension* occurred in the presbyterian church. Three of the young converts have died! one very *tranquil*, and two very *triumphant*. The awakening had to encounter great opposition, obstinacy and prejudice, slander and ignorance, suspicions and formality! Yet, still, the Lord's work prospered; and many were added every week to those who rejoiced in God, and had hope in Christ. There were twenty-nine adults baptized.

From Schenectady, as a centre, the work spread into the adjoining country. In a little region, about three miles west of the compact part of the city, the awakening broke out in May; and out of a population not exceeding one hundred and fifty, there were thirty-two hopefully converted to God in four weeks; but a little proselyting feeling killed the whole in a few days. The cotton factory ~~too~~^{too}, about one mile south of the city, was blessed with a divine influence; twelve or fifteen were brought to rejoice in God there. In Watervliet too, from twenty to thirty rejoice in hope, and many others were deeply impressed; but a vital opposition to the work of grace there, was permitted to quench the spirit, and the work ceased in a single week. There are many, who, putting profession for piety, and sanctification for regeneration; the word and ordinances, for the power of God's holy spirit; *virtually deny* the doctrine of the new birth, and oppose, with all the obstinacy of ignorance, the gracious operations of the Holy Ghost; not knowing what they do.

In the city there are some who are still seeking the way to Zion, sorrowing; and some who cherish a recent hope. A few recent convictions, but no general excitement.

Your committee would observe, as one of the good effects of this awakening, that the news of God's wonderful workings in Schenectady, was made a very powerful mean in promoting the awakening in Greenbush; where, they understand that about one hundred have been brought savingly to Christ. There have also, under the ministry of Mr. Nettleton, been a great work in Nassau, where about one hundred have been hopefully brought to repentance in a few weeks.

Such has been the progress, and such is the present state of the awakening within your bounds, and such is the state of all the churches under your care; so far as your committee have been able to ascertain, from the sources to which they have had access.

There are *twenty-four churches* under your care; and the spirit of the Lord has been poured out upon *twelve* of these, and upon the *College*. The additions to the churches, during the year 1820, as reported to presbytery, amount to nearly *one thousand four hundred*! Of these there have been three hundred and twenty-four adults baptized! Surely "the Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad."

3d HEAD—THE CAUSES HELPING THE PROGRESS OF THE AWAKENING.

Your committee feel disposed to detain you only a very little while, on this part of their report. But still, any tolerable degree of fidelity, will necessarily lead them into considerable detail. The first of the helping causes they would present to your notice, was *family visitation*. By this they mean, visiting a family for the express purpose of religious inquiry; in order to ascertain the religious state of the heads of the family, and the religious attainments of every member;

the amount of their bible knowledge, and the manner in which they perform their religious duties : whether or not they are seeking God, and by all means pressing them to the right performance of their acknowledged duties. Another mode of visiting, which was found very advantageous among the different sections of a family, or of several *contiguous families*, was, at an appointed hour, to have a company of as many as could conveniently be gotten together, of one sex, absent from the observation of others, from the noise of their families, and the perplexities of the world : not admitting professors of religion ; entering into no worldly conversation ; no perplexing inquiries ; no doctrinal disputes, but only into the great concern of salvation, in a manner adapted to the *capacities* and *attainments* of those present. And when every heart became solemn, and every attention fixed, then falling prostrate before God, the hearer of prayer, and praying to the point ; nor afterwards entering into any worldly chat, but going thence, thinking and praying. These visits were sometimes made to male heads of families ; sometimes to the female heads ; sometimes to young men, or young women ; sometimes to people of colour, which gave an unembarrassed opportunity of *suiting an address* to the persons present. This mode had many great advantages, and was found eminently useful.

The *second cause*, was, *personal application* to every one ; pressing the sinner's conscience and encouraging his speedy return, to him from whom he had revolted. And repeatedly pressing this subject, by all the motives of time and eternity.

The *third cause* was, *religious intelligence*. Telling them what God was doing for sinners in other

places. Telling them what he had done for our own souls, having had compassion on us.

The *fourth cause* was, *frequent meetings* for conference, or lecture, or prayer. And through all this awakening, so far as we know any thing of the matter, either from our own experience and observation, or from the account given by the subjects of the awakening, there have been a great many awakened at these extra meetings.

The *fifth cause* was, *anxious meetings*. These were meetings which sprung up out of the circumstances of the case. It was found, in many places, impossible to visit for confidential conversation, so many and so often as circumstances required. Nor was it possible to devote as much time, to serious inquirers, who might call on their minister, as they should wish, or really needed. And besides all this, it became so uncertain when ministers could be found at home, they were so often sent for to visit distressed persons, that it was on the whole thought best, to appoint a special hour, in some retired place, where no eye but God's could see them, and no ear but his could hear; and devote that time to prayer, suited to the occasion and the cases of those present; and to hold conversation with each individual on the state of their hearts. This was generally done in a *low whisper*, with each individual, while the others were left to their silent and solemn reflections. After holding conversation with the whole, individually; the meeting was closed by addressing some suitable exhortation to the whole; and again joining in prayer. Sometimes these meetings have been called conversation meetings; sometimes meetings of anxious inquiry; but generally the name of *anxious meeting* has prevailed, because the

sole object and design was, to direct the anxious inquirer in the way to Zion ; to resolve the doubts, to strengthen the resolutions, to remove the ignorance or the error, to point out the dangers and difficulties of the anxious soul. And above all, the helping causes of the awakening, your committee would place these meetings, when rightly conducted, in the first place ; nor is there any means used, against which the grand adversary strives, with such unwearied effort. Strong proof this, that he fears their influence. Your committee have known many, who went to these meetings, merely from a motive of curiosity, and who left them burdened with a sense of sin, weeping as they went..

The *sixth cause was, avoiding all controversy—absolutely refusing to touch it.* From a full conviction, that the first duties of a returning sinner were repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. And in close connection with this, keeping all, as much as possible, clear of sectarian feeling ; of party spirit ; of proselyting conduct, endeavouring to make all feel and understand, that the *shibboleth* of any party, would prove a poor substitute for a *change of heart!* That an admission to any church, could not procure a dispensation from the necessity of the *new-birth*, or an *interest in Christ.*

The *seventh cause was, plain gospel preaching.* By which we mean to be understood, an exhibition of the gospel, in its plain, obvious, unsophisticated meaning. Neither veiling its glories under the covering of metaphysics, nor concealing its common sense, under scholastic dogmas. Neither polishing down its honest bluntness of expression, nor softening the rigours of its precepts or threatenings ; nor holding back its en-

couragements, invitations and promises; but honestly and always declaring the whole council of God, as we find it in the scriptures; as the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth. Thus preaching it in season and out of season, publicly and privately and from house to house, and from heart to heart; exhorting, persuading and entreating, by every motive influential on man. Giving to this preaching all the force of the preacher's head and heart, affections and conscience; all the moral and muscular manhood of his nature; in the church, the lecture room, the conference and prayer meeting; the domestic visit and confidential interview, under the full impression, that every hour souls are sinking down into hell, for whom the messengers of God's mercy have to render an awful account. Your committee have often witnessed the practical profit too, of giving that strength to the preaching of *four* sermons, which is often consumed on the *polish*, the *finish* of *one*.— And been fully convinced, that nothing more or less than *God's gospel*, under the influences of *God's spirit*, can convert the soul, can save the sinner; and that he who brings this gospel home to the heart and conscience in the plainest, purest form, preaches salvation best; preaching the gospel too in the order of the gospel, and in the words of the gospel; in its sweetness and its severity too, and in all the decision and conclusiveness of its logic; putting its blessing and its curse side by side, and bringing them honestly home to the sinner's heart. However unpalatable to the unregenerate, however contrary to carnal policy, it was the manner constantly pursued. Doctrine was never separated from duty, nor the sinner encouraged until he had submitted to Christ.

The *eighth cause* was, *singing of Hymns and Psalms*, storing the memory and heart with them.

And *lastly*, BIBLE READING, and PRAYER above all things. God's word gives light, makes the simple wise and converts the soul. God hears and answers prayer.

Your committee would not be understood to say, that God cannot work without means; but, that he does greatly bless his own means, for the conviction and conversion of sinners; and they are willing to be understood as saying, that he did bless the means employed during this awakening, beyond any thing they ever witnessed before.

4th HEAD—THE CAUSES HASTENING ITS DECLINE.

1st. *Interrupting the stated means*. Your committee have known a few weeks suspension of the preached word, have such a bad effect, that months of hard labour, were not sufficient to bring things back to their former situation.

2d. *Ceasing to press sinners on the great doctrines of faith and repentance*. Sinners in a state of excitement must be followed up, the begetting sin at such a time is, endeavouring to get clear of their convictions. They must not be let alone!

3d. *Doctrinal disputation*, or theoretical discussion; any thing that had a tendency to turn the sinner's attention from the state of his heart, was exceedingly injurious. And the more important the thing was in its nature, and the nearer allied to religion, the greater influence did it have, and the greater advantage did the adversary take of it.

4th. *Badly conducted meetings*, have been found to discourage many, and to originate another cause of great injury.

5th. *Reporting that the awakening was at an end!* Christians then intermitted all their exertions, because they thought them useless; anxious sinners felt that it was then too late, and they either sunk down in a desponding state, or gave up all thoughts of the subject.

6th. *Calming the fears of awakened sinners*, by telling them that all would now be well with them, if they only held on! And O how weak and wicked was this delusion! and for that very reason how influential was it! They who told them so, were not aware how wide the distance and difference between *conviction* and *conversion* is; or they would never have told a soul, confessedly in a state of nature, not yet reconciled to God; in open, though remorseful rebellion against him; whose guilt was increasing, and whose pollution was deepening every hour; that all would now be well, if it only holds on so.

7th, *Encouraging the sinner to linger, by advising him "to wait God's time."* This takes for granted, that the convicted sinner has done all his duty; has become reconciled; has submitted to God; and that God is now in fault, for not having granted acceptance and relief. This is plainly laying all the blame on God, of the sinner's obstinacy. And the unregenerate, catches at this bait of destruction, and feels that it now rests on God's delinquency; and it rests satisfied because it rests in its sins, and revels in its pollutions on God's account. These two last mentioned causes have had awfully bad effects.

8th. *Turning the attention of awakened sinners to any book besides the bible.* We have known the reading even of Edwards on the Affections, though of unqualified excellence, totally discourage young chris-

tians, and drive back again to the world, some who were under convictions. Some people can see no difference between a *babe* in Christ, and one *full grown, strong in the faith*.

9th. *Proselyting views of conversation*. In more instances than one, have we known an attempt to proselyte, put an entire stop to the awakening. Your committee would notice this, as a very influential cause, in order that it may be carefully attended to. Some good men, and many that are not good, are nevertheless, so attached to some particular sect or party, that they would rather have no awakening, than have it in a community to which they do not belong ; which is a very emphatical mode of expressing a sentiment, which they would indignantly disavow when put into words ; that is, that they would rather sinners should go down to hell undisturbed, than that they should go to heaven any other way, than through the door of their party ! And it is some what strange too, to what shifts such sectarian feeling will drive men, for the justification of their own unholy views. One will ridicule the doctrine of a new birth, as a new doctrine. Another, will ridicule all christian feeling and experience. Another, will affirm that, no man can ever know whether he is born again or not. Another, will deny the possibility of being born again at once ; of any sudden change being produced on the heart. Another, will ridicule the idea, that the hope of an interest in Christ, is at all necessary to the communion of the church ; and will urge sinners to come to the communion table, because that is the only place to get religion. They will laugh at *extra. meetings* ; speak of them with trembling tenderness, as an awful worm and canker, at

the root of God's vineyard ; and affirm, that if God does not permit them to ruin it, yet, still they are, at the very least, altogether useless! And some have been afraid to have their children attend them, for fear of immoral effects, who have not feared to send them to dancing schools. Nor are the meetings themselves, only spoken against, but they who hold them, are considered as fools or enthusiasts, &c. &c. These objectors have gotten a system of saint making, and they who are not sainted according to its worm-eaten forms, are sinners still ; no matter how they walk in light and liberty ; no matter how they manifest faith and holiness ; no matter how they love God, or Christ, or his people. The evil influence of all this, arises from this circumstance, that sinners, who do not know the difference, will listen most readily to such men, professedly pious, as speak to them in the smoothest terms. It falls directly in, with the carnalities of their hearts, to think that sinners have got nothing to do ; that they are *not much in danger*, and that those, who think differently, are fools. Your committee have had reason to weep over the baneful effects of this weak and wicked conduct.

10th. *Breaking up anxious meetings while there are any anxious souls who wish to attend them.* We have known some instances, where anxious meetings were broken up, when there were still some anxious souls ; and now, at the distance of several months, we know of only very few of these that have gained relief, and the most of the others have become very cold and careless ; and christians too, were very much discouraged. In short, it evidently killed the awakenings wherever this course was pursued.

11th. *Giving anxious souls a false ground to rest upon.* A speculation ; an inference ; a notion ; or anything besides *Jesus Christ, the sure, the only foundation.*

12th. *Untimely preaching.* By this, your committee mean, pressing the *deep and difficult doctrines* of the bible, on the attention of sinners who had scarcely realized the elementary truth, of their own alienation from God. Forcing babes in Christ, to receive strong meat, when they can scarcely bear the pure milk of the word ! Your committee have known some mournful results of this folly, both among young converts and awakened sinners.

13th. *Cooling preaching.* Your committee are not sure, that they give the right name to this kind of preaching ; but they will explain their meaning. They mean *speculative discussions*, at a time, when the hearts of the hearers are deeply distressed. An endeavor to persuade convicted sinners, that they ought to be very suspicious of any indications of feeling, as savouring of enthusiasm, &c. That true convictions are never accompanied with feeling, &c. Your committee, mention this kind of preaching, *emphatically*, because some good men were led to it, no doubt, from an idea that the church was in great danger of becoming enthusiastic ! That those who felt it a primary duty, to press faith and repentance, almost exclusively, were too evidently zealots ! That errors of every hateful name would flow in and spoil the beauty of God's husbandry ; and that it now devolved on them to set all things right ! The heat was too great, and needed cooling. Now, this would all be well ! all right, if the head was the seat of religion ; if an *enlightened understanding alone*, would answer, as a

substitute for a renovated heart. It would not be so very bad either, if doctrines, separated from duty, would ever lead to vital holiness of heart. Your committee feel that you are fishers of men, and, that man can never be caught by the head alone ; he must be caught by the heart also, if ever caught. God's requirements are on the heart ; God's residence is there ; the influence of exhortation, persuasion, and entreaty is there ; the motives exciting fear, love, gratitude, are operative there ; the exercise of faith, repentance, submission, is there ; and your committee have known more injury done in one half hour, by such an effort of misjudged benevolence, than could be repaired in a month. Your committee do not undervalue speculative discussion, nor calmness, nor caution, but let every thing be done in its season, and in its due measure. A man may weep, and pray, and repent in agony, and yet, be neither *zealot* nor *enthusiast*.

14th. Your committee might mention many other things : such as, visiting, or receiving visits of ceremony, or friendship, while under conviction. Engaging in worldly conversations, or pursuits. The *ungodly lives of professors*. THE LEVITY OF THE CLERGY. And their INDOLENCE TOO. Their WELL-MEANT BUT MISTAKEN ZEAL against *sects and parties* ; thus turning their feelings from the perishing state of those souls committed to their care ; but they refrain.

And in conclusion, beg leave to notice the general character of the whole work. It was a deep heart work ; free from delusions, from dreams, from visions, from new revelations. Sinners were brought to see themselves awfully ruined ! going down to hell, unable to help or extricate themselves from their miseries ! Sinking under the penalty, and far from the purity of

God's law; and thus shut out from every other hope, they were shut up to the faith of the gospel. They were led to see *Jesus* as the *only way* to God the father; as an able Saviour; as a very willing Saviour; as a Saviour just at hand, promising "whosoever cometh unto me, I will in no ways cast out." And they have come, renouncing all reliance on themselves and trusting wholly on the finished righteousness of Jesus the redeemer, as the only ground of acceptance with God the father. Taking him for wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and complete redemption; and resting on him, have obtained joy and peace in believing; have cherished a hope of forgiven sin; a good hope through grace. And those who cherish this hope, have generally been humbled and diffident; oppressed with a sense of unworthiness; excited by a strong desire to have others partake of the same blessings with themselves. They have been uncommonly united together in christian love. And out of a number, not much less than two thousand, who have been hopefully converted to God, of whom near *fourteen hundred*, have united themselves to the communion of your church, not more than *four or five*, are known to have shown conclusive signs of apostacy, now at the distance of almost a year.

"And when God makes his jewels up,
And sets his starry crown;
When all his sparkling jems shall shine,
Proclaim'd by him, his own :
May they, a little band of love,
Be sinners, sav'd by grace;
From glory unto glory chang'd,
Beholding face to face!"



Your committee would also beg leave to notice, that from documents before them, in which they have the most implicit confidence, it appears that there has been a work of God's grace carried on in Orange county; nearly, if not altogether as extensive, as that detailed in their report; and would express their regret, that their limits will not allow, even an abridged account of it. They would, however, notice that in all its features, it is exactly like your own. That the means employed; the causes helping or hindering its progress, and the glorious results, do not differ perceptibly. In one place, *Deer-Park*, where Mr. Blain is placed, there were over sixty brought to God in three weeks; and the work was stopped in a single day, by a dispute about baptism! And they would also state, that in the counties of Otsego, Chenango, Cortland, Madison and Ontario, there has been a similar out-pouring of the spirit within the same year, and the fall of the year preceding; bringing into the family of God, more than two thousand children.

In Columbia too, and Rensselaer counties, and in many other places, the Lord's glory has been seen and his saving health experienced.

At present there is a glorious work of God's grace going on in Cherry-Valley, where nearly two hundred are rejoicing in hope. It is spreading into Springfield and Middlefield, Cooperstown, Auburn, Camillus, Onondaga, Brutus, Salt-Point, and other places. We hear too from New-Haven, from Weathersfield, North-Killingworth, city of Hartford, Newington, Farmington and several other towns in Connecticut; from Dr. Spring's church in New-York, and from Coxsackie, Catskill, Hudson, Kinderhook, Athens,

Claverack and the Boght, where the Lord's Christ is conquering gloriously. Surely every heart is ready, in angelic strains, to say, "glory to God in the highest, there is peace upon earth and good will to men."

All which is most respectfully submitted.

**THOMAS McAULEY,
HALSEY A. WOOD,
MARK TUCKER,
ELISHA YALE,
WALTER MONTEITH,
ELIPHALET NOTT,**

Committee.

Postscript.

Your committee cannot help noticing the surprising resemblance between this work of God, and that work of his in Northampton, in 1734, under the ministry of President Edwards, whose praise is in all the churches. The history of which, we have in the 3rd vol. of his works; which history, changing names and dates, would be a tolerably good history of the late revival; and the committee would most earnestly recommend the perusal of that book to every one. And they would beg leave, to refer to the passages where the strongest points of resemblance are found. They have used the Worcester edition of 1808.

In page 15. It will be found that worldly conversation was very rarely admitted.

- 17. The subjects were elevated in singing, and greatly devoted to that exercise.
- 18. Some people mocked; called the awakening a distemper!
- 21. Some ministers came to see! went home; told their people all they saw; which was the occasion of an awakening with them.
- 22. All ages and sexes were subjects of the work; communions were frequent; *eighty admitted in one day.*
- 24. Several whole families were savingly converted.
- 25. Great diversity of operations on the sinners' hearts.

In page 27. Convictions increased, as the penitents drew near relief.

- 29. The enmity of the heart, unusually excited in some.
- 30. Awakened sinners, first exercised most about outward sins, afterwards, most exercised about heart sins.
- 33. Some, only a few days under conviction, some, a great while.
- 38. Some obtained comfort in reading or hearing some text of scripture, others, without any particular text occurring.
- 42. Some had great joy, some laughed, some wept for joy.
- 43. The judgement and practice of some ministers were severely blamed.
- 44. Telling of conversions, was a great mean of carrying on the work.
- 50. The renewed heart was full of *Christ*, his *grace*, his *love*, his *suitableness*, his *excellency*.
- 53. The converts made astonishing progress in doctrinal knowledge.
- 55. They were greatly afraid of a false hope ; of being hypocrites ; of being deceived, &c.
- 57. Often refreshed, by telling experiences to each other.
- 59. The causes of stopping the work.

In all these, there was no difference between the work in 1734, in Northampton, and in 1820 *in your* vicinity ; nor was there any difference, in the *mode*, and *kind of opposition*, in the two great and wonderful works.

Page 190. Ministers were blamed for addressing the *affections*.

- 195. For preaching terror.
- 200. For frightening children !
- 201. For frequent meetings.
- 208. Converts were blamed for talking and rejoicing.
- 213. For singing so much.
- 215. And children for holding meetings, &c. &c. &c.

Robert Fleming too, that celebrated *Scotch* divine, in his *book* on the *fulfilling* of the *scriptures*, as quoted by Mr. *Willison*, of *Dundee*, by Dr. *Owen*, by *president Edwards*, and others, as worthy of highest credit, shows us, that awakenings in Germany, in Holland, in Ireland, and in Scotland, had been very general and powerful. And we find, that those which he describes, especially in the *West of Scotland*, were exactly like those of our own day. 'Page 302, Art. 3, he speaks of that wonderful work of God's grace in the year 1625, every feature of which, and of the opposition it met with, and of the slanders it was assailed with, and of the effects which followed, were similar to the work before us. And again, in page 303, Article 4, he gives the account of the remarkable outpouring of God's Spirit, on the 21st June, 1630, at the *Kirk of Shots* ; where, under *one Sermon*, nearly five hundred were hopefully converted to God, and they mostly continued lively and solid christians. And he tells us too, that the preceding night, had been mostly spent in prayer, by the christians of that place ! and that the awakenings in Ireland in 1628, were very similar.

From the Evangelical Magazine of October, 1816, there has been copied into the Religious Intelligencer, vol. 2, page 469, an account of a most glorious revival in Glenlyon, in the *Highlands of Scotland*, in that year ; which, in all its leading features, corresponds exactly with the awakening in Saratoga county and elsewhere.

LETTERS
OF THE
REV. DR. BEECHER AND REV. MR. NETTLETON,
ON THE
"NEW MEASURES"
IN
CONDUCTING REVIVALS OF RELIGION.

WITH A
REVIEW OF A SERMON,
BY NOVANGLUS.

If the iron be blunt, and he do not whet the edge, then must he put to more strength : but wisdom is profitable to direct. Eccles. x. 10.

And the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets ; for God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all churches of the saints. 1 Cor. xiv. 32, 33.

Let all things be done decently, and in order. 1 Cor. xiv. 40.

Also, that the soul be without knowledge, it is not good ; and he that hasteth with his feet sinneth. Prov. xix. 2.

The Lord was not in the earthquake. 1 Kings xix. 11.

Of some have compassion, making a difference ; and others save with fear, pulling them out of the fire : hating even the garment spotted by the flesh. Jude 22, 23.

PUBLISHED AT THE REQUEST OF SEVERAL GENTLEMEN OF THE
CITY OF NEW-YORK.

NEW-YORK:
G. & C. CARVILL, BROADWAY.

1828.

Southern District of New-York, ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the seventeenth day of January, A. D. 1828, in the fifty-second year of the Independence of the United States of America, G. & C. Carvill, of the said District, have deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors, in the words following, to wit :

Letters of the Rev. Dr. Beecher and Rev. Mr. Nettleton, on the "New Measures" in conducting Revivals of Religion. With a Review of a Sermon, by Novanglus.

• If the Iron be blunt and he do not whet the edge, then must he put to more strength : but wisdom is profitable to direct. Eccles. x. 10.

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Of some have compassion, making a difference ; and others save with fear, pulling them out of the fire : hating even the garment spotted by the flesh Jude 22, 23.

Published at the request of several gentlemen of the city of New-York.

In conformity to the Act of Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned." And also to an Act, entitled "an Act, supplementary to an Act, entitled an Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

FRED. J. BETTS,
Clerk of the Southern District of New-York.

J. SEYMOUR, PRINTER, JOHN-STREET.

PREFACE.

THE importance of religion, in each and all of its multiform relations, surpasses the comprehension of mortals, as it can be fully resolved only by the intelligence of God. Other things are known by comparison; but religion is so transcendent, that all other things are less than nothing in the contrast, and worse than nothing in the rivalry of this! Phil. iii. 8. But this view of the matter evinces its importance *in relation merely to men*. It has also a relation to God, its author, patron, and avenger: since, with religion, and its advancement on his footstool, are connected the development of his glory, the honour of his worship, and the venerableness of his name! Precious in his sight are the ark of his covenant, the lustre of his mercy-seat, and the glory of his righteousness.

In this aspect of the subject, the *purity* of religion is as important as religion itself; and for this valid reason, *genuine religion is, strictly speaking, the only religion*. So thought the apostle, when he wrote on this topic to the *Galatian* church, in respect to the influence of certain innovators, who, on pretence of *improving* the religion of Christ, were really adulterating and destroying it.

Every departure from the truth and order of "the glorious gospel of the blessed God," is to be deprecated. It is either a corruption of the gospel, or a fearful *approximation* towards it. *Obsta principiis*, *resist the beginnings*, is the counsel of wisdom. God would not have given so much instruction on this identical point, as the bible contains, if *much had not*

been necessary. Many rays are emitted at his order from the natural sun, as the means of making our day ; but who, that loves the light, will deem one of them superfluous ?

The importance of truth in religion, as that which brightens our moral atmosphere and makes our day, is perhaps more frequently admitted than *the importance of order*. Truth and order are viewed as if so distinct, as to possess almost nothing in common. What is this, but to mistake them ? They are near relations, and almost *inseparable* intimates ! The value of truth is in subserviency to order ; and subjective religion is that influence of truth which, “ through the eternal Spirit,” restores and establishes order in the mind. Hence a religious man is one who, through the truth, becomes “ sober minded ;” having his thoughts, *feelings*, motives, and conduct, all *subordinated* to his divine Superior, and *ordered* in all relations according to the will of God. Such a man, in proportion as he is religious and *experienced*, delights in universal order ; loves it in individuals and communities, in things sacred and things secular, in the relations of life, domestic, social, civil, and ecclesiastical. To be the enemy of order, is to be the enemy of God : and to seek the advancement of religion by the measures of disorder, is to misunderstand its nature ; to exercise zeal at the expense of godliness ; and to frustrate the end by the means we adopt to promote it. Unless we would justify the policy of the Jesuit, and imitate the “ pious frauds” of the Romish *propaganda*, and so forego our claim to the honour of *protestant* christianity, let us remember that the *end* cannot sanctify or change the moral nature of the *means* ; and that all our measures in reli-

gion, are *first* to be sustained in the court of conscience, in regard to the purity of *the means and motives* which they involve, and *then* carried forth into performance to the glory of God. Otherwise, we shall sin in the pursuit of the best ends ; and what is worse to us, be blinded against the truth that would work our correction.

The recent collisions of sentiment, concerning *the proper method of conducting religious revivals*, have but revived a well known controversy. Not only in our own times, but in all ages of the world, have its latent principles been agitated in the visible church. Since the period of the reformation, they have been more frequent and obtrusive. In the time of Luther, the spirit of disorganizing appeared, to disparage the cause of truth, to vex its noble "helpers," and to aid the malice of the exterior foe. The civil agitations of the time of Cromwell, were but the counterpart, perhaps the consequence, of a worse radicalism in the church. The mounds of order were demolished, the friends of order were denounced ; and nothing was *spiritual* that did not disclaim *manhood in understanding*, and enlist in a furious crusade against truth and soberness. Nor have we wanted the experiment in our own country. The times of Edwards and Whitfield witnessed the currency of counterfeits, and were scourged with the principles, from which, as a general mint, the spurious coinage proceeded. Whoever reads with attention *the fourth part* of Edwards on *the revivals in New-England*, will be convinced that our present dissention is itself no novelty : perhaps he will believe also, that if "truth and soberness" be with the sentiments of Edwards on this subject, there is sober and just ground to suspect

the propriety of "means and measures," which, in some respects, are rightly termed "new;" for they have not, till of late, been extensively revived in our times. The concluding part of the life of Brainard inspires the same conviction. Recent events, for a few years seem to betoken *a struggle for principles* in this matter, to which we *may be* fast approaching, and the catastrophe of which we may be equally unable to avert or endure. In the mean time, however, it becomes all parties to be cautious: "Walking circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise." Let us hear to the counsel of apostles, and digest it *prayerfully*, before we act or speak in a cause, of which the right or the wrong may not be *exclusively* on either side. "For if we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged." 1 Cor. xi. 31.

Our reasons for the publication of these letters in their present form, are several: a persuasion of their excellence and prospective utility; a regard to the interests of the church in future ages, to whom these documents may be serviceable: their greater convenience in the pamphlet form for the perusal of general readers; a demand from many quarters, where the controversy is in some degree appreciated, or where an interest in its principles begins to be apparent; an anticipation of the *possibility* that there may be *special use* for these letters in their combined state, even before our age has passed away, either in the way of *prevention* or of cure; and, especially, a desire to give to all our contemporaries that admonitory counsel against the genius of religious extravagance, which perhaps *some of them* need, and which these letters are deemed *peculiarly* competent to afford: nor will we conceal, among the motives that induce this publica-

tion, a wish for the discrimination of *persons* as connected with *principles*; at least so far as to demonstrate, on the subject of religious revivals, what are, and *what are not*, the views of such excellent and accredited fathers in the church, as those whose names occur as the writers of these letters—names that will, we doubt not, remain when all *combustible* matter shall have passed away, and be held “in everlasting remembrance.” We wish to have *responsibility* understood in relation to its proper subjects; so that if these “means and measures” should still be maintained, and should finally succeed, we may know *whom* to praise, under God, for the wisdom that applied, and the patience that sustained, and the courage that defended them: and if they fail; if they induce desolation to the churches; if their pathway shall hereafter be traced by the burning of their progress; if their consequences *should* prove widely ruinous, and confessedly wrong in the end; if the worst anticipations of these letters should be at last realized, or, possibly, transcended,—*that it may be at least known*, though our heads should then be low in dust, and known by witnesses that we furnished, and that shall survive and faithfully interpret us, *that some were NOT their patrons; and especially that such names as NETTLETON, and BEBCHER, and PORTER, to say nothing of others, were not responsible for their devastation!* This has been, especially with *Mr. Nettleton*, as we have understood and believed, one great motive in all the publications; as we know that his mind felt relief, and his conscience enjoyed the solace of peacefulness, when his letters were first published to the world, from the consideration that he had done an important duty,—not, as we believe, without self-de-

nial and real diffidence in other respects, more than would be appreciated, if declared, in the present world. We have no disposition to exalt the man, though we have yet to learn it if there be no difference between flattery and praise ; or, if it be wrong to "receive him in the Lord with all gladness, and hold *such* in reputation, or even to esteem them *very highly in love* for their work's sake." Besides, his name is now associated with principles which are endeared to a large and enlightened circle of Christians.

For the sake of religion, we think it of great moment that these letters should be read from the autographs of their writers, or at least from printed copies which confess their names, and can be subjected to their scrutiny and sanction ; and especially that *candidates for the ministry* should become *thoroughly* acquainted with them ; lest, on the one hand, through ignorance or mistake, they become prejudiced against the very name of *revivals* ; or, on the other, so wedded to incorrect principles, and that probably from profound ignorance of the true, that their future influence shall sweep us as with the spirit of the whirlwind, or the death-blast of the sirocco ; till all that has been dreaded, as the legitimate result of erroneous principles, shall be visited upon the ruined churches of our land : an evil not to be borne by our children, and which ought to be foreseen, and, if possible, prevented, by the wisdom, the firmness, and the *prayerfulness* of their fathers.

Copy of a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Aikin, of Utica.

ALBANY, Jan. 13, 1827.

MY DEAR BROTHER—Would that I had time and strength to give you particulars on the state of religion in this region and elsewhere. In Albany it is interesting. But I have great fears that the disposition of some zealous Christians round about us, to proclaim it abroad, and to run before their own hearts and the real state of things, will run it out into noise. I have already felt the evil. I find that many are disposed to make ten times as much of the same state of things as I have been in the habit of doing, though they know but a small part of what I have seen in this place. I have met a number of circles of different kinds. Some are rejoicing in hope, and a number anxious for their souls. Various reports have gone out concerning a Revival in Albany, which have done us much mischief. If they would let us alone, I should expect a great work in this city. But among so much noise and bluster of Christians, it promises fair to end in smoke. But after all, the good people here are astonished at our stillness. My opinion is, that had they been ten times as still, they would already have witnessed ten times as much.

Seven years ago, about two thousand souls were hopefully born into the kingdom, in this vicinity, in our own denomination, with comparative stillness. But the times have altered. The kingdom of God now cometh with great observation. Opposition from the world is always to be expected. It is idle for any minister to expect a Revival without it. But when it enters the church of God, the friends of Zion, cannot but take the alarm.

There is doubtless a work of grace in Troy. Many sinners have hopefully been born into the kingdom; but it has been at an awful expense. Many of our first ministers have visited the place, to witness for themselves. Such men as Dr. Griffin, Dr. Porter of Catskill, Dr. Nott, Mr. Tucker, Mr. Cornelius, and many more. Some of them have heard a number of sermons. After giving credit for preaching much truth, they uniformly say, "I never heard the names of God used with such irreverence." Dr. Griffin gave me a number of specimens. I do not wish to retail them. The

church in Troy is greatly divided. Some have taken a dismission; others are consulting neighbouring ministers about the path of duty; and others are beginning to attend worship by themselves.

But the worst is not told. The spirit of denunciation which has grown out of the mode of conducting the revivals at the West, is truly alarming. We do not call in question the genuineness of that revival, or the purity of the motives of those who have been the most active in it. You, doubtless, are reaping and rejoicing in their happy fruits. But the evils to which I allude, are felt by the churches abroad; members of which have gone out to catch the spirit, and have returned, some grieved, others soured, and denouncing ministers, colleges, Theological Seminaries, and have set whole churches by the ears, and kept them in turmoil for months together. Some students in divinity have done more mischief in this way than they can ever repair. I could mention names, but for exposing them. Some ministers and professors of religion have been to Troy, from the surrounding region, on purpose to catch the flame, and have returned home, saying, "We do not want *such* a revival as they have in Troy."

I went down to H—— a short time since, and spent a Sabbath, and there met seven or eight ministers from various parts; and you would be perfectly astonished to hear them tell the troubles which have been introduced into their churches from the western revivals. The church in H—— has been in a complete turmoil all summer long, occasioned by a student in divinity, who had heard Mr. Finney.* He commenced operations to have a revival on the new plan. He found fault with every thing the settled minister was doing, and raised an angry dispute about females praying in promiscuous assemblies. He went about trying to raise a party to "break down the Pastor," as he called it. I cannot be particular—only, before he came to the place, there was some attention, and a few conversions. But a desperate attempt to introduce the practice of females praying with males, raised an angry dispute which lasted all summer. And they had a revival of anger in the church, but no more conversions. This account I had from the lips of the minister of the place, his wife, and session. That you may understand my meaning, I have given this only as a specimen.

* He had been in the western revivals and adopted the new measures. Some say that he had not then heard Mr. F. Of this circumstance I was not informed until *after this letter was written*.

The evil is running in all directions. A number of churches have experienced a revival of anger, wrath, malice, envy, and evil-speaking, without the knowledge of a single conversion,—merely in consequence of a desperate attempt to introduce these new measures. Those ministers and Christians who have heretofore been most and longest acquainted with revivals, are most alarmed at the spirit which has grown out of the revivals of the West. This spirit has, no doubt, greatly deteriorated by transportation. As we now have it, the great contest is among professors of religion—a civil war in Zion—a domestic broil in the household of faith. The friends of Brother Finney are certainly doing him and the cause of Christ great mischief. They seem more anxious to convert ministers and Christians to their peculiarities, than to convert souls to Christ.

It is just such a contest as I have sometimes seen, in its incipient stages, in New-England, between some young revival ministers on the one side, and whole associations of ministers on the other. The young revival ministers, wishing to extend the work into all the churches, in their zeal would enter the limits of settled Pastors and commence their operations, and plead my own example for all their movements; and so the war would begin. And all those ministers who would not yield the reins and sanction their imprudences, would be sure to be proclaimed as enemies to revivals. Being thus defeated, these young ministers would come to me to make their complaints, and to work on my mind the conviction that all those ministers were enemies to myself; whereas the whole evil lay in a violation of all the rules of ministerial order and Christian meekness, or in the inexperience, ignorance, and imprudence of these young ministers. I am sorry to speak thus of my best friends; but it is due to my brethren to say, that those very ministers, who had been thus slandered by my young brethren, have since come to me with tears, urging me to visit their flocks. There is not one of them but would bid me a welcome, and would rejoice in a revival; but they would not invite these young ministers to preach for them who had been so rash in their proceedings, and guilty of slandering them as stupid, and dead, and enemies of revivals. In this manner some of the most promising young revival ministers have run themselves out, and lost the confidence of settled Pastors and Christians in general.

The spirit of denunciation which has grown out of these Western revivals, seems to be owing to the implicit confidence which has been placed in the proceedings of just such young ministers as leaders. They dared not attempt to correct any of their irregularities, for fear of doing mischief, or

of being denounced as enemies to revivals. This I know to be the fact. Brother Finney himself has been scarcely three years in the ministry, and has had no time to look at consequences. He has gone, with all the zeal of a young convert, without a friend to check or guide him. And I have no doubt that he begins with astonishment to look at the evils which are running before him.

The account which his particular friends give of his proceedings, is, in substance, as follows: He has got ministers to agree with him only by "crushing," or "breaking them down."* The method by which he does it, is by creating a necessity, by getting a few individuals in a church to join him, and then all those who will not go all lengths with him are denounced as enemies to revivals; and rather than have such a bad name, one and another falls in to defend him: and then they proclaim what ministers, elders, and men of influence, have been "crushed" or "broken down." This moral influence being increased, others are denounced, in a similar manner, as standing out, and leading sinners to hell. And to get rid of the noise, and save himself, another will "break down." And so they wax hotter and hotter, until the church is fairly split in twain. And now, as for those elders and Christians, who have thus been converted to these measures; some of them are sending out private word to their Christian friends abroad, as follows: "I have been fairly *skinned* by the denunciations of these men, and have ceased to oppose them, to get rid of their noise. But I warn you not to introduce this spirit into your church and society." And so, Brother Finney's supposed friends, men of influence, are sending out word to warn others to beware of the evils which they have experienced. I heartily pity Brother Finney, for I believe him to be a good man, and wishing to do good. But nobody dares tell him that a train of causes is set in operation, and urged on by his own friends, which is likely to ruin his usefulness.

I have become acquainted with some of the young preachers who profess to have taken their stamp from Brother Finney. I do not believe that there is much in them of the original. I am sorry to say, that the spirit which they manifest, and unwittingly diffuse, appears to me to resemble any thing rather than the "wisdom which is from above," or the

* The phrases, "blistered," and "skinned," and "broken down," and "crushed" were coined and are current only among the friends of the new measures. This language I took from their own lips, and was careful to give credit to inverted commas. And yet when the above was read in the Oneida Presbytery, the language sounded so harsh when used by others, that one of these very men remarked that "the man who wrote it was instigated by the devil."

"fruits of the Spirit." The minister who should exhort Christians in the following strain, "Put on, therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering, forbearing one another, and forgiving one another," I fear would be denounced as being far, "very far, behind the spirit of the times." They do cultivate, and awaken in others, what very much resembles the passion of anger, wrath, malice, envy, and evil speaking. This is the inevitable consequence of their style of preaching. As Dr. Griffin observed, "It sounds like the accredited language of profanity," or as a pious woman of colour in Troy expressed it, "I do wonder what has got into all the ministers to swear so in the pulpit."

There is not a minister of my acquaintance, who has visited Troy, and heard a number of sermons, but is alarmed on this subject. I have noticed, that the most pious and devoted Christians, from the revivals where I have been, are the last to fellowship these men and their measures: and that those professors, whose piety has heretofore been considered the most superficial or doubtful, are the first to fall in with both.* I except a few pious persons, who have never witnessed a revival in any form, and are anxious for one. And the reason to my mind is perfectly obvious: it requires nothing but zeal without knowledge.

Whoever has made himself acquainted with the state of things in New-England, near the close of the revival in the days of Whitfield and Edwards, cannot but weep over its likeness to the present. It is affecting that the warm friends of Zion should unwittingly betray her best interests. But so was it then. The young itinerants, in their zeal to extend the work, began to denounce all those settled ministers who would not go all lengths with them. And then those members of churches who loved their pastors would assemble around to defend them; while those who favoured the itinerants assembled around them, and imbibing their spirit, of course lost all confidence in a settled ministry: And so the churches were split in twain. The spirit of God took its flight, and darkness and discord reigned for half a century. And those preachers who had taken the lead, having cultivated such a spirit, began to fall into awful darkness themselves, when they saw the ruin that followed their labours. Some of them made and published their recantations to the world, which are now extant. But it was too late. A retri-

* This fact, so novel and mysterious to many, is easily explained. It is a practical comment on the principle advocated in Mr. Finney's printed sermon.

bution followed. Some few of the young converts were called to order by David Brainard, who passed through Connecticut at that time. But after their recantations these leaders were generally denounced by their own followers. Could Whitfield, and Edwards, and Brainard, and Davenport, now arise from the dead, I have no doubt they would exclaim, "young men, beware! beware!"

In the remarks which I have made, you will understand me. I separate between the efficacy of the measures adopted in the Western revivals, and the evils which have grown out of those measures. Of the former, I have no doubt.* But the latter are certainly calamitous, beyond any thing I ever witnessed. Some of the subjects of these revivals, and others who have been present in them, are scattered over the country far from those scenes of operation. The tidings of the means used are told by those who have never witnessed a revival in any other form. Now, these means are very simple, and just such as every body can use, male and female. Who cannot call his minister stupid and dead, and pray for him by name as such? And if he gets mad, and all the church too, no matter for that; "the more opposition the better." This is certainly the way to have a revival; for it is Mr. Finney's method: And he has the sanction of such men as Mr. Lansing and Aikin, and others. They did not believe in such measures at first; but they have been broken down.

In this way some of our best ministers are slandered, the churches divided, and the efficacy of the regular services of the settled ministry destroyed. Overlooking the fact that the very means employed with wonderful success in the midst of a powerful revival are generally the very worst when carried out of the field of such an excitement. Some students in divinity, and others, in their attempts to imitate Brother Finney, have reminded us of the conduct and success of the seven sons of Soeva, who undertook to imitate Paul, in Acts xix.

The practice of females praying in promiscuous assemblies is considered as absolutely indispensable, so that nothing can possibly be done without it. I am sorry to say that some young men have been considered as acting "amorally foolish" on this subject. The practice itself is very taking with some real Christians, no doubt; but still more

* These revivals would doubtless have been equal, or even far greater, without the new measures. This I know to be the opinion of those ministers at the West, whose age and experience ought to qualify them to be the most competent judges. An attempt to introduce these measures in many places, has manifestly been followed with a blight.

so with the hypocritical and disorganizing part of society. Ministers have been told by such persons that they were too proud to permit females to pray before them; that they never could have a revival until they were willing to come down to that practice. Some of my brethren have been absolutely insulted by females on this subject. Thus many ministers and churches are tormented, and the spirit of a revival utterly destroyed in some places, and prevented in others. If our brethren at the West knew the evils that are felt by settled ministers abroad, I know they could not but weep over them. In the language of Dr. Griffin, "It is complete radicalism." The means which it is said have been so successful at the West, have been so caricatured by the ignoble vulgus in religion, running before Brother Finney into every city and town, far and near, that I am sure he must labour under prodigious disadvantage in all these places, without shifting the entire mode of his attack. The consciences of the wicked have become more callous than ever. Their language is, "I want no such religion." The hearts of our best ministers, and Christians generally, are grieved and exceedingly alarmed on this subject. It is owing entirely to the disorganizing spirit which has already been introduced into their churches, that ministers, in general, so far as I am acquainted, are afraid to invite Brother Finney, or any who adopt his peculiarities, to preach for them. Some of Brother Finney's younger brethren and friends may attempt to work on his mind the conviction that most of our ministers and churches are enemies to revivals, and unfriendly to himself. I feel it my duty to speak in their behalf. I know it to be a mistake. The best friends of revivals, as they have heretofore witnessed them, are certainly the most afraid to invite him into their churches, and are the most alarmed at the evils that are rising. And, I must say, that his friends are certainly labouring to introduce those very measures, which I have ever regarded as ultimately working ruin to our churches; and against which I have always guarded as ruinous to the character of revivals, as well as to my own usefulness.

For example: whoever introduces the practice of females praying in promiscuous assemblies, let the practice once become general, will ere long find, to his sorrow, that he has made an inlet to other denominations, and entailed an everlasting quarrel on those churches generally. If settled pastors choose to do it, on their own responsibility, so be it. For one, I dare not assume so great a responsibility. In this way churches were once laid waste. And it is by keeping out, and carefully avoiding every thing of this kind, that some

of them have again been built, others kept orderly, and the character of revivals, for *thirty* years past, has been guarded. If the evil be not soon prevented, a generation will arise inheriting all the obliquities of their leaders, not knowing that a revival ever did or can exist, without all those evils. And these evils are destined to be propagated from generation to generation, waxing worse and worse.

The friends of Brother Finney are afraid to interfere to correct any thing, lest they should do mischief, or be denounced as enemies of revivals. "Brother Nettleton, do come into this region and help us; for many things are becoming current among us which I cannot approve. And I can do nothing to correct them, but I am immediately shamed out of it, by being denounced as an enemy to revivals."—Thus my ministerial brethren from the West, whose views accord with my own, have been calling to me, in their letters during the summer past. "There is religion in it, and I dare not touch it. I see the evil, and tremble at the consequences; but what can I do?" This is the language of many of his warmest friends. And so the bad must all be defended with the good. This sentiment adopted, *will certainly ruin revivals*. It is the language of a novice. It is just as the devil would have it. If the friends of revivals dare not correct their own faults, who will do it for them? I know no such policy. I would no more dare defend in the gross, than condemn in the gross. And those who adopt the former practice, will soon be compelled by prevailing corruptions to take along with it the latter. The character of revivals is to be sustained on the same principles as that of churches, or individual Christians. *If we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged*. It is not by *covering*, but by *confessing* and *forsaking*, that pure revivals are to prosper. In this manner their character has long been sustained. Things have not been left to run to such lengths in our day. A strong hand has been laid on young converts, old professors, and especially on zealous young ministers, as many of them now living can testify. I have been afraid to kindle fires where there was not some spiritual watchman near, to guard and watch against wildness, for which I might become responsible. Some students in divinity have caught and carried the flame into neighbouring towns and villages, and no doubt have been the means of the salvation of some souls. But I am sorry to say, that some of them have run before me into the most populous places, and have carried their measures so far, and have become so dictatorial and assuming, that, in the opinion of the most judicious and influential ministers of my acquaintance, they have done far more mis-

chief than good. They have pleaded my example for many measures, which, as to time and circumstances, I utterly condemn. Some of the means which I have never dared to employ except in the most interesting crisis of a powerful revival, they have caricatured in such a manner, and raised such prejudices against myself among strangers, that they have caused me much trouble. My plans have been laid to visit many towns and cities, and have been wholly defeated by these students in divinity thus running before me. I have been much grieved, and exceedingly perplexed on this subject. They assume an authority, unwittingly I allow, and adopt measures, which no ordained minister could do, without ruining his usefulness. Evils arising hence have uniformly been arrested in their progress, by my taking the part of settled Pastors among their flocks: at a great expense of feeling, on the part of my young friends, no doubt; but the cause of revivals evidently required it.*

I have been anxiously looking and waiting, all summer long, for such men as yourself and Mr. Lansing, and others most intimately acquainted with Brother Finney, to take hold, with a kind severity, and restore order; but in vain. It is not expected that a powerful revival can exist among imperfect beings without more or less irregularity and opposition; but it is expected that these things will generally subside, and leave the churches in a more peaceful, happy, and flourishing state than ever. This has uniformly been the case, where revivals have prevailed. But irregularities are prevailing so fast, and assuming such a character, in our churches, as infinitely to overbalance the good that is left. These evils, sooner or later, must be corrected. Somebody must speak, or silence will prove our ruin. Fire is an excellent thing in its place, and I am not afraid to see it blaze among briars and thorns; but when I see it kindling where it will ruin fences, and gardens, and houses, and burn up my friends, I cannot be silent.

Had the evil been checked in the commencement, it would

* There is a large class of ignorant well meaning people, who in a revival become officious, and sometimes exceedingly troublesome to settled Pastors. And no evangelist can shake them off without offending them. And if he does not shake them off, he will shake off ministers for a while—and then they will shake him off. These things were named, not as ground of complaint, but only as a clue to correct greater evils, such as owe their origin entirely to a desperate attempt to introduce the new measures. Some ministers at the West, however, instead of taking the hint to correct, have taken it only as a cover to their own incorrigible offspring, inasmuch that ours too are running to them for protection. It is certainly a good riddance to us.

have been an act of kindness to Brother Finney, and great gain to the cause of revivals. He would have found ministers every where bidding him welcome. His help is every where greatly needed. For a settled Pastor, the entire confidence of other ministers would not be so important. But, whoever undertakes to promote revivals, by running through the world, in this age of revivals, must have the entire confidence of settled ministers generally; otherwise he will unsettle ministers, and desolate churches, wherever he goes. Without their hearty co-operation, he will certainly labour at great disadvantage: as if a mariner, steering his ship in a storm at sea, in his zeal should quit the helm, and ply his strength at the mast.

The practice of praying for people by name, in the closet, and the social circle, has no doubt had a beneficial effect. But, as it now exists in many places, it has become, in the eye of the Christian community at large, an engine of public slander in its worst form. I should not dare, in this solemn manner, to arraign a fellow-sinner before a public assembly, without his own particular request, unless my expressions were of the most conciliatory kind. And no Christian minister, whatever his character may be, can adopt the practice without awakening the indignation of the world at large, and of Christians generally, against him. Much less can it be done by any body, and every body, who takes it into his head positively to decide the question, and to tell God and the world, that such and such persons are unconverted. I do not believe, whatever may be the effect upon the individual thus named, that God will regard such a prayer in any other light than as that of a proud, self-righteous Pharisee.

There is another interesting topic that lies near my heart; but the time would fail me to express my views and feelings on the subject. That holy, humble, meek, modest, retiring Form, sometimes called the Spirit of Prayer, and which I have ever regarded as the unfailing precursor of a revival of religion, has been dragged from her closet, and so rudely handled by some of her professed friends, that she has not only lost all her wonted loveliness, but is now stalking the streets in some places stark mad.

Some, in their zeal on the subject of the *prayer of faith*, are tormenting others with their peculiar sentiments, which, if correct, every body sees must equally condemn themselves; thus rendering themselves and their sentiments perfectly ridiculous.

I have given you but an imperfect sketch of my own and the views of our brethren abroad on this subject; but I assure you, as a whole, it is not overdrawn. How to correct

these growing evils, I cannot tell. Our brethren, far and near, some of Brother Finney's best friends, at the West not excepted, by letter and otherwise, have long been urging me to lay the subject fully before him. The evils which have existed abroad have certainly been very much concealed from him and his friends. It is certainly right that he should know something of the evils which have run from under him; and the feelings of the friends of Zion at large. I have nothing to say to him in the style of crimination or controversy. I have been too long on the field of battle to be frightened about little things, or to make a man an offender for a word. For Zion's sake, I wish to save Brother Finney from a course which I am confident will greatly retard his usefulness before he knows it. It is no reflection on his talents or piety, that, in his zeal to save souls, he should adopt every measure which promises present success, regardless of consequences; nor, after a fair experiment in so noble a cause, to say, I have pushed some things beyond what they will bear. The most useful lessons are learned by experience.

I wish I had health and strength to show Brother Finney my whole heart on this subject. I have long been wishing to correct some of his peculiarities, that I might invite him into my own field and introduce him to my friends. Aside from feeble health, one consideration only has prevented me from making the attempt. Some of his particular friends are urging him on to the very things which I wish him to drop. I fear that their flattering representations will overrule all that I can say. And having dropped these peculiarities, his labours for a while might be less successful; and then he would resort again to the same experiment. But I can inform him, that the same measures which he has adopted, have been vigorously and obstinately pursued in New-England, against the repeated advice of settled Pastors, and that too, by one of the most powerful and successful ministers that I have ever known, until, confident of his own strength, he quit them all, with this expression, "We will see who will answer by fire"—a most unhappy expression, as he afterwards told me with tears. The result was, he lost his usefulness in our denomination. Some of his spiritual children, now excellent men in the ministry, have never dared to adopt his measures, but have uniformly opposed them. Others, some ministers and laymen, who followed him, became disorganizers; and the leader himself turned Baptist, and soon after died.

There is another method of conducting revivals, which may avoid these difficulties. Settled Pastors occupy nearly the whole field of operation. They have, and ought to have, the entire management in their own congregation. Each

one has a right to pursue his own measures, within his own limits; and no itinerant has any business to interfere or dictate. It will ever be regarded as intermeddling in other men's matters. If they do not choose to invite me into their field, my business is meekly and silently to retire. And I have no right to complain. But many young men are continually violating the rules of ministerial order and Christian propriety in these respects. Impatient to see the temple rise, they are now doing that, which, it appears to me, will tend ultimately, more than any thing else, to defeat the end which they wish to accomplish. They are now pulling down in many places, the very things which I have been helping ministers to build up; and for which I have often received their warmest thanks. It is a sentiment which I have had frequent occasion to repeat to my young brethren in the ministry, "Better forego the prospect of much present good, in your own opinion, than to lose the confidence of settled ministers, without which you cannot be long and extensively useful."

There is, certainly, another and a lawful point of attack on the kingdom of darkness, which, when you have taken, and it is seen, possesses wonderful advantages. It will give no offence to the church of God. It will be sure to rally around you every faithful soldier of the cross. Though it may seem too slow and silent in its operation, yet, being the lawful method of conducting this warfare, it will secure the confidence of ministers and Christians, the consciences of the wicked, and a crown of glory.

And now, Brother, I have ventured to lay before you the subject of my prayers and tears, and I may add, the subject which brought me back to a region which I never expected to visit again. If you discover any thing in this communication unchristian or unkind, you will pardon it. If, in your opinion, it can do no mischief, or will do any possible good, you are at full liberty to show it to Brother Finney, or any of the friends of Zion whom it may concern. We will lay the subject at the feet of our Divine Master, and there will we leave it.

Yours, in the best of bonds,

ASAHEL NETTLETON.

New-York, December 6, 1827. The above letter was written sometime last December, immediately after a second in-

terview with Mr. Finney. From personal conversation with himself, but more particularly with his friends, I learned that they had adopted and defended measures which I have ever regarded as exceedingly calamitous to the cause of revivals.

This letter was written originally as an expression of my own and the views of my brethren generally on this subject, without intending to send it to any one. As my opinion was repeatedly solicited on this subject by the friends of Mr. F. I thought it best to give it in writing. Accordingly this letter was read at different times to not less than twenty ministers, and to some who had adopted the measures in question. In this silent manner I laboured for a number of weeks, hoping to persuade the latter to drop them; but to my surprise, I found that my own name was continually employed to give them sanction; nor was it in my power to prevent this perversion, without publishing my views to the world.

It was concluded that the subject of these new measures, unless they were speedily corrected, must sooner or later come before the Christian public; and as all the ministers who had kindly attempted to interfere to correct them, as ruinous to revivals, had so long and so often had their motives impeached and misrepresented, and been denounced as cold, and stupid, and dead, that they had now ceased to do it; it was also concluded, that by this time, our Western brethren might possibly be ignorant of the views and feelings of the Christian community on this subject. Their long silence might be misconstrued into an acquiescence in those measures. It was well known, however, that New-England as a body, and also the Presbyterian Church as a body, as well as the friends of revivals in general, would not defend the measures in question, nor be responsible for any of the evils which they would certainly occasion.

As preparatory to publishing, and to cut off occasion for after complaints, it was thought best that I should delay no longer sending a communication to some one or more of our brethren in the Oneida Presbytery. The above "document" is one, and only a small part of what I have written to the members of that body. What I have done in laying the subject before them, was not done without the knowledge and approbation of the Watchmen of Israel—the long—the tried—the acknowledged friends of Zion.

The question has often been asked, "Why did not Mr. N. tell Mr. F. his views before he published them to the world?" I have done it in as gentle a manner on paper as I knew how to do it. And I leave it to all the friends of Zion whether I could have chosen a better method.

The report is in extensive circulation, that "Mr. F. had

long been wishing to see Mr. N., and that he was willing to sit at his feet and learn."—This honour, of which I am unworthy, I would have gladly declined, had it been in my power.

If, however, his "wishing to sit at my feet and learn," was not an after-device to justify himself in correcting nothing, he will not say that I have not taken some care and pains to instruct him. One lesson which was given him is the above letter, which, having been sent to Utica, was duly received, and laid before him and a number of his friends. The pupil who should tell "how willing he was to learn," and complain to his neighbours that his teacher would not instruct him, would excite little sympathy with the public, if it were known that he was at the same time carrying his lesson in his pocket.

After consultation, some advised to conceal it. But this could not be done. And now in January, for the first time, Mr. F. preached his Sermon in Utica, from these words, "How can two walk together except they be agreed?"

It was afterwards preached in Troy. Some who have talked and written so knowingly on the Sermon, as though Troy were its birth-place, need to be informed that they have travelled out of the "record." I do not state this because I have adopted their opinion that the contents of a Sermon professedly on the subject of vital piety, cannot be well understood without a knowledge of its origin.

But some who were present and heard the Sermon in Utica, were simple enough to consider it as a personal attack upon the author of this letter. I was immediately informed by persons who were present and heard both the letter and the Sermon, that probably nothing would be corrected—and that arrangements would be made accordingly.

"Though Mr. F. "blazed" and "burned" in his Sermon, as I was informed, yet I did not feel at all "offended."

But soon the mournful tidings reached my ears, "Mr. Nettleton has lost his mind"—"He is not the man he once was"—"His character has sunk wonderfully"—"The lies came from hell, and the smoke from the bottomless pit." How these reports were set in circulation, I did not take the trouble to ask. I can still repeat the language of my letter, "I have been too long on the field of battle to be frightened with little things, or to make a man an offender for a word. For Zion's sake I wish to save Brother F. from a course which I am confident will greatly retard his usefulness before he knows it."

Had the friends of the new measures been kind enough to inform us of their determination not to renounce them, it might have saved their brethren much painful anxiety and

many fruitless exertions. But let them no longer use the names of their brethren to sanction measures which they have always utterly condemned. They have full liberty to introduce them in their own names and on their own responsibility.

For one I feel bound by all the solemnity attached to the ministerial office, to declare to the Watchmen of Israel my views of the danger of these measures, and in this public and decided manner to clear my conscience from lending my name to sanction their past, their present, or their future calamitous consequences. And the friends of these new measures are invited and earnestly solicited to come out with their names and their defence in this same public and decided manner.

I had long since a copy of this letter corrected for the press. But to cut off occasion for complaint, I publish it entire without those corrections. It has been publicly charged in the Western Recorder with containing false statements. As this is a little out of order, the public will excuse me for not replying to an unknown charge brought by an unknown "Traveller."

He complains, that "the public have been kept in darkness long enough." I think so too. There are a number of such "Travellers" for whose sake I send out this letter, hoping to shed some light on their path.

A. N.

Extract of a Letter from Oneida County, Sept. 6, 1827.

Mr. Finney's sermon, according to the best information I have, was preached at Utica last winter, soon after the reception of Mr. Nettleton's letter to Mr. Aikin. In that letter Mr. Nettleton had pointed out, in a very friendly manner, certain irregularities, which he described as running out from under Mr. Finney into various parts of the country, and which Mr. Nettleton and ministers generally, consider as calamitous in their tendency, and adapted to do great injury to the cause of revivals. The object of the letter did not appear to criminate Mr. Finney, of whom it speaks kindly, and for whom it apologises, but to point out to himself and his most influential friends, in order to their being corrected, such things as, if suffered to proceed, must greatly injure his usefulness. Many ministers and Christians in this region had

seen things of the same general nature as those mentioned in that letter, and had occasionally made them the subject of animadversion, in private conversation, but of no direct public discussion from the press, previous to the publication of the sermon. It was well understood, however, that there were many things accompanying the revivals in this region, of which ministers and Christians, as well as others, were disposed to complain; for which complaints, those ministers and Christians had been arraigned before the world in the *Western Recorder*, and severely censured, as for their coldness and opposition, and taking sides with the enemy. The sermon was afterwards preached in Troy, I am informed, while a complaint was before the Presbytery there, and yet undecided, which related to similar things which were matters of difficulty in that place. The preaching and printing of the sermon, under these circumstances, when taken in connexion with its contents, cannot leave a doubt, I think, on the mind of any impartial reader, that it was designed as a vindication of the things complained of, and such a vindication too, as, if judged sufficient, would and must condemn all those ministers and Christians who complained, as being like the impenitent in their moral feelings, "*walking with the ungodly, because they are agreed.*" It being considered that these circumstances were all well known to Mr. Nettleton when he wrote his remarks, and that the sermon pronounces so severe a condemnation upon the great body of revival ministers in our country, and gives such advice to their people to "shake off their sleepy ministers," as is adapted to encourage every disorganizing measure which any enthusiast might be disposed to adopt, it seems strange to me that any friend of pure revivals should be backward to acknowledge his obligations to Mr. Nettleton for those remarks, or to consider them as unduly severe. And I am especially surprised that any who know these circumstances should represent them as an unprovoked personal attack, or consider them in any other light than as the temperate and appropriate defence of a large majority of the ministers and Christians of our country against the unfounded and injurious charges contained in that sermon, by the lucid exposure of the false principle on which the whole of them are built, and by which they are attempted to be supported.

I think that those who are for stopping the discussion, are in a mistake respecting the true policy in the case. I think much of *Cotton Mather's* warning: "There was a town called Amyclæ, which was ruined by silence. The rulers, because there had been some false alarms, forbade all people, under pain of death, to speak of any enemies approaching

them: so, when the enemies came indeed, no man durst speak of it, and the town was lost. *Corruptions will grow upon the land, and they will gain by silence.* It will be so invidious to do it, no man will dare to speak of the corruptions; and the fate of Amyclæ will come upon the land."

Remarks of Mr. Nettleton on a Sermon by Rev. Mr. Finney.

The following remarks were communicated in a letter from Mr. Nettleton to the Rev. Dr. Spring, of New-York, and published in the Observer. They appear somewhat severe, but we have such confidence in the prudence and better judgment of the writer, that we have no doubt that he thought them necessary.

Durham, N. Y. May 4th, 1827.

My dear Brother—I have read Brother Finney's sermon from the words, "How can two walk together except they be agreed?" The principle on which it rests, is contained in the following sentences:

"If any thing, even upon the same subject, that is far above or below our tone of feeling, is presented; and if our affections remain the same, and refuse to be enlisted and brought to that point, we must feel uninterested, and perhaps grieved and offended. If the subject be exhibited in a light that is below our present tone of feelings, we cannot be interested until it come up to our feelings; if this does not take place, we necessarily remain uninterested. If the subject be presented in a manner that is far above our tone of feeling, and our affections grovel and refuse to rise, it does not fall in with and feed our affections: therefore we cannot be interested; it is enthusiasm to us, we are displeased with the warmth in which our affections refuse to participate; and the farther it is above our temperature, the more are we disgusted. These are truths to which the experience of every man will testify, as they hold good upon every subject, and under all circumstances, and are founded upon principles that are incorporated with the very nature of man."

Now all this, so far as Christians and *true* religion are concerned, I take to be false in theory, contrary to fact, and dangerous in its consequences. Present to the mind of the

Christian, whose holiness and flaming zeal shall equal that of Paul, the least degree of holiness in any saint, and he will not be offended, but interested. He would be greatly delighted with even "babes in Christ." And the higher the tone of his piety and holy feeling, the greater will be his delight even "upon the same subject." Now raise the tone of pious feeling up to that of the spirits of just men made perfect, and holy angels, and still they will not lose their interest, "even upon the same subject." They will rejoice even over one sinner that repenteth, far more than will those whose feelings fall to the level of the penitent himself.

Nor is it true that Christians are always better pleased with those, whose tone of feeling is on a level with their own. The least saint on earth loves holiness in others, and rejoices in their growth in grace. And he loves those most whose tone of holy feeling is raised farthest above him; and for the same reason he loves the Saviour more than all. Every child of God, who reads his bible, is far better pleased with the high-toned piety of Job and Daniel and David and Isaiah and Paul, than he is with that of other saints, whose piety falls below theirs, or to the level his own. What Christian can read the memoirs of Edwards and Brainard without deep interest? I know of no Christian that does not read them with far greater interest than he would have done had they exhibited far less of the spirit of Christianity. And though Christians feel condemned by their high-toned piety, yet for this very reason they are not "offended and grieved," but love them the more. Though Christians are not up to the tone of piety exhibited by David and Paul, Edwards and Brainard, yet they are highly delighted, and could walk together with them.

Again: take the example of our Saviour. No Christian on earth is better pleased with any other. Though many of his friends have died and gone to heaven whom he still loves, yet the Christian can say, "Whom have I in heaven but thee, and there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee." The tone of the Saviour's pious and holy feeling is certainly raised far above that of all his followers. Hence, according to the sentiment of the sermon, he could have had no followers while on earth, and can have none now. All his disciples must have been "*displeased* with his warmth." And the higher it rose "above their temperature, the more they must have been *disgusted*."

Present to the mind of the Christian the holy character of God. Is not this subject far above the tone of the feelings of any man? Now, according to the sentiment of the sermon, if our affections are not brought to that point, we must

feel "uninterested—grieved and offended." According to the principle of his own sermon, Brother Finney and his friends cannot walk with God, for they are not agreed. It must be acknowledged that God has an infinitely higher tone and degree of holy feeling than Brother Finney. He is not "up to it." Consequently, on his own principles, they cannot be agreed. God is displeased with him, and he with God. Brother Finney must "*necessarily*" be displeased with that high and holy zeal in his Maker, which so infinitely transcends his own:—and the "farther it is above his temperature, the more he will be *disgusted*." "These are truths," he observes, "to which the experience of every man will testify, as they hold good upon *every subject* and under all circumstances, and are founded upon principles that are incorporated with the very nature of man."

Besides: it will follow from his own reasoning, that Brother Finney and those Christians whom he denounces as "cold, stupid, and dead," actually agree better than himself and his Maker. For the tone of his own feelings is more on a level with that of these stupid Christians, than with the holiness of his Maker. Hence, as he more resembles, he must be better pleased with stupid Christians, than with the Holy Lord God. Hence, too, he must *love* them more than his Maker; that is, he must love the "creature more than the Creator, who is over all, God blessed for ever."

On the principle of this sermon, it is impossible to love God *supremely*. The Christian will love those imperfect beings best, who most resemble himself; angels still less, and God the least of all. So much for the foundation of this sermon.

On the principles of the Gospel, the following is strictly true: It is an acknowledged fact that Christians love God supremely, the infinite disparity between the tone of their holy and pious feelings notwithstanding. Hence, secondly, Christians will love those Christians most, who have the most of holiness and true zeal: for, the more there are of these, the more they see and admire the image of God in them. Hence, thirdly, Christians will love those revivals best, which have the most of God and true Christian zeal in them; for *true* zeal can never rise higher than holy love, and a due proportion and exercise of all the Christian graces. Hence, fourthly, the more pure revivals are, the more they will unite the hearts of all the true disciples of Christ: for the more pure revivals are, the more lively will be the exercise, and the more just the proportion of the Christian graces; and consequently, the greater the fellowship among the saints. Hence, fifthly, Christians who are really awake to the worth of souls,

and whose graces are in lively exercise, will be extremely careful not to excite needless opposition among saints and sinners; lest they should divide the former, and drive the latter to a returnless distance from the Gospel. The wakeful preacher will be extremely solicitous to give to the work a pure and lovely character, to enstamp the image of Christ—

And make his lineaments divine
In *thought and word and action shine.*

He will not dash on, regardless of remote consequences; but his vigilance and extreme caution will resemble that of the painter when he said, "I am painting for eternity."

What gives this subject a peculiar interest in my mind is this consideration,—that the parties named in the inspired text on which the sermon is founded, are not saints and sinners, nor warm and cold hearted Christians. But the text itself means, primarily, God and man. How can a holy God and sinful man walk together except they be agreed? Though God is infinitely holy, and man a vile worm, yet they can so agree as to walk together on earth. This is commanded: "Walk before me, and be thou perfect"—"What doth the Lord require of thee, but to *walk* humbly with thy God?" Now this would be impossible for man or angels, on the principle of the sermon. "Enoch walked with God," and so does every saint and babe in Christ; but not on the principle that the tone of his holiness is up to that of his Maker. The Bible enjoins growth in grace, and recognises different degrees of holiness in the saints on earth. Now, on the principle of this sermon, they cannot walk together. Those who bear the most fruit must separate themselves from all others, because they are not up to their standard; and so they must all be divided, according to their standing. For how can two walk together except they come up to the same tone of feeling! On Brother Finney's principle, it is *impossible* to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. There is no union between Christ and his members, and no fellowship of the Spirit. But according to the Bible, true religion is the same in all. That "Wisdom which is from above, first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy," is justified of *all* her children. "But if ye have bitter envying and strife in your hearts, glory not and lie not against the truth." "This wisdom descendeth not from above, but is earthly, sensual, devilish." "For where envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work." It does not require the same tone of holy feeling to produce harmony in the household of faith. There may be chords in

music, though some notes fall far below others. "And truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ."

There is fellowship among Christians, and unity of the Spirit, while some are far more holy and humble than others. This is correct in theory, and accords with fact. Even the Son of God, with all his burning zeal, never preached or prayed in such a manner as to offend one of his little children. (Luke xvii. 1, 2.)

The standard which Brother Finney has erected by which to judge of the propriety of measures, is that saying of Edwards, to "do what he thought proper in his *best frames*." Before he can plead the example of Edwards, Brother Finney must make the same distinction which Edwards has done, between true and false zeal—true and false affections,—lest himself and his hearers should make a fatal mistake by selecting the *worst* frames of the Christian or hypocrite as their example. This mistake has often been made. It was made by Davenport and his followers, as he afterwards confessed. According to the Bible and Edwards, the Christian's "best frame," is when he has the most exalted views of God, and the lowest of himself; when he has the most of the graces of the Spirit in *harmonious* and lively exercise;—when he has the most of the "spirit, the meekness and gentleness of Christ;"—when he has the least of "God, I thank thee," and the most of "God, be merciful unto me a sinner." Again: the "best frame" of a *preacher*, according to the Bible and Edwards, is when he has the most of the *same graces* in lively exercise, and is most "vigilant," most "gentle unto all men," and most willing to "become all things to all men, if by all means he might save some,"—"in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves,"—"and when he combines most of the *wisdom* of the serpent with the harmlessness of the dove."

"Ministers should be like lions to guilty consciences, but like lambs to men's persons. The amiable, Christ-like conversation of such ministers, in *itself* would terrify the consciences of men. If there had been constantly and universally observed such a behaviour as this in itinerant preachers, it would have terrified the consciences of sinners ten times as much as all the invectives and censorious talk there has been concerning particular persons for their opposition, hypocrisy, delusion, and Pharisaism." These, according to the Bible and Edwards, are the "best frames" of the preacher. But, on the principle that the tone of his holiness must equal that of his Maker, no man can *think* himself to be in a "good frame," without having very low thoughts of God, or very

exalted thoughts of himself, or both. This, according to the sermon, is the "best frame." According to his own sermon, Brother Finney must have very low thoughts of God's holiness, or very high thoughts of his own, or both; or he must think himself in a very "bad frame; for "How can two walk together except they be agreed?" Is this the scale on which Brother Finney is labouring to raise others to the tone of his own feelings?

Were not the subject too solemn, I would ask Brother Finney how high he has ascended, and how many he sees above, and how many below him, and at which company he feels the most "grieved and offended." This scale is no new thing. [See 2 Cor. x. 12.] From such a frightful measurement, Paul and his company stood aloof. On this principle, every real Christian must give up his hope, and none but hypocrites, or those much inflated with spiritual pride, would dare take the comfort of the sermon to themselves; and it can never be made to vindicate any thing but false zeal, false affections, and spurious conversions of every kind. Brother Finney's heart must be better than his head, or he is labouring under an awful delusion.

The sermon in question entirely overlooks the nature of true religion. It says not one word, by which we can distinguish between true and false zeal, true and false religion. Indeed it does not seem to hint that there can be any such thing as false zeal and false religion. If the tone of feeling can only be raised to a certain pitch, then all is well. The self-righteous, the hypocrite, and all who are inflated with pride, will certainly be flattered and pleased with such an exhibition; especially if they be very self-righteous and very proud. False affections often rise far higher than those that are genuine: and this every preacher, in seasons of revival, has had occasion to observe and correct. And the reason of their great height is obvious. There are no salutary checks of conscience—no holy, humble exercises, to counteract them in their flight. And they court observation. "A Pharisee's trumpet shall be heard to the town's end, when simplicity walks through the town unseen." If the preacher is not extremely careful to distinguish between true and false affections, the Devil will certainly come in and upset and bring the work into disgrace. False zeal and overgrown spiritual pride will rise up and take the management, and condemn meekness and humility, and trample upon all the Christian graces, because they are not "up to it."

Matters of fact which have passed under my own observation, might serve as illustration. I have often seen it; and

the preacher who has not been tried with this subject, and learned to correct it, has not got his first lesson.

Leaving out of the question the *nature of true* religion, as Brother Finney has done out of his sermon, there is a sense in which his theory perfectly accords with experience and matters of fact. So far as false zeal and false affections are concerned, the principle of the sermon is correct. A. and B. are very zealous, and extremely self-righteous; and being equally so, they can walk together, for they are agreed. Both having come up to the same tone of feeling with Brother Finney in his sermon,—now they are all agreed, and all pleased, having done all that the preacher required. Now the zeal of A. “strikes far above the tone of feeling” in his fellow, and both are “displeased, grieved, and offended.” B. does not come to the tone of A. and “therefore he cannot be interested; it is enthusiasm—he is displeased with the warmth in which his affections refuse to participate; and the farther it is above his temperature, the more he is disgusted.” The Christian and the hypocrite may come up to the *same tone of feeling*; and yet they cannot walk together, for *other* reasons. The character of their affections differs as widely as light and darkness. And the higher their affections rise, the wider the distance between them. And no tone or degree of feeling can possibly bring them together. Every effort of the preacher to unite them by raising the tone of feeling, will only increase the difficulty. This, too, accords with experience and matters of fact. Hence, those who adopt the same creed, and belong to the same communion, can have no fellowship. Though they are up to the same tone of feeling, and feel *deeply*, yet they cannot walk together, for they do not feel *alike*. Feelings which are not founded on *correct* theology cannot be *right*. They must *necessarily* be spurious, or merely animal.

Without great care and close discrimination, the preacher will unwittingly justify all the quarrels and divisions in our churches. The church at Corinth valued themselves on their great spirituality, and high attainments in religion. Now on the principle of the sermon in question, their divisions and quarrels could be no evidence to the contrary, but much in their favour. Each one esteeming others worse than himself, would conclude that the whole difficulty lay in their not coming up to the tone of his own feelings. And this sermon would have confirmed them all in their good opinion of themselves. But *Paul* told them that the very contrary was true. “For whereas there is among you envying, and strife, and divisions, are yet not carnal, and walk as men.” Without the same care, the preacher will condemn others for keeping the

unity of the spirit in the bond of peace ; and for "being of one accord and of one mind." *That peace*, and harmony, and order, in which Paul so much rejoiced, will be disturbed and broken and trampled upon, by disorganizing spiritual pride, under a pretence that all are "cold, and carnal, and stupid, and dead, and not up to the spirit of the times." All who are thus inflated, will take the advantage of this sermon, and be sure to construe all opposition to their own disorganizing movements and measures, into an evidence of superior piety in themselves. And all false converts, and others inflated with spiritual pride, will join them if great care be not taken to discriminate between true and false zeal, and to give the distinguishing marks of both. Spiritual pride will often court opposition, and glory in it, and sometimes adopt the sentiment, "The more opposition the better."

A number of examples might be given as illustration. One man has been for some time past under process of discipline for the following offence : In his great zeal for a revival, at a public meeting, among other things, he called his excellent pastor the "head Achan," and said that "his character was as *black as hell*." Though he has nothing against his minister, yet he justifies himself entirely on the principle of the sermon in question ; and says that "he did it to have a revival,"—not even suspecting that there can be any such thing as false zeal and overgrown spiritual pride, leading him to adopt measures which every humble Christian and all the true friends of revivals will certainly condemn. The result is an unanimous vote of excommunication.

In the course of the trial this fact has been clearly developed : that the *character* of the religious excitement which he wishes to promote, is just such as all the church and all the revival ministers of my acquaintance, would deplore as the greatest calamity.

All who are acquainted with the history of facts on the subject, know that it was on the principles of the sermon in question, that the revival was run out in the time of Edwards, and in Kentucky and Tennessee rising of twenty years since. And all those ministers who do not discriminate between true and false zeal, true and false affections, in their preaching and conversation, and make that difference and hold it up to the view of the world, if possible, clear as the sun, heartily approving of the one, and as heartily and publicly condemning the other, will turn out to be the greatest traitors to the cause of revivals. They become responsible not only for the sentiment in question, but also for all the corruptions which prevail in consequence of this neglect. The neglect of ministers to correct these evils for fear of do-

ing mischief, or of being denounced as carnal and cold-hearted, or as enemies to revivals, is extremely puerile and wicked. On the same principle they must not attempt to correct intemperance and profane swearing in church members, lest they should be ranked among the wicked as infidels and enemies to Christianity. The sentiment in question would, if carried out into all its consequences, defend every abomination in religion that could be named. It would soon come to this: that the only evidence that ministers are cold, and carnal, and stupid, and dead, is, that they cannot approve of every art, and trick, and abominable practice in laymen, women, and children, in their attempts to promote a revival. And their approbation of all these abominations, would be taken as a good sign and as an evidence that they are *awake*. Whereas none but carnal and cold-hearted ministers would be influenced by such mean motives. It is only a trick of the Devil, to frighten the watchman of Israel from his post, that he may get possession of it himself; or, what he would like still better, by such base motives to entoil and enlist him in his service, by compelling him to adopt his own measures. So did not Paul. His two epistles to the Corinthians contain little else than an humbling disclosure of abominable practices and quarrels about men and measures in promoting a revival. So did not Edwards. Though he was denounced at first, he could not be frightened; but frightened his denouncers, some of them at least, into a public recantation. A denouncing spirit is that with which *real* Christians have no fellowship, and are bound to shun.

Without regard to the admonition, "take heed to thyself," the preacher will be in danger of trampling upon the Divine direction, "In meekness instructing those that oppose themselves."

"The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men." Be kindly affectioned, be pitiful, be courteous." He will be in great danger of condemning the "meekness and gentleness of Christ," under the names of "carnal policy" and "hypocritical suavity of manner." The preacher should be extremely cautious what he says against "wisdom and prudence," as a mark of "puffing up" in his brethren; lest he trample upon the authority of his Divine Master, in the precept given him upon the same point:—"Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: be ye therefore *wise* as serpents and *harmless* as doves." His precept is founded on the fact that wicked men may become more offended with what is *wrong* in manner, than with what is *right* in matter. Hence the preacher may lose their consciences, and the Devil has gained the victory. If the wicked

ed *will* oppose, it becomes us to be careful how we furnish them with successful weapons against us. If we regard the direction of Christ, even though they rage, we may still keep our hold upon their consciences; and so long as we can do this, we need not despair of the victory. But when the preacher has lost the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove, the contest will end in a sham-fight, and the sooner he quits the field the better.

Paul would allow none to be teachers but those of "full age, who by reason of use have their senses exercised to *discern* both good and evil." Hence he would not license young converts to preach. "Not a novice, lest being lifted up with pride he fall into condemnation, reproach, and the snare of the devil." So far as his *message* was concerned, the apostle himself went forth, "saluting no man by the way"—"not as pleasing men." Aside from the *simple truth* of that message, no man was ever more yielding and flexible in manner and measures. "Give no offence, neither to the Jews, neither to the Gentiles, nor to the church of God." "Even as *I please all men in all things*—that they may be saved." "I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some." Was this "carnal policy?" and was Paul "in a very cold state when he wrote that?"

The wisdom of the measures adopted and recommended by Paul, appear from the fact that sinners may be more offended with what is *wrong* in manner, than with what is *right* in matter. If the preacher does not hold a balance between conscience and depravity, he can do nothing. The very fact that the unrenewed heart is so opposed to God and the Gospel, has by some been assigned as a reason for stirring up all its opposition. Whereas, aside from the simple exhibition of divine *truth*, Paul adopted a method directly the opposite. If the vigilance of human depravity should exceed the vigilance of the preacher in his manner and measures, by this very means he will quiet the consciences of his hearers. Regardless of his manner, Paul would have lost his hold on the consciences of sinners, and needlessly and wickedly have sent his hearers to a returnless distance from the Gospel. This made him exceedingly careful "lest he should hinder the Gospel of Christ." Since mankind *will* oppose, we should be careful not to put weapons of successful defence into their hands. While they oppose, we should be careful to keep their consciences on our side.

A powerful religious excitement badly conducted, has ever been considered by the most experienced ministers and best friends of revivals, to be a great calamity. Without close discrimination, an attempt to raise the tone of religious feel-

ing will do infinite mischief. This was the manner of false teachers. "They zealously affect you, but not well." It will be like that of Paul before his conversion, and like that of the Jews who were never converted, "a zeal of God but not according to knowledge." The driving will become like the driving of Jehu, "Come see my zeal for the Lord." The storm, and earthquake, and fire, are dreadful: but God is not there.

The design of these remarks is to show the infinite importance of distinguishing between true and false zeal,—true and false affections.

On reading the sermon in question, I was reminded of the repeated complaints which for some time past I have heard from the most judicious, experienced, and best revival ministers in the West; the substance of which is as follows: "There are various errors in the mode of conducting revivals in this region, which ought to be distinctly pointed out. That on the prayer of faith. This talking to God as a man talks to his neighbour, is truly shocking—telling the Lord a long story about A. or B., and apparently with no other intent than to produce a kind of stage effect upon the individual in question, or upon the audience generally. This mouthing of words; those deep and hollow tones, all indicative that the person is speaking into the ears of man, and not to God. I say nothing of the nature of the petitions often presented; but *the awful irreverence of the manner!* How strange that good men should so far forget themselves, as evidently to play tricks in the presence of the great God."

"I have often been struck with this circumstance in the mode of preaching, that nothing was heard of the danger of a spurious conversion. For months together, the thought never seemed to be glanced at, that there was any such thing as a satanic influence in the form of religion, but only as openly waging war against all religion. Such a character as an enthusiastic hypocrite, or a self-deceived person, seemed never to be once dreamed of. The only danger in the way of salvation was *coldness, deadness, and rank opposition*. On no occasion did the eye ever seem to be turned to another quarter in the heavens."

The last paragraph contains the thought to which I allude. The sermon in question bears striking marks of the same character. It is an important part of a preacher's duty in a season of powerful revival, to discriminate between true and false conversion. Without this, every discerning Christian knows that the work will rapidly degenerate. The most flaming spiritual pride will be taken for the highest moral excellence, and will rise up and take the lead.

Preachers who have not guarded well this avenue in seasons of powerful excitement, have always done more to arrest, and disgrace, and run out revivals, than all the cold-hearted professors and open enemies of religion together. It was this neglect in some zealous preachers, that run out the revival in the days of Edwards, and which led him to write his *Treatise on the Religious Affections*.

Edwards observes, "It is by the mixture of counterfeit religion with true, not discerned and distinguished, that the Devil has had the greatest advantage against the kingdom of Christ. By this he prevailed against New-England to quench the love and spoil the joys of her espousals, about an hundred years ago. By this the Devil has prevailed against the late revival in New-England, so promising in its beginning.* By this he has foiled us, and the daughter of Zion now lies on the ground. I have seen the Devil prevail in the same way against two revivals in this country."

"After religion has revived in the church of God, and enemies appear, people that are engaged to defend its cause, are commonly most exposed where they are least sensible of danger. While they are wholly intent upon the opposition that appears openly before them, to make head against that, and neglect carefully to look all around them, the Devil comes behind them, and gives them a fatal stab unseen; and has an opportunity to give a more home stroke, and wound the deeper, because he strikes at his leisure, and according to his pleasure, being obstructed by no guard or resistance."

"And so it is likely ever to be in the church whenever religion revives remarkably, till *we have learned to distinguish between true and false religion*, between saving affections and experiences, and those manifold fair shows, and glistening appearances, by which they are counterfeited; the consequences of which, when they are not distinguished, are often *inexpressibly dreadful*. By this means, the Devil gratifies himself, by bringing it to pass, that that should be offered to God, by multitudes, under a notion of a pleasing, acceptable service to him, that is, indeed, above all things abominable to him. By this means he deceives great multitudes

* He means the revival in 1740, and one about 1837. It is worthy of remark, that ever since the time of Luther, there has been, once in about 80 or 100 years, a violent assault of this kind upon the church, which has proved successful to a considerable extent. That period is just about sufficient for those who have witnessed one such event to pass off the stage, with their children who have heard their fathers tell it, and a generation to arise, ignorant of Satan's devices, against whom they may be again successfully put in practice.

about the state of their souls; making them think they are something, when they are nothing; and so eternally undoes them; and not only so, but establishes many in a strong confidence of their eminent holiness, who are in God's sight some of the vilest of hypocrites. By this means Satan brings it to pass, that men work wickedness under a notion of doing God service, and to sin without restraint, *yea, with earnest forwardness and zeal, and with all their might*. By this means he brings in even the friends of religion, *insensibly to themselves, to do the work of enemies*, by destroying religion in a far more effectual manner than open enemies can do, under a *notion of advancing it*. By this means the Devil scatters the flock of Christ, and sets them one against another, and that with great heat of spirit, under a notion of zeal for God; and religion by degrees degenerates into vain jangling. And in the midst of this confusion, the Devil has great opportunity to advance his own interest, and make it strong in ways innumerable, and get the government of all into his own hands, and work his own will." Thus much for Edwards.

If ever there was a call for close discrimination between true and false zeal, true and false conversion, the subject of the sermon in question demanded it. And without this discrimination, the preacher could not touch the spirit of his text, nor accomplish any important object. For, the least spark of grace, the lowest tone of right feeling or true love, is in unison with the feelings of all the saints on earth, in heaven, and with those of God himself. And possessing that love, they can all walk together. Whereas, whatever of eloquence or flaming zeal he might possess without it, Paul would pronounce himself "nothing;" and with it, the least saint on earth an heir of everlasting salvation.

It is of the highest importance that the preacher present to his hearers the distinguishing marks of true religion, the graces of the Spirit, in all their native loveliness; and at the same time, that he detect and expose every counterfeit. Having done this, he may labour with all his might to *bring them up to the highest possible tone*. He may exhort them to the exercise of "Love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance; and to be kindly affectioned one to another, with brotherly love, in honour preferring one another. That they walk with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. That they let nothing be done through strife, or vain glory, but in lowliness of mind let each esteem others better than themselves. Let all bitterness, and wrath,

and anger, and clamour, and evil-speaking, be put away from you, with all malice. And be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you. Likewise ye younger, submit yourselves unto the elder. Yea, all of you be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility." He may exhort them to "put on, as the elect of God,—and be covered all over with these shining graces,—bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering, forbearing one another : even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye.—And above all things, put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness." He may set their hearts all on fire with that heavenly Form—"so pure, so peaceable, so gentle and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy:"—that is so "long-suffering, so kind, envieth not, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked ; thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth ; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, and never faileth." These are the prevailing characteristics of a revival of religion. Their absence cannot be compensated by flaming zeal.

Nor is it sufficient that these and all other Christian graces be exhibited, and their counterfeit exposed in theory alone. For so hypocrites will claim them all as their own. Profession is not principle. "By their fruits ye shall know them." "Who is a wise man? Let him show out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom."

" Easy indeed it were to reach
A mansion in the courts above,
If watery floods and fluent speech,
Might serve instead of faith and love."

The most important part of the preacher's duty is, to exhibit the evidence of their existence in the heart, by corresponding actions in the life. And this, too, by being "examples to the flock ;" and by carefully copying the example of his Divine Master, "beseeching them by the *meekness* and *gentleness* of Christ."

As the time would fail me to complete the subject, Edwards may, in part, supply this deficiency in Brother Finney's sermon. I would therefore take this opportunity to recommend to all young converts a careful perusal of his account of the revival in New-England, *fourth part*, and what he says on the marks of true humility and spiritual pride, of which the following is a brief abstract :

Spiritual pride disposes to speak much of the faults of

others, and with bitterness, or with levity and an air of contempt. Pure Christian humility rather disposes to be silent about them, or to speak of them with grief and pity. Spiritual pride is very apt to suspect others; an humble saint is most jealous of himself. The spiritually proud person is apt to find fault with others that are low in grace, and to be much in observing how cold and dead they be, and crying out of them and sharply reproving them for it. The humble Christian has so much to do at home, with his own heart, that he is not apt to be very busy with the hearts of others, and is apt to esteem others better than himself, and to take most notice of what is good in them, while he takes most notice of what is wrong in himself. In his clearest discoveries of God's glory, and in his most rapturous frames, he is most overwhelmed with a sense of his own vileness, and feels the deepest self-abasement.

It is a mark of spiritual pride, when any are disposed to speak of what they see amiss in others, in the most harsh, severe, and terrible language; saying of their opinions, or conduct, or advice, of their coldness, their silence, their caution, their moderation, and their prudence, that they are from the *devil*, or from *hell*; that such a thing is devilish, or hellish, or cursed, and the like; so that the words *devil* and *hell* are almost continually in their mouths. And especially, when such language is used towards ministers of the gospel, and others whose age or station entitles them to particular respect. Humility leads the Christian to treat others that are in fault with meekness and gentleness, as Christ did his disciples, and particularly Peter, when he had shamefully denied him.

Spiritual pride disposes to affect singularity in manner and appearance, for the purpose of attracting observation. Humility disposes the Christian to avoid every thing which is likely to draw upon him the observation of others, and to be singular only where he cannot be otherwise without the neglect of a plain and positive duty. Spiritual pride commonly occasions a certain *stiffness* and inflexibility in persons, in their own judgment and their own ways. Humility inclines to a yielding, pliable disposition. The humble Christian is disposed to yield to others, and conform to them, and please them, in every thing but sin.

Spiritual pride disposes persons to stand at a distance from others, as better than they. The humble Christian is ready to look upon himself as more unworthy than others, yet he does not love the appearance of an open separation from visible Christians; and will carefully shun every thing that looks like distinguishing himself as more humble, or in any respect better than others.

The eminently humble Christian is clothed with lowliness, mildness, meekness, gentleness of spirit and behaviour, and with a soft, sweet, condescending, winning air and deportment. Humility has no such thing as roughness, or contempt, or fierceness, or bitterness, in its nature, which things are marks of spiritual pride; as are also invectives, and censorious talk concerning particular persons for their opposition, hypocrisy, delusion, pharisaism, and the like.

Spiritual pride takes great notice of opposition and injuries that are received, and is often speaking of them. Humility disposes a person rather to be, like his blessed Lord when reviled, dumb, not opening his mouth. The more clamorous and furious the world is against him, the more silent and still will he be.

Spiritual pride leads those who are reproached to be more bold and confident, and to go greater lengths in that for which they are blamed. Humility leads to improve the reproaches of enemies as an occasion of serious self-examination.

Spiritual pride leads to a certain unsuitable and self-confident boldness before God and man. Humility leads to the opposite.

Assuming is a mark of spiritual pride: putting on the airs of a master, to whom it belongs to dictate. Humility leads the Christian to take the place of a learner, to be "swift to hear, slow to speak." The eminently humble Christian thinks he wants help from every body, whereas he that is spiritually proud, thinks every body wants his help. Christian humility, under a sense of others' misery, entreats and beseeches; spiritual pride affects to command and warn with authority.

If young ministers had great humility, it would dispose them especially to treat aged ministers with respect and reverence, as their fathers, notwithstanding that a sovereign God may have given them greater success than they have had.

It is a mark of spiritual pride to refuse to enter into discourse or reasoning with such as are considered carnal men, when they make objections and inquiries. Humility would lead ministers to condescend to carnal men, as Christ has condescended to us, to bear with our unteachableness and stupidity, and still follow us with instructions, line upon line, precept upon precept, saying, "come let us *reason* together;" it would lead to a compliance with the precept, "Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a *reason* of the hope that is in you with *meekness* and fear."

Such are some of the marks of spiritual pride and true

humility pointed out by President Edwards. The abstract is given as much as possible in his own words. The whole of what he says on the subject deserves the most serious consideration.

The friends of religion have been so much gratified with that beautiful hymn by Newton, that I shall venture to insert it in my letter :

TRUE AND FALSE ZEAL.

Zeal is that pure and heavenly flame
The fire of love supplies ;
While that which often bears the name,
Is self in a disguise.

True zeal is merciful and mild,
Can pity and forbear ;
The false is headstrong, fierce and wild,
And breathes revenge and war.

While zeal for truth the Christian warms,
He knows the worth of peace ;
But self contends for names and forms,
Its party to increase.

Zeal has attained its highest aim,
Its end is satisfied,
If sinners love the Saviour's name,
Nor seeks it aught beside.

But self, however well employed,
Has its own ends in view ;
And says, as boasting Jehu cried,
" Come, see what I can do."

Dear Lord, the idol self dethrone,
And from our hearts remove ;
And let no zeal by us be shown,
But that which springs from love.

Your affectionate brother,
ASAHEL NETTLETON.

Rev. Dr. Spring.

FROM THE NEW-YORK OBSERVER.

———, *June 19th, 1827.*

Messrs. Editors,—The following communication from the Rev. Dr. PORTER, of Catskill, is designed to correct some reports which have, of late, been in circulation in this region, as well as to express his sentiments in relation to certain measures which have been introduced into some of our western revivals. Dr. Porter consents to its publication, and others have advised to the measure.

Catskill, June 14, 1827.

Dear Sir,—In a communication recently received from the West, to my great surprise, I have derived the following intelligence; to all which I feel it a duty I owe to the *public* and to *myself*, to make a reply. You say, “I have received information that a great revolution has taken place in the East in favour of Mr. Finney. It is said that Mr. Benedict, of Chatham, has pledged himself to Mr. Finney to support him; that at an interview with myself, Mr. Benedict won me over to Mr. Finney’s side; and that Mr. Benedict is now gone to New-York to create a sentiment in Mr. Finney’s favour; and it is moreover added, that I have been to Durham to convince Mr. Williston that Mr. Finney is right.”

As to the great revolution at the East, I have nothing to answer; and as to Mr. Benedict he can best speak for himself. From the interview I had with you at Durham, and in the stage to Catskill, and at my house, you know my sentiments perfectly. Since that time I have not seen Mr. Benedict in Hudson, nor been at Durham, nor seen Mr. Williston, nor communicated to him a single syllable on any subject whatever. Besides, I have had no occasion to change my mind on the matters in question, since I saw you; and after re-perusing Mr. Finney’s sermon and Mr. Nettleton’s remarks, and what I have seen in the papers, my opinion is precisely the same as I expressed it to you, when we were together. Whatever might have been Mr. Finney’s design, it is perfectly clear to my understanding, that the principle laid down and advocated in his sermon, opens the door for the introduction of all those extravagances so often witnessed in religious conferences and prayer meetings; and that Mr. Nettleton’s remarks on said sermon are in point, and that they have no severity beyond the demands of sober truth. Mr. Nettleton has done what a faithful minister of the gospel, and a

friend to revivals of religion, and one who has had so much experience in them, was in duty bound to do.

When he wrote his remarks, as you very well know, being present, he was expecting to go, in a few days, before his Judge; yet his remarks speak for themselves, and to me they afford convincing proof, that his mind was never more clear, and acute, and vigorous, than when he indited to his amanuensis those remarks. I know the views of many of the ablest ministers on the stage, and who have had the longest experience in religious revivals, and that they, with unanimous voice, condemn the measures in question, and to which so many facts testify as deleterious, and a calamity to be deprecated, and to be guarded against as one of the sorest evils which can befall the church in this or any other age. Among all my acquaintance, whether personal or by reputation, I know not of a single minister of our denomination, whether Congregational or Presbyterian, in whom I have reposed confidence, and whose praise is and has been for a long time, say for thirty years, in all the churches, but is opposed to many of the measures which have prevailed in Oneida county, Troy, and some other places. And here I am willing to mention some names,—names which I venerate. Drs. Hyde, Shepard, Griffin and Richards, and younger men of eminence for piety, talents, and success in the ministry, as Drs. Beecher, Humphreys, Spring, McAuley; and of Troy Presbytery, Messrs. Tomb, Prime, Lyman, Rogers, and also Dr. Blatchford of that body,—are united in the same mind and in the same judgment, in disapproving and condemning *measures which have been adopted and pushed to an alarming extremity, as an assemblage of facts testify beyond all contradiction, having transpired before many witnesses.* In respect to Mr. Nettleton's remarks on Mr. Finney's sermon, "Dr. Griffin is willing it should be said and published, that he considers the remarks *just what they should be.*"

The subject has now been before me more than a year. These extravagances are not new. They made their appearance before, and in, and after, the days of Edwards. They were followed with the most baneful consequences. They well nigh ruined the character of religious revivals in the estimation of the best ministers and the best Christians. It took the church half a century to repair the loss she had sustained. I have long been alarmed and distressed at what has been in progress of extravagance, and scarcely opened my lips. I am now constrained to express my mind with *decision and without reserve.* And I believe it as certain as my existence, that if a stop is not put to the extravagances and anti-scriptural measures, such as females of all ages praying

in social meetings when there are males assembled, and for persons by name, and in a style irreverent and shocking to the humble and contrite spirit, and so contrary to all scriptural example recorded in the Bible, revivals of religion will lose their character. If these things are introduced into revivals of religion, piety will revolt; it does revolt. These things throw our Theological Seminaries and Colleges into the back-ground. I consider the remarks of Mr. Nettleton as the development of a principle, the practical illustration of which is now portrayed before the eyes of the public by matters of fact.

I have much more in mind than I have time to write. You can make such use of this letter as you please. It is written in great haste,—but I have no fear arising from its publicity. Yours, &c.

DAVID PORTER.

FROM THE ALBANY CHRISTIAN REGISTER.

Mr. Editor,—The Review which I herewith send you, was written immediately on the appearance of the sermon. Events, however, occurred about that time, which encouraged the hope that its publication would be unnecessary; and it would not now appear, had not a Review of Mr. Nettleton's Remarks, and some other kindred publications, recently evinced a disposition on the part of the friends of the new measures, to defend and sustain the sentiments of the sermon.

NOVANGLUS.

REVIEW.

A Sermon preached in the Presbyterian Church, Troy, March 4, 1827, by the Rev. Charles G. Finney, from Amos 3. 3. Can two walk together except they be agreed?

The revivals in Oneida county and the vicinity, during the past year, have attracted much attention. They have been hailed by many as the commencement of a new era in revivals; and the measures understood to have had the most prominent place in their promotion, have been denominated

the *new measures*, and been thought by many to be a wonderful improvement. Some have intimated that the measures which were successful in promoting revivals in the days of our fathers, had now lost their efficacy, and would no more be blessed to that end : and others have gone so far as to say, our fathers did not know how to promote revivals, they did not know how to pray, nor did they know how to preach. Others again, have thought that they saw nothing new in these measures, nothing but what they had seen among other denominations in their own times, and had read of frequently in the history of the church in past ages. They have recognised, or thought they recognised, in these new measures, all the leading features of those which were pursued by Davenport and others, during the revival in New-England, in the days of President Edwards, and which are pointed out, in his *Thoughts on Revivals*, as among the things which are to be avoided. The author of this sermon has been considered the most prominent agent in the introduction of these new measures, so that they are often called by his name; though it is known by many that they had begun to be used in that region, among Presbyterians, in some degree, before he entered the ministry. These measures have not, indeed, been adopted in every place in that vicinity, where there have been revivals during the 'past year. It has been understood that some ministers and churches have been opposed to them, and have endeavoured to keep them out, as far as possible; and that others have admitted them only in part. And this backwardness of ministers and Christians to admit them, has been the subject of much animadversion, both from the press and otherwise. It is well known that some of the old and tried friends of revivals in that region have been much blamed on this account, and have been represented as opposed to revivals, hindering the work of the Lord, and strengthening the hands of the enemies of religion. Yet it is believed that they have generally borne these reproaches in silence, and have been backward to proclaim their objections. Indeed, some of them have been so backward to make known their objections, that their friends abroad have not known that they felt any, and in some cases have been led to believe that they had adopted the new measures in full. The friends of revivals abroad have at length become alarmed at the evils which have begun to reach them from the West, and have begun to communicate their fears, and to state their objections in letters to their friends on the subject. But so persuaded are some that these new measures must be right, and that all the real friends of revivals must approve of them, that they are ready to conclude that those

who are the known friends of revivals abroad must have been misinformed, and grounded their objections on exaggerated reports which have been put in circulation by the enemy. And though those gentlemen expressly say that they have derived their information from the friends of the new measures themselves, and from what has come under their own personal observation, this does not free those in that region who have been known to disapprove, from the suspicion and the charge of being the source of that misinformation. From the best information I can obtain, I conclude that those ministers and Christians who have not approved of the new measures, have been the most silent on the subject of any class of people in the vicinity; and I fully believe, that, when the truth shall be known, it will be found, that the friends of the new measures have themselves done more to spread the knowledge of them abroad, than all other classes put together. Some that did not approve have been silent, lest they should be thought to speak against the work of God, and be proclaimed as enemies to revivals; and some have thought that the prejudices of many were so strong, and there was so little disposition to make distinctions, that if they should attempt to correct any evils, their intentions would be misunderstood, and they should only lessen their own usefulness, without the prospect of accomplishing any important good. But those who have not approved are beginning to condemn themselves for the silence they have maintained, and to acknowledge it as an error that when they have seen the evil, they have suffered any considerations to deter them from raising the warning voice. It is to be hoped that the publication of this sermon will relieve them from any remaining scruples they may feel, and lead the way to a full discussion of the subject. It is certainly creditable to the author, that he has thus publicly taken the field, and given so fair a challenge to those who object to his measures. No objection can henceforth be made by their friends, if they are made the subjects of the closest scrutiny; for the sermon is so open and direct an attack upon all those ministers and Christians who do not approve of the new measures, that it will be ascribed to *cowardice*, or to the consciousness of *guilt*, if they do not speak in their own defence.

The object of the sermon evidently is, to account for the opposition which is made to the new measures, by ministers and Christians, as well as others, in such a way as to make that opposition a proof that those measures are right, and that all who oppose them are wrong; and especially that those ministers and professed Christians who oppose them,

give evidence by their opposition that the state of their hearts is the same as that of the impenitent world.

The sum of the argument is this : Sinners must be most opposed to that which is nearest right : But they are more opposed to these new measures than they are to those which others use : therefore these measures must be nearest right. And,

If ministers and professed Christians oppose the same things that sinners do, and make the same objections to them, they must feel just as sinners do ; but ministers and professed Christians do oppose these new measures ; therefore the state of their hearts is the same as that of impenitent sinners, and they are either hypocrites, or so cold hearted and dead, that there is no present difference in moral character between them and the impenitent world, and they ought to be so considered, and treated accordingly.

This appears through the whole discourse, and will be seen in the following extracts : Page 6. " We see why lukewarm professors and impenitent sinners have the same difficulties with means in revivals of religion. We often hear them complain of the *manner* of preaching and praying. Their objections are the same, they find fault with the *same* things, and use the same arguments in support of their objections. The reason is, that at that time, their affections are nearly the same ; it is the fire and the spirit that disturbs their frosty hearts. For the time being, they walk together, for in *feeling* they are agreed." Page 7. " We see why ministers and Christians visiting revivals, often, at first, raise objections to the means used, and cavil, and sometimes take sides with the wicked." " While their *hearts remain wrong*, they will, of course, cavil ; and the nearer right any thing is, the more spiritual and holy, so much the more it *must* displease them, while their *affections grovel*." Page 12. " That excitement which does not call out the opposition of the wicked and wrong-hearted, is either not a revival of religion at all, or it is so conducted that sinners do not see the finger of God in it." " The more pure and holy the means are that are used to promote a revival of religion, so much the more, of *necessity*, will they excite the opposition of *all wrong hearts*." " If the matter of preaching is right, and the sinner is pleased, there is something defective in the *manner*." Page 13. " The more right and holy feeling there is, the more wrong and unholy feeling there will be, of course." Page 16. " If we walk with the lukewarm and ungodly, or they with *us*, it is because we are agreed ; for two cannot walk together except they *be agreed*." Page 9. " We see why ministers are sometimes unsettled by revivals." He supposes the minister may awake, while the church will not, or that the church

may awake, while the minister will not. Page 10. "In either of these cases, they may find themselves unable to walk together, because they are not agreed. In the former case, let the minister obey the command of Christ, and 'shake off the dust of his feet for a testimony against them.' In the latter, let the church *shake off their sleepy minister*; they are better without him, than with him."

These extracts I think clearly show, that the object of the discourse is as before stated, to prove that the new measures are nearest right, because they are most opposed; and that those ministers and Christians who oppose them, thereby give evidence that they are agreed in heart with the impenitent world, and should be treated accordingly.

The whole argument is highly sophistical, and the main conclusions of the discourse entirely unwarranted; yet the prejudices of many readers are no doubt so strongly enlisted in favour of the author's system, that they will think it a finished piece of sound reasoning, and the conclusions supported by irrefragable arguments. A few words might suffice to expose its sophistry to those whose minds are unbiassed; but a more extended examination is doubtless expedient, for the sake of such as are predisposed to embrace any thing the author may advance.

And perhaps it may tend to convince some that the reasoning is unsound, even though they should not be able to discover wherein, to let them see a few other conclusions which the same kind of reasoning would equally support.—Take the following:

Some impenitent sinners are greatly displeased with the new measures for promoting revivals; some professed Christians and ministers are greatly displeased with them also: therefore, it is concluded, they are walking together, because they are *agreed*, and are both equally wrong. This is the author's argument; but it will prove the contrary, just as well. For,

Some impenitent sinners are much taken with the new measures, and are very anxious to have them introduced; some professed Christians are also much taken with them, and are as anxious to have them introduced: therefore, they are walking together, because they are *agreed*, and are both equally wrong.

Again, some professed Christians are pleased to hear a man preach, who treats his subjects in a clear, argumentative manner, though he is not very forcible in his delivery; some impenitent sinners are also pleased to hear him: therefore, it is concluded, they are walking together, because they are *agreed*, and are both equally wrong. But,

Some professed Christians are displeased when they hear such a preacher, and complain of him as "a dull man;" some impenitent sinners are also displeased, and make the same complaint: therefore, they are walking together, because they are *agreed*, and are both equally wrong.

Again, some professed Christians wish to have the doctrines of the gospel fully and clearly preached, and are best pleased with such preaching; some impenitent sinners also wish the doctrines preached, and are best pleased with such preaching: therefore, it is concluded, they are walking together, because they are *agreed*, and are both equally wrong. But,

Some professed Christians are very unwilling to have the doctrines of the bible dwelt upon, and are always displeased with such preaching; some impenitent sinners are also unwilling to have those doctrines dwelt upon, and are always displeased with such preaching: therefore they are walking together, because they are *agreed*, and are both equally wrong.

These examples may suffice to show how the method of argumentation adopted in the sermon will support opposite conclusions equally well. A few other examples will show how the same method of reasoning will support some conclusions which would be as offensive to the friends of the new measures, as some of these which are drawn in the sermon are to others. Take the following:

Impenitent sinners always pray for their own salvation *without submission*; it is an essential ingredient in the prayers of some at this day, that they be made *without submission*: therefore they walk together, because they are *agreed*.

Some individuals now venture to predict certain future events, in consequence of impressions which they suppose have been made on their minds by the Holy Spirit; Stork, Munzer, and their associates, in the days of Luther, did the same; therefore they walk together, because they are *agreed*.

Stork, Munzer, and their associates, *denounced* Luther and Calvin as carnal, unconverted men, and strangers to the influences of the Spirit, because they opposed their wild and extravagant notions and practices; some, in these days, do the same, in respect to those ministers who are most like Luther and Calvin, in their sentiments and practice; therefore they walk together, because they are *agreed*.

Some fanatical sects have been in the habit of encouraging outward bodily expressions of feeling, and attaching great importance to them, such as groaning aloud in time of prayer, falling down, rolling about, and the like, and speaking of them as evidences of the special and powerful influences of

the Spirit; some in these days do the same: therefore they walk together, because they are *agreed*.

Some fanatical and disorderly persons in former times, have thought it highly meritorious, to crowd themselves into the parishes of settled ministers, and introduce such measures as were adapted to promote discord and strife; some in these days think the same; therefore they walk together, because they are *agreed*.

The Pharisees prayed long and loud, so as to attract the notice of men in the streets; some in these days do the same: therefore they walk together, because they are *agreed*.

The Pharisees compassed sea and land to make proselytes to their peculiarities; some in these days do the same: therefore they walk together, because they are *agreed*.

A person under the influence of an evil spirit followed Paul and his company, with the cry, "these men are the servants of the most high God;" some follow certain preachers now with the same cry: therefore they are under the influence of the same evil spirit, and walk together, because they are *agreed*.

Such deductions as these, are made after the method of reasoning pursued in the sermon; and they might be multiplied to an indefinite extent. If these examples should serve to convince any that the method of reasoning is unsound, and will equally support truth and falsehood, and equally prove both sides of a contradiction, my purpose will be answered. I am not weak enough to suppose that such argumentation will fasten any of these conclusions upon the friends of the new measures; my object is to show them the fallacy of the reasoning by which the conclusions of the sermon are attempted to be fastened upon others.

But the foundation of the author's argument must be examined. It is assumed that the reasons why ministers and Christians oppose the new measures, are the same as the reasons why the impenitent oppose them. He says, "their objections are the *same*, they find fault with the *same* things, and use the same arguments in support of their objections." "It is the fire and the spirit that disturbs their frosty hearts. For the time being, they walk together, for, in *feeling*, they are *agreed*."—So important a part of the argument as this, and one on which the conclusions so essentially depend, should not have been taken for granted, nor have been left to depend upon the naked assertion of any man. It should have been proved, beyond the possibility of doubt, that the objections of Christians and the objections of the impenitent are precisely the same; and are not only supported by the same arguments ostensibly, but must and do arise from the

same state of heart. Ministers and Christians should not have been thus classed with the openly irreligious, while there is any room to suppose they *may* have different reasons for their opposition ; or while the impenitent *may* have any good reasons for theirs.

It should not be thought, that the single fact, if it were a fact, of their being opposed to the same things, is sufficient proof. Men are often opposed to the same things, for very different reasons. A man may be a candidate for the office of chief magistrate of our nation, and have great numbers of individuals opposed to him, for reasons widely different from each other. One may think he has injured him, and be opposed from personal resentment. Another may think he has personal advantages to expect from the elevation of his competitor. Another may think his competitor will pursue measures more for the interest of the particular section of the nation in which he resides. Another may think the candidate is incompetent in point of talent and experience. Another may be displeased with some vicious habits he believes him to indulge. And a Christian may be opposed, because he thinks him a man void of religious principle, and not having the fear of God before his eyes. Many other reasons might be mentioned, by which those numerous individuals are influenced to unite in their opposition to the same candidate. The fact, then, that they agree in opposing the same candidate, is no proof of any likeness of character between themselves, unless they are opposed for the same reasons.

Are the impenitent, then, and many ministers and Christians, opposed to the new measures for promoting revivals, for the same reasons ? This is asserted ; and they have been abundantly classed together, by the friends of the new measures, on this very ground. It should not be concluded that the fact, if it were a fact, of their using " the same arguments in support of their objections," is a sufficient proof that the reasons why they are opposed are the same ; nor, if some of them are the same, that they are *all* the same. They may have more reasons, in their own minds, than they think it necessary to give, on every occasion. For instance, an impenitent sinner may feel opposed in heart to the doctrine of total depravity. That doctrine may be exhibited to him in a *manner* that is peculiarly and unnecessarily offensive. He is displeased at the doctrine itself, and he is displeased also at the offensive *manner* in which it was presented. He may not choose to complain of the doctrine itself, but only of the manner. A Christian who heard it, though he cordially receives the doctrine, might think the *manner* highly improper, and make the same complaint. Does the fact, in this case,

of their making the same objection, prove a likeness of character between them? Such a conclusion would certainly be unfounded. It ought first to be proved that the manner was right, or that the Christian was as really offended with the doctrine itself, as the sinner was, before such a conclusion can be drawn. Suppose a sinner is conversed with, who assents to the truth of all the doctrines of the gospel, but acknowledges himself an impenitent sinner: and he is told, "he is as orthodox as the devil," but "his character is as black as hell," and "if he does not repent to-day he will be in hell to-morrow;" he will probably be displeased, and make objections to this treatment. And what objections will he state? He will probably object, that such language is harsh, unkind, not expressive of benevolent feeling, and savouring of profaneness; and that, in the prediction, the man is telling more than he knows. And if a Christian, who should hear it, should make the same objections, would it prove him to be of the same character as the impenitent sinner? If I should tell a child, "not to follow his ungodly parents, who were leading him to hell; not to listen to their instructions, which will destroy his soul; that his parents are so wicked, he had better leave them, and live with me, and I will take him with me to heaven;" the parents would probably be displeased, and make objections to such treatment. And what objections would they state? They would probably object, that it would be more proper to tell parents their own faults, than to tell them to their children; that such treatment is adapted to alienate the affections of children from their parents, break up families, and teach children to disregard the fifth commandment, which requires children to love and honour their parents. And if a Christian, who should hear all this, should make the same objections, would it prove him to be of the same character as the impenitent sinner? If an impenitent sinner should be prayed for by name, at a public meeting, and the occasion should be embraced to hold him up to public notice, as an uncommonly odious and abandoned character, and to tell God and the world all the bad things that have been known or thought about him, it would probably give offence to him and his friends. And what objections would they state? They would probably say, that such treatment was abusive and defamatory, and not adapted to do the individual any good. And if a Christian should happen to feel and express the same opinion of it, would that be a conclusive proof that he is of the same character with the impenitent? If a minister of the gospel should happen to be such an one as Paul requires all to be, having "a good report of them which are

without," and one that, by a long life of uniform piety, had commanded the respect and confidence even of the unconverted part of his congregation; and he should be publicly prayed for, by some stranger, as "an old grey-headed apostate, who was leading souls to hell," or as "the head Achan in the camp of the Lord;" it is probable some of the unconverted would be offended at it, as well as some of the church; and that both would complain that their aged pastor should be treated with such indignity; and if it should happen, that "their objections should be the same," and that they should "use the same arguments in support of them," would it certainly prove that they were all alike in their moral character? If a preacher should, in a public assembly, in the presence of ministers and others, exhort the females to lead in prayer, and represent them as grieving the Spirit by refusing; and not prevailing by arguments, should drop on his knees and tell the Lord how proud they were, because they would not comply, and then repeat his exhortations; and if the fear of resisting the Spirit, or of being thought proud, should prevail with some to comply, the whole transaction would probably be objected to by their impenitent friends. And what would they say? They would be likely to quote the apostolic prohibition, "Let your women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted unto them to speak." And if it should so happen that some Christians too should think the practice was forbidden, and should quote the same direction of the apostle, would it certainly prove that they were of the same moral character with those impenitent friends?

It is evident, then, that if ministers and Christians did "find fault with the same things, and use the same arguments in support of their objections" that the impenitent do, it would not be sufficient to prove a likeness of character between them, unless it were first proved that the things objected to are right, and that *all* the reasons why both classes objected were the same. Let it first be shown that the measures objected to are right, and that there can be none but sinful objections made against them; and then let it be shown that the objections which ministers and Christians make are the same in all respects, not only as those which the impenitent avow, but as those which they inwardly feel; and something will be done towards laying a foundation for the conclusion that there is some likeness of character between them.

But I am disposed to question the fact, that the objections which ministers and Christians make to the new measures are, in general, the same as those which the impenitent make. To many of them, I have no doubt they are, in part,

the same. For wherever the impenitent discover any thing in professors of religion which is really wrong, they can, if they please, bring solid objections against it, and support them by sound arguments both from reason and scripture. Some of the unconverted are men of good sense, and have sufficient acquaintance with the scriptures to form a pretty accurate judgment whether the conduct of Christians is consistent with their profession or not. And some of them are men of good breeding, and are disgusted with whatever violates the common rules of propriety, wherever they see it. If, therefore, in some things, their judgment should accord with that of ministers and Christians, it is no sufficient reason why reproaches should be cast upon either.

A brief statement of the most common objections which I have heard made, by both classes, against the new measures, will show how far they agree. Those out of the church have complained of harsh and uncivil treatment in conversation, being called by hard names, and provoking epithets, and addressed with coarseness and vulgarity, and in a manner which they deemed insolent, overbearing and insulting. They have complained of being spoken of to others in terms which they consider defamatory and abusive. They have complained that their children were unreasonably frightened, by being threatened with immediate and inevitable damnation, and told that there was no help for them. They have complained that their children should be told such things about their parents as were adapted to alienate their affections, and lead them to be disrespectful towards their parents. They have found fault with the personality of public preaching, by which the attention of the congregation was directed to particular individuals, as persons of an uncommonly odious character. They have complained of being prayed for by name in a manner which they considered slanderous and abusive. Some have taken offence at what they considered an irreverent use of the name of God, and a familiar use of the words *devil*, *hell*, *cursed*, *damned*, and the like, in a manner which they thought resembled the more vulgar sort of profane swearing. Some have been disgusted with what appeared to them an irreverent boldness and familiarity with God in prayer, which shocked their feelings. Some have objected that the subject of religion should be so much urged upon them. And some have complained that the doctrines of Calvinism should be so vehemently pressed, and especially that of total depravity; and that so little charity should be expressed for other denominations. The principal *reasons* they have given why they objected to these things, have been, that they felt themselves unreasonably crowded upon

and ill-treated, that their sense of propriety was outraged, and that they thought these things improper. And it has been said, "If this is religion, I want no such religion."

Now, is it certain that these complaints have been made by the unconverted solely from their dislike of the religion of the gospel? Has there been no other foundation for any of them? Have they been made solely because the holy, heavenly temper of the gospel has been so clearly exhibited before them, in all its native loveliness, as it appeared in the Lord Jesus Christ, breathing good will to man, and expressing all the meekness, and gentleness, and kindness, and forbearance towards them which is required in the sermon on the mount, and elsewhere? The fact that such objections are made by the impenitent against the new measures, more than against the measures previously in use, will not be allowed to be, of itself, a sufficient proof that the new measures are the nearest right.

But it is not my present purpose to show that these complaints are, or are not, made on good grounds. It is simply to show, that the complaints of the unconverted and those of Christians and ministers, have not been all the same, and made for the same reasons.

Ministers and Christians have, indeed, complained of some of the things above mentioned. They have complained of a harsh and overbearing treatment of the unconverted, not only because they thought it improper, but because they thought it adapted to harden them, and shut up the way of access to their consciences. They have not been unwilling to have children and youth conversed with on the subject of religion, and made to see their true state and character; but they have thought a great and sudden excitement of their fears not likely to lead them to such an attention to the state of their own hearts, as would be adapted to do any permanent good; and especially when it was produced by unwarrantable declarations of immediate and inevitable damnation, which a few days might suffice to show them were not true: and they feared that such things would lead them to treat the sober warnings of the scriptures with contempt. They have thought that it was wrong, under the colour of performing any other religious duty, to teach children to disregard the fifth commandment. They have been offended at an irreverent use of the Divine name, because they thought it a breach of the third commandment; and have been displeased with the familiar use of other common terms of profaneness, because they thought it must produce some of the same effect that profane swearing does. They have been disgusted with the appearance of irreverent boldness, and the affectation of

familiarity with God in prayer, because they thought it inconsistent with proper feelings of respect towards him, and that awe of the Divine Majesty which holy beings express. They have not been afraid that the subject of religion would be too much urged upon men, if it were only done with that kindness of feeling which would leave the door open for its being repeated. They have not complained that the doctrines of Calvinism were too much or too clearly preached, nor that too much importance was attached to them, nor that too little charity was expressed for such as understandingly and cordially reject them. On the contrary, it has been a serious objection with many, that those doctrines have not been preached so clearly and fully as they thought important. They have been grieved that those who did urge them plainly and fully, should be charged with hindering revivals by preaching them; and that *orthodoxy* should be made a term of reproach. They have objected, that people were not sufficiently instructed; that the distinction between true and false experience should be overlooked, or little thought of; and that the disposition to make a distinction between genuine and spurious revivals, should be frowned upon as a mark of being in a cold and stupid state. They have complained that the most uniform and consistent Christians should be pronounced cold, and stupid, and dead, because they did not alter as much as others; and that, too, in many cases, by those who had as yet had no opportunity from personal examination to know any thing of the state of their minds. They have been grieved that the best friends of revivals, as they have hitherto witnessed them, should be denounced as enemies because they did not fall in with the new measures, and that those whose age and experience had given them opportunity to be most and longest acquainted with revivals, should be put down, by the converts of a few days old, as totally ignorant on the subject. They have complained that aged ministers, of tried and approved piety, should be publicly prayed for, by young men and boys, as old hypocrites or apostates, who were "leading souls to hell." Some have objected to female prayer and exhortation in mixed assemblies, because they thought it forbidden in the scriptures, and adapted to destroy that silent, unobtrusive influence which it is so desirable that the female members of the church should exert, and which can be best exerted in the sphere in which God has placed them. Some have objected to the confidence which appeared to be placed in impulses and impressions, especially as connected with the supposed prayer of faith, because they thought it contrary to the scriptures, and adapted to open a wide door to the delusions of Satan.

Some have thought the young were put forward, to their own injury, and the older members of the church, whose age and experience qualified them to lead, were too manifestly put in the back ground; and that old people in general were often treated with great disrespect, in direct violation of the Divine command, "thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man." Some have complained of the disposition of those who adopted the new measures to crowd them into every place, regardless of the divisions and contentions to which they seemed likely to give rise; and of the disposition of some to intermeddle in the concerns of other churches to which they did not belong. Some have complained of the stress which was laid upon the *posture* in prayer, while so little regard appeared to be paid to the cultivation of that meek, humble, modest, retiring spirit, which is so essential to the right performance of that duty. Some have complained that secret prayer should be made so loud as to attract the notice of people in the streets, because they thought it too much like that praying in the streets which our Lord reproves. Some have thought it wrong to pray that individuals might be converted or removed, and especially, that "God would seal the damnation of sinners this night." Some have objected to the principle that the feelings ought to control the judgment; and that because any measure contributed to produce very pleasant feelings in us, it was therefore right. Some have thought it wrong to consider success an evidence of Divine approbation, lest it should lead us to practise deception, as Jacob did, in order to secure a good object. Some have been disgusted with the ostentation, and boasting, and self-conceit, which they have witnessed, because they thought them utterly inconsistent with the spirit of the gospel. Some have complained, that when evils were pointed out, there was no regard paid to their warnings, but the same things were repeated, and carried to greater lengths than before. And some have been distressed at the appearance they saw of a disposition to have some men's "persons in admiration," as if they only were the instruments through which any good could be expected from Divine ordinances, and the only medium through which the Holy Spirit could be communicated; and the apparent determination to deny or justify every thing for which they were complained of, let it be what it might. But the principal complaint, and one which has embraced all the rest, has been, that the whole system of measures appeared to be adapted to promote false conversions, to strengthen and cherish false hopes, and propagate a false religion; and thus, besides destroying the souls of those who should be the subjects of it, these mea-

sures should tend ultimately to bring all true religion, and all pure revivals into contempt, and increase the number of errorists and scoffers on every side.

Such are some of the principal objections to the new measures which I have heard among ministers and Christians. And it is easy to see that they are very far from being precisely the same objections, and founded upon precisely the same reasons, as the objections of the impenitent. No; they are grounded on the love of the truth, or a regard for the honour of God, and the good of souls, and on a most anxious solicitude for the permanent good character and influence of revivals, and the advancement of the cause of Christ in the earth. And nothing can be more unjust and injurious, than because they make these objections, even if they are in a mistake in making them, to class them with the ungodly world, and represent them as walking together, *because they are agreed*.

Having made these remarks upon the general object of the sermon, and having shown the fallacy of the main point assumed, that the objections which ministers and Christians make to the new measures are the same as those of the impenitent, and grounded on the same reasons, and having thus exposed the unsoundness of the argument, and shown that the main point to be supported is without foundation, and that there is yet no proof of a likeness of character between the two classes of objectors to the new system, I proceed to a more particular examination of the several parts of the sermon.

That which may be styled the doctrinal part of the sermon is the author's illustration of the declaration of the text, that two cannot walk together except they be agreed. He thinks it is an agreement in feeling. And though the text means God and man, his purpose requires him to consider it as spoken of one man walking with another.—The following extracts will give his view of it :

Page 3—6. "All pleasure and pain—all happiness and misery, belong to the mind—all sin and holiness have their seat in, and belong to the *heart* or affections. All the satisfaction or dissatisfaction, pain or pleasure, that we feel in view of any truth or thing presented to our minds, depends entirely upon the actings of our affections at the time, and *consists in these actings*. If it fall in with, and excite, and feed, *pleasurable* affections, we are pleased *of course*; for in these pleasurable affections our pleasure or happiness consists. The higher, therefore, these affections are elevated by the presentation of any thing or truth to our minds, the greater our pleasure is. But if the thing or truth do not fall

in with our affections, it cannot please us ; if it be *aside* from our present state of feeling, and our affections *refuse to follow*, we shall either view it with indifference, our affections being otherwise engaged, or if it press upon us, we shall turn from and resist it." "If the subject be exhibited in a light that is below our present tone of feeling, we cannot be interested, until it *comes up to our feelings* ; if this does not take place, we *necessarily* remain uninterested ; and if the subject, in this cooling, and to us, degraded point of view, is held up before our mind, and our affections struggle to maintain their height, we feel displeased, because our affections are not fed, but opposed. If the subject be presented in a manner that strikes far above our tone of feeling, and our affections grovel, and *refuse to rise*, it does not fall in with and feed our affections, therefore we cannot be interested ; it is enthusiasm to us, we are displeased with the warmth in which our affections refuse to participate ; and the farther it is above our temperature, the more we are disgusted. These are truths to which the experience of every man will testify, as they hold good on every subject, and under all circumstances ; and are founded upon principles incorporated with the very nature of man." "A refined musician is listening almost in rapture to the skilful execution of a fine piece of harmony—throw in discords upon him, he is in pain in a moment. Increase and prolong the dissonance, and he leaves the room in disgust.—You are fond of music ; but you are at present melancholy—you are in great affliction—you are inclined to weep—the plaintive tones of an *Æolian* harp light softly upon your ear, and melt around your heart—your tears flow fast—but now the din of trumpets, drums, and cymbals, and the piercing fife, in mirthful quick-step, breaks upon your ear, and drowns the soft breathings of the harp—you feel distressed—you turn away and stop your ears. The harp touched and melted your weeping affections, it fell in with your *feelings* ; therefore you were gratified. The martial music *opposed* your state of feeling, you was too melancholy to have your affections elevated and enlivened by it : it therefore *necessarily distressed you*." "Your heart is glowing with religious feeling—you are not only averse to the introduction of any other subject at that time, but are uninterested with any thing upon the same subject that is far below the tone of your affections. Suppose you hear a dull man *preach* or *pray*: while he remains dull, and you are warm with feeling, you are not interested, you *cannot* be, for your affections are not fed and cherished, unless he comes up to your tone ; if this does not happen, you are distressed and perhaps disgusted with his coldness. This is a thing of

course." "Suppose you are lukewarm, and carnal, and earthly, in your affections: you hear one exhort, or pray, or preach, who is highly spiritual, and fervent, and affectionate; if your affections will not rise—if, through prejudice, or pride, or the earthly and sensual state of your affections, they refuse to enkindle, and to grasp the subject, although you believe every word he says, yet you are not *pleased*. He is above your temperature, you are annoyed with the *manner*, and fire, and spirit of the man. The higher he rises, if your affections grovel, the farther apart you are, and the more you are displeased. While your heart is *wrong*, the nearer *right* he is, the more he burns upon you, if your heart will not enkindle, the more you are disgusted."

Here, then, we have the theory of the sermon before us; and, as I think, also the theory of the whole system of the author's measures for promoting revivals. Some of his language would lead us to infer that he meant to embrace what is called the *exercise scheme*, that all sin and holiness consists in voluntary exercises; but from other expressions it appears he does not, unless, indeed, he supposes that all the sensations and emotions of the mind are voluntary exercises, which would be indeed an entire new theory of the mind. He says, "all the satisfaction or dissatisfaction, pain or pleasure, that we feel, depend entirely upon the actings of our affections at the time, and *consists in these actings*." According to him, then, all the pleasurable or painful emotions of the mind are affections, whether they are voluntary or involuntary. These constitute our feelings. And all sin and holiness consist in these also. And he uses *feeling* and *heart* as synonymous terms. Does he mean, then, that all the pleasurable and painful emotions we have are of a moral nature, and either sinful or holy? Does he mean that holiness is the same thing as happiness, and sin the same thing as misery? Does he mean that all warm, lively, and happy feelings are holy affections? If he does not mean so, this was the place to inform us, and to make the distinction. And it was incumbent upon him to make it clearly, and let us see the difference between those warm feelings that are holy, and those that are not. I can scarce think that he believes all warm and happy feelings are holy; but I have looked in vain for any information to the contrary.—"Your heart is glowing with religious feeling." What is religious feeling? It was all important that he should tell us, because all his conclusions were based upon it; and a mistake here would lead us entirely astray. Does he suppose it impossible to mistake, and that the man who thinks he is awake, and full of religious feeling, is of course right, in thinking so? How can a church

know when it is their duty to "shake off their sleepy minister," without being informed what it is to be awake, and what it is to be asleep? Or is it impossible to mistake? Is the consciousness of being *warm* in our feelings on the subject of religion, certain evidence that we are in a right state of mind? And if a minister does not so preach and pray, that "our affections are fed and cherished," is that certain evidence that he is "sleepy," and ought to be "shaken off?" Is religious feeling so much of the nature of the inspiration of the prophets, that those who have it know certainly that they are right exactly, without "trying the spirits" by any rule? Or is the grand rule by which every man is to be judged, and his spiritual state determined, the single question of his agreement or disagreement with the new measures? I conclude this will be the rule adopted in practice, and if this is the rule intended, it should have been more distinctly avowed. The whole drift of the discourse, however, is to establish this rule, though that object is not distinctly avowed.

But, is there nothing said in the discourse, to show that all kinds of feeling are not religious feeling? Yes. On page 10 the author rejects *animal feeling*, as forming no part of religious affection. What, then, does he mean by animal feeling? He gives us no definition; but from what he says of it, it would appear to be that tender sensibility which inclines us to weep, when it is skilfully touched. His language is, "adopt a strain of exhortation or preaching that is calculated to awaken mere sympathy and animal feeling, and you will soon see that there is a perfect community of feeling amongst cold and warm hearted Christians, and sinners; they will all weep and seem to melt, and no one will be offended; and, I may add, no one will be convicted or converted." I conclude, then, that by animal feeling he means emotions of the tender and weeping kind, such as the music of the *Æolian harp* is adapted to excite, and which the introduction of martial music would greatly disturb. Such feelings as these may be excited in view of religious objects, when presented in a particular attitude, and are, no doubt, often mistaken for religious affections. But they are the result of mere tragic painting, and ought to be carefully distinguished from holy affections. There is, however, another class of animal feelings, such as are excited by "the din of trumpets, drums, and cymbals, and the piercing fife, in mirthful quick-step, breaking upon the ear." This class is doubtless excited by religious subjects, as well as the other; and no reason appears why they should not be carefully distinguished from holy affections. Yet, no notice is taken by the author, in this discourse, of this class of feelings, as *animal*

feelings, which should not be mistaken for true religion. On the contrary, while he expressly excludes the other class, there is much in his language on the subject of religious feeling, which leads me to conclude that he considers this class of feeling, when excited by religious subjects, to be the very height of holy affection. And this I take to be the *key* to his whole discourse, and to his whole system of measures.

That there are these two classes of animal feeling, each of which consists in emotions of the mind which are involuntary, and are neither sinful nor holy, I think cannot be reasonably questioned. The existence of the class of tender sympathies, which lead us to weep at the sight of distress, is admitted. And is not the existence of the other class equally evident? What are those emotions which are excited by martial music? Why does the sight of a military pageant attract the attention of the multitude, and kindle, in so many minds, the thirst for military glory? Why does the sound of the fife and drum wake up all the energies of children; and why do we see them, in imitation, marching and counter-marching, with their paper caps, and their weapons of wood? call it enthusiasm, if you will, it is *feeling*; and feeling, too, of a lively and animated kind; it is a feeling that is full of fire, and spirit, and life, a feeling that blazes and burns upon you, till you sympathize in it, and burn and glow in like manner, or till you are greatly annoyed by it, and compelled to flee. This feeling sometimes strongly seizes the female mind; and wherever it does, it effects a wonderful transformation. Let a nation be invaded; let their energies be roused for defence; let the genuine war spirit be waked up, and all ages and sexes will participate, in a greater or less degree. Let our wives, and mothers, and daughters, be filled with this spirit, and they no longer appear like the same beings. The softness and delicacy so natural to the sex is exchanged for masculine boldness. Those fine sensibilities, that tenderness, and gentleness, and kindness, for which we so much admired them, is laid aside. Every nerve is braced; every movement is quick and violent; every look threatens; every eye flashes fire; every word breathes defiance. And some, when dangers press, and help is needed, disregarding that unfitness for rough and hardy enterprises which results from their delicate frame, will fly to arms, and rush upon the foe. And some will outrun their more tardy and phlegmatic husbands and brothers, and be foremost in the field of contest. Such things have been seen. And what is it? It is animal feeling, no doubt, of a peculiar kind; and when it gains possession, it drives out all the animal feelings of the tender class, all the soothing sensibilities and weeping sympathies of

our nature, and frowns upon them where they appear in others at such a time, as objects of ineffable scorn.

Now change the subject. Let religion be presented in such an attitude, and with such accompaniments, as are adapted to affect the nervous system in the same way. Will not the same class of feelings be excited? and will they not burn, and blaze, and glow, in like manner? and will they not produce the same effects upon those who are the subjects of them? Have we not examples in the past history of the church? and are there not present examples before our eyes? And why should it be thought there is any more holiness in this class of animal feelings, than in the tender class?

If the conclusion to which I have come is correct—that by the fire, and spirit, and warmth, which glow, and blaze, and burn upon us through this discourse, nothing more is meant than mere animal feeling, of the martial kind, applied to the subject of religion, the principle will doubtless apply to the leading positions taken in the sermon, and satisfactorily account for them.—Let us make the experiment.

Page 5. “Suppose you hear a *dull man* preach or pray; while he remains dull, and you are warm with feeling, you are not interested, you *cannot* be, for your affections are not fed and cherished, unless he comes up to your tone.” This is exactly so, if your feeling is mere animal feeling; but far from it, if it is that holy affection which consists in the love of the truth. If the truth is clearly presented, though it should be done by a dull man, who does not appear to feel it himself, still that truth would feed and cherish your holy affections. And the degree in which your affections would be fed, would depend upon the truth presented, and not upon the feeling of the speaker.—Satan might be the medium of announcing to the angels in heaven that another sinner has repented, and the tidings would fill them with holy joy, though Satan should appear to have no pleasure in the message himself. But in the sermon, it all depends upon the degree of feeling manifested by the preacher. If that is below your tone, “you are not interested, you *cannot* be.” The feeling in you is fed only by the feeling in him, and not by the truths he exhibits. And being so, it is animal feeling. For, nothing is plainer, than that the feeling in one which is fed by feeling in another, is mere sympathy, and animal feeling. It cannot be any thing else.

So also with the converse; in which I conclude he means to suppose one who is in the exercise of Christian feelings, though in a low degree. He applies some terms to him, which, as I should understand them, denote the opposite of

Christian feelings ; but as he probably means to make an exact contrast, I pass over these. Your affections are low—you hear the ardent man pray or preach—"if your affections will not rise, if they refuse to enkindle ; although you believe every word he says, yet you are not *pleased*. He is above your temperature ; you are annoyed with the *manner*, and fire, and spirit of the man. The higher he rises, if your affections grovel, the farther apart you are, and the more you are displeased. While your heart is *wrong*, [that is, of low temperature,] the nearer *right* he is, [that is, the higher his temperature,] the more he burns upon you, if your heart will not enkindle, the more you are disgusted." Exactly true again, if it is mere animal feeling, of the kind which has been described. The state of my nervous system is such, as to be pleasantly affected only with the soft tones of the harp ; but he pours upon me "the din of trumpets, drums, and cymbals," and I am pained and disgusted. But, very different is the case, if it is Christian feeling. Though my Christian feelings, which consist in the love of the truth, are in a low degree, yet if he makes a clear and vivid exhibition of that truth which I love, I am pleased. And with respect to the *manner* of the preacher, if it is the eloquence of holy love, and I am a Christian, I cannot fail of being delighted with it, though ever so much above the tone of my own feelings. Christians are not unfrequently in a state in which their holy affections are low ; but never, I believe, in that state in which the exhibition of that truth which they love does not please them. And while that truth which they love is exhibited, they are not displeased but delighted at the appearance of a high degree of love to it in the preacher. I have never known an instance of the contrary, in the circle of my Christian friends. And among the revival ministers of my acquaintance, I have never known one who was not pleased at the exhibition of a high degree of holy feeling in another, even though his own feelings should not come up to the same temperature. The remarks may hold good, as far as animal feelings are concerned ; but will not apply to Christian experience.

Again, page 6, he says, "We may learn why persons differing in theory upon doctrinal points in religion, and belonging to different denominations, will often, for a time, walk together in great harmony and affection. It is because they *feel deeply*, and feel alike. Their differences are in a great measure lost or forgotten, while they fall in with each other's state of *feeling*." It has often been noticed that those, between whose professed doctrinal views there is the greatest difference, do sometimes thus harmonize. Some have won-

dered at it; but others have understood it well. The true reason is here given, if by *feeling* is understood animal feeling. But if their *feeling* consisted in the love of what they respectively consider as truth, there would be no such agreement; and the more of that kind of feeling each had, the farther asunder they would be. But, let two persons, thus differing from each other in their doctrinal views, be filled with the kind of animal feeling which has been mentioned, that is, the *martial* kind, and let their religion consist chiefly in this, and their differences are easily forgotten, for neither will attach much importance to them. They can meet together, and readily join in the same *manner* of expressing their feelings. They can sigh, and groan, and vociferate, in perfect harmony; they can think a noisy and tumultuous meeting a great excellence, and an evidence of the peculiar presence of the Holy Spirit; they can cry out, and fall down, and have "the power," and speak and pray, all at once, males and females, old and young, and find a perfect unison of *feeling* in it all. "It is because they *feel deeply*, and *feel alike*." And this accounts for what some have wondered at, that some nominal Calvinists have thought it a high commendation of the new measures, to say, they were so much like those practised by the Methodists; and that some Methodists have said the new converts made under these measures were really Methodists, and it was not fair to hurry them into Calvinistic churches, before they had time to discover their proper home.

Again, page 6. "We see why young converts love to associate with *each other*, and with those older saints who have most religious *feeling*; these walk together, because they *feel alike*." Young converts have been often spoken of, in these days, as being much nearer right than old Christians; and it is doubtless true, if to have the most of this kind of animal feeling is to be nearest right. Old Christians, who have grown in the knowledge of the scriptures and of themselves, know well, that when they were young converts, they had much more of that kind of animal feeling, and much less of that feeling which consists in the love of the truth. Their knowledge of the truth was then very small, and they could not love any more than they knew. With their increasing knowledge of the truth, that feeling which consists in the love of the truth, has increased, but their animal feeling has diminished. Young converts having much animal feeling, and but little else, of course harmonize most with each other, and with such old Christians as have not grown in knowledge nor in the love of the truth, but have always made their religion to consist chiefly in animal feeling.

The fact is correctly accounted for, if it is animal feeling that is meant.

Again, page 6. "We see why lukewarm professors and impenitent sinners have *the same* difficulties with *means*, in revivals of religion. We often hear them complain of the *manner* of preaching and praying. Their objections are *the same*: the reason is, that their affections are nearly the same. It is the fire and the spirit that disturb their frosty hearts." By lukewarm professors understand those whose feeling is not *up* to the required temperature, those who have not imbibed this martial spirit. By the *manner* of preaching and praying, of which they complain, understand that *manner* which is expressive of this kind of animal feeling, at its high temperature. It is the spirit of war. It attacks impenitent sinners, and those professors who do not come up to the required temperature, with the same abrupt, harsh, reproachful, and provoking language. Such professors, being cool, and not having their judgment biassed by passion, regard such treatment as improper, and inconsistent with the meek, and mild, and gentle, and benevolent temper of the gospel; and if they say any thing on the subject, they express this judgment. And those impenitent sinners who are displeased on this account, or on any other account, will be most likely to make the same objections. The fact that they make the same objections is very far from proving a likeness of moral character between them, as has been already shown. But the fact that they are alike "annoyed by the warmth and spirit" with which they are fiercely attacked, does prove, I am willing to admit, that they neither of them enter into this kind of feeling, and have not the same spirit enkindled within them. They are alike destitute, for the time, of this class of animal feeling. But, if the feeling spoken of, were the love of the truth, it would produce very different effects upon the impenitent, and upon those Christians whose affections are low. The impenitent would probably be displeased with the truth exhibited, if they felt it at all; and they might complain that it should be urged with so much warmth. But Christians would not be displeased with that truth which they love; nor would they be displeased to see others love it in a very high degree; nor would they complain that it was urged with too much warmth, provided it were done with decorum, and in the spirit of meekness.

Again, page 7. "We see why ministers visiting revivals, often, at first, raise objections to the means used, and cavil, and sometimes take sides with the wicked:* the praying,

* Mark this: "Ministers often *cavil*, and sometimes take sides with the wicked." Those who make any objections are denounced without ceremony.

preaching, and conversation are above their present temperature." It appears not to be the *truth* which is exhibited, that disturbs them, but the *temperature*. They often object to this, "at first," which implies, that they often afterwards fall in. Now, this is exactly descriptive of the effect of this kind of animal feeling. Animal feeling in one has a tendency to produce the same kind of animal feeling in another, by mere sympathy; and it often does. So that those who were not affected by it "*at first*," may come into it afterwards. At first they judged with coolness, and disapproved, because what they witnessed was not according to the law and the testimony. But afterwards, when they began to come under the influence of the same animal feeling, their passions overcame their judgment, and their scruples of conscience, and they were prepared to fall in. Many instances of this have no doubt occurred; and they are easily accounted for, if it is animal feeling. They objected, *at first*, because it was contrary to their settled judgment, deliberately formed from the study of the scriptures, and the experience of themselves and others, and their acquaintance with the history of revivals. But they fell in afterwards, because their animal feelings were moved by sympathy, till they were carried away. And the less spiritual they were, the more readily they were brought to fall in, because they had less holy affection, and less of the force of conscience to be overcome.

Again, page 7. "We see why ministers and private Christians differ about *prudential measures*." And "we see *the same person* having very different notions of *prudence*, and, consequently, practising very differently at different times." The idea seems to be, that the man whose feeling is at the high temperature, will judge differently as to what is prudent, from the man whose feeling is at the low temperature. And that the man who is at the low temperature, is not, and *cannot* be, qualified to judge what is right, in point of prudence, for the man to do, who is at the high temperature. It is doubtless true, that the man who suffers his animal feelings to control his judgment, will judge differently when most under the influence of his passions, from what he does when least under their influence. And while passion reigns, he will be very likely to think it right so to do; but when passion cools, and reason resumes her sway, and conscience and the bible are again suffered to speak, he will be convinced he was wrong in thinking so.

Again, page 8. "We may learn how to estimate the opinions of ministers and Christians, and *our own opinions*, when our affections are in a bad state." By *bad state*, understand the *low temperature*, when passion has the least influence, and

we have the meaning of the rule. The man who is under the influence of passion, approves of what his passions incline him to do ; but the man who is least under the influence of passion, and judges by the known rules of the word of God, will condemn him for so doing. The meaning intended, doubtless, is, that the former is right ; but every sober Christian, who means to follow his bible, must say, that the latter is right. The whole paragraph might be assented to, and the conclusion drawn be exactly the reverse of what the author evidently intended. So with the resolution of Edwards here quoted, "that he would always act as he saw to be most proper when he had the clearest views of the things of religion." All would assent to the resolution ; but every considerate man would apply it directly to contradict the sentiments of the sermon. The clearest views, are not those which we have when our animal feelings are most excited, but when they are the least so, when the mind looks at divine things with the greatest calmness and deliberation.

Again, page 9. "We learn why churches are sometimes convulsed by revivals of religion." "As those who are awake become more engaged, more spiritual and active, the others, if they *will not awake*, will be jealous and offended, and feeling rebuked by the engagedness of others, will cavil, and find themselves the more displeased, as those that are more spiritual rise farther above them. The nearer to a right state of feeling the engaged ones arrive, the farther apart they are ; and as they *ascend* on the scale of holy feeling, if *others will not ascend with them*, the almost certain consequence will be, that these will *descend*, until they really have no *community* of feeling, and can no longer walk together, because they are not agreed." He is speaking of real Christians, whom he supposes an eminently pure revival of religion thus to drive asunder, till there is nothing in *common* between them. Is it so ? Do not real Christians feel complacency in the image of Christ wherever they see it ? And does not their complacency increase, as more of that image becomes visible ? If they see others have more of it than themselves, does it displease and offend them ? The divisions and distractions of churches, which the new measures have so often occasioned in these days, as similar measures did in the days of Davenport, doubtless rendered it of great importance to endeavour to account for those divisions and convulsions, in a way that should prove that the new measures are right ; and that those measures for promoting revivals are wrong, which have been so long and so successfully used in New-England, by the most distinguished promoter of revivals in our age, and which are so different from these, and have pro-

duced so different an effect upon the churches, leaving them generally united, and happy, and strengthened, instead of being divided, distracted, and wretched, and weak. The author accounts for it, perhaps, in the way which best meets his views. But it would have been better adapted to instruct others, if he had given us some rule by which to judge when people are awake, and when they are not. As he gives us none but the general one of the high and low temperature, the *degree* of feeling, and not the *kind*, and as it has been shown that the kind intended must be the animal feeling of the martial class, there is no difficulty in accounting for its producing such effects. Some Christians will imbibe it, and under its influence will "glow, and blaze, and burn," on all around them; that is, they will, with true martial fire and spirit, fall upon those who do not come *up* to the same temperature, and greatly annoy them with their denunciations and reproaches, calling them cold, and stupid and dead, and it may be hypocrites and apostates, and perhaps publicly praying for them by name as such, till they are more and more disgusted, pained, and distressed, and the church is rent in pieces. Not so with a revival of true religion, which increases the spirit of the gospel, the spirit of meekness, and kindness, and gentleness, and brotherly affection. If a portion of the members of the church have an increase of this, and some others have not, it will lead those who have, to treat such as have not, in a manner that tends to win them, rather than to displease and enrage them. This is on the supposition that both classes are real Christians, who love the same truths, and differ only in their degree of holy feeling. Churches have sometimes been convulsed, through the opposition of some of their members to the truths of the gospel, which were more forcibly and plainly exhibited at such a time, and the view of which they could not bear, because they did not love them. But this is a case entirely different from the one exhibited in the sermon before us.

Again, page 9. "We see why ministers are sometimes unsettled by revivals." He supposes that a minister may awake, and that many of his people will not; in which case he concludes the minister "will most assuredly press them with truth, and annoy them by his spirit, and pungency, and fire, until he offends them." "Another case may occur, where the church and people may awake, while the shepherd sleeps, and will not awake. This will inevitably alienate their affections from him, and destroy their confidence in him." "In the former case, let the minister obey the command of Christ, and 'shake off the dust of his feet, for a testimony against them.' In the latter, let the church *shake off*

their sleepy minister ; they are better without him than with him." Here, as in many other places, there is a semblance of truth in what is said ; and if it had been correctly explained, and carefully guarded, it might pass. But, with the interpretation which the general tenor of the discourse requires, and with the meaning which hearers and readers generally would understand, in its connexion, and under the circumstances in which it was preached,* it is a bold attempt to carry the new measures out into all their legitimate consequences. It has the semblance of truth : because a minister may give offence by the clear and faithful exhibition of the doctrines of the bible ; or he may displease the soundest members of his church by refusing to exhibit them. But it is not the preaching of the *doctrines* which is here intended. *Plain preaching*, and *preaching the truth*, in the vocabulary of those who adopt the new measures, do not mean preaching the *doctrines* clearly and abundantly ; with which offence I believe they ought not to be charged. It has reference to the *manner* in which people are addressed, "the spirit, and pungency, and fire," with which the preacher "glows, and blazes, and burns upon them." It has reference to that of which people complain as harsh and abusive treatment. Those who are the best friends of the plain exhibition of the doctrines of the gospel, and those who have been long known as the best friends of revivals, have complained of this ; and here is an attempt to assign the reason. It is because they "will not enter into the spirit of a revival ;" that is, they do not enter into the new measures, they do not give way to this class of animal feeling, nor suffer their judgment to be overborne by the violence of passion. And the minister who does, and cannot bring his people "*up to it*," must leave them. But if the church enter into this spirit, and the minister does not, "*let them shake off their sleepy minister*." This is certainly taking a bold stand ; and is going one step farther than Davenport and the old Separates. They only withdrew, and separated themselves from those they denounced as "cold and sleepy ministers" in their way. But, times have altered ; and it is much easier now to "shake off" a minister that is disliked, than it was then. So that this is the first thing to be attempted ; and if this attempt should not succeed, they may then separate themselves, as a last resort. If an individual *awakes*, that is, if he adopts these new mea-

* It was when the Presbytery were about attending to difficulties which had grown out of the introduction of the new measures, at the place where they were met, and where the discourse was preached.

tures, and gets full of that kind of animal feeling which they promote, he must try to bring his minister into the same spirit; and if he cannot succeed, he must go about and try to raise a party to "shake him off." I have heard of such advice being given privately to individuals, in particular cases, but this is the first time I have ever known it to be publicly preached and printed, as serious advice in all cases. And what is the rule by which individual church members may know when it is their duty to set about his work, and try to "shake off their sleepy minister?" No rule is given in this immediate connexion; but perhaps one is found on the 12th page: "If the *matter* of preaching is right, and the sinner is *pleased*, there is something defective in the *manner*." If the unconverted part of the congregation are generally satisfied with the minister, it is a certain indication that he is a "sleepy minister," and ought to be "shaken off." Individuals, then, have only to ask whether the congregation are generally in peace, and satisfied with their minister; and if they are, it is their duty to commence measures to drive him away. For advising less than this, in Boston, Davenport was indicted by the grand jury, as a disturber of the peace, and acquitted on his trial, solely on the ground of being insane at the time. And when he afterwards "came to himself," he made and published a confession of it; which, though it had a good appearance as it regarded his own piety, did not stop the progress of those evils which his disorderly measures had introduced, and the permanent effects of which remain to this day. And instances are not wanting, in our own times, of those who have acted upon the principles of this sermon.

Some have already arisen to "shake off their sleepy ministers," and have succeeded in their attempts. Others have endeavoured to do it, and have failed. One case has occurred in Durham, in the church under the care of the Rev. Seth Williston, whose character as an active and successful promoter of revivals has been long established, and is well known. The story is, in substance as follows: A young convert from the West made his appearance there, saying, that he "knew all about how to conduct revivals," and pointing to the meeting-house, told of the "abominations that were portrayed on those walls." He talked insolently to the minister, and then to the people against him. And after an evening lecture which Mr. W. preached, he dropped on his knees, and told the Lord a long story about Mr. W., and how he had talked to him, and what he had said in his sermon that was false, and so tried to convince the people and the Lord that Mr. W. was a liar, and going down to hell if he did not repent. Upon Mr. W.'s trying to calm the people,

by putting the most charitable construction upon his conduct, that of his not being in his right mind, his brother, who was a member of the church, arose, and told the people that Mr. W. was "the head Achan in the camp," and that "his character was as black as hell," &c., upon which some went and tried to still them, while the minister and others retired. For his conduct that evening, this member was laboured with by the brethren, and justified himself on the principles of this sermon. He said he had nothing against Mr. W., but he "did it to have a revival." And so strongly was he persuaded that he was in the way of his duty, in thus endeavouring to wake up or "shake off his sleepy minister," that every effort to convince him of his fault was utterly fruitless, and the church felt compelled to proceed to excommunication. Had not this church been more understandingly and decidedly attached to the cause of pure revivals than is common, and had not their minister been a man of singular piety and prudence, it seems very probable that he would have been "shaken off" and dismissed in consequence of these things, as, it is believed, several have been in consequence of similar measures. One instance of the latter kind, is that which occurred in Stockholm, where the Rev. Moses Parmlee, a known and decided friend to revivals, was publicly denounced, both in direct declarations and in prayer, as "a hireling—an Achan—in the gall of bitterness—in such a state that the Lord could not convert sinners in his presence," &c. In this case, those who made the attempt succeeded in "shaking off their sleepy minister," as appears from the result of the council which dismissed him, published at Potsdam, April, 1827. It may be said, that these cases occurred before the publication of the sermon. This is true; but when those who were concerned in them shall read the sermon, I think they will not fail of feeling confirmed and strengthened in their proceedings, by the principles and advice it contains.

Again, page 10. "We may see that carnal professors and sinners have no difficulty with *animal feeling*." Page 11. "Adopt a strain of exhortation or preaching that is calculated to awaken mere sympathy and animal feeling, and you will soon see that there is a perfect community of feeling among cold and warm hearted Christians and sinners; they will all weep, and seem to melt, and no one will be offended." "But change your style, and become more spiritual and holy in your *matter*, and throw yourself out in an ardent and powerful *manner*, in direct appeal to the conscience and the heart—their tears will be dried, the carnal and cold hearted will soon become uneasy, and soon find themselves offended." I think this is not exactly so, even if explained

according to the *key* before mentioned. Let us paraphrase it. The class of animal feeling condemned, is the tender, weeping class. What is called spiritual and holy feeling, is the martial class. Mere tragic painting will excite the one class; "they will all weep, and seem to melt, and no one will be offended." But, different constitutions have this kind of sensibility in different degrees; and those who are full of the martial kind of animal feeling, have, for the time, very little of this, and are often displeased to see it. Let an assembly, however, be deeply affected with this disposition to weep; and then "change your style, and become more" *martial* "in your matter, and throw yourself out in an ardent and powerful manner, in direct appeal to" the other class of animal feeling, that is, the *martial* class, "their tears will soon be dried;" those who enter into this spirit will not weep, they will burn and blaze. Those who do not enter into it, "will become uneasy, and soon find themselves offended." But those who have the *war* spirit, will be offended at the tragic painting, which was addressed to the weeping sensibilities, and with which the other class are gratified, as much perhaps as those who have the tender kind of animal feeling are offended at the martial fire, in this case. And both on the principles illustrated by the effects of the two kinds of music mentioned on the 5th page of the sermon. In this place I see not how to reconcile the author with himself, any better than with facts.

Again, page 11. "We learn how to estimate *apparent revivals* where there is no opposition from the wicked."

Page 12. "*That excitement* which does not call out the opposition of the wicked and wrong hearted, is either not a revival of *religion* at all, or it is so conducted that sinners do not see the finger of God in it." And farther, "Those means and that preaching, both as to *matter* and *manner*, which call forth most of the native enmity of the heart, are nearest right." Here, again, is some appearance of truth, but so exhibited as to make a wrong impression. The clear exhibition of the *doctrines* of the bible is adapted to excite the enmity of the carnal heart, and often does, in a high degree. But it is not the clear exhibition of the *doctrines* of the gospel, that this discourse is designed to defend; it is something very different. The new measures have excited much opposition; and that opposition is to be accounted for, in such a way as to make it prove that the new measures are nearest right. And the impression is also to be made, that these revivals which are taking place without the new measures, are wrong, because they excite less open and violent opposition. The truth, doubtless, is, that in some places, the doctrines of

the gospel have been so long and so clearly preached, that the congregation in general have the conviction that they are true, and that they are the appointed means of the conviction and conversion of sinners. Their selfish desire of being happy hereafter leads them to wish to have those doctrines preached, by means of which alone they have any hope that they shall ever be saved. And when they are so far awakened, and have so much conviction of sin, as to fill them with deep distress, and make those doctrines painful to them, they yet wish to have them kept before their minds, on the same principle that a man wishes to have the surgeon apply his probe or his amputating knife to a diseased limb, as the means of saving his life. In such cases, where the right means are used with the greatest fidelity, but yet with the tenderness and kindness which the gospel requires, no open opposition is to be expected. And it is to me a pleasant circumstance, when I read an account of a revival in a place where I think the people have correct instruction, to find it stated that there is no open opposition. I infer, that the consciences of the impenitent are so kept on the side of truth, that they are disposed to give it a favourable hearing; and that there is consequently some reason to hope it will yet be made effectual to their conviction and conversion. Instead of concluding "it is not a revival of *religion* at all, or that it must be so conducted that sinners do not see the finger of God in it," as the author does, I draw the contrary conclusion, and am led to hope for its longer continuance, its better permanent effects, and its being followed by a less injurious reaction when it has passed by. As it is the great object of the sermon, however, to justify the new measures, and to turn the objections which are made against them into proof of their being right; all those measures for promoting revivals which are not thus opposed must be condemned as wrong; and all those revivals, which are now taking place without the new measures, and without the opposition they excite, and without "making a great deal of *noise* in the world," under such measures, as have been in use for the last thirty years, and sanctioned by the name of a man who is deservedly dear to all the friends of pure revivals, must be put down, as "no revivals of religion at all, or so conducted that sinners do not see the finger of God in them."

The remainder of the discourse is principally directed to this object, and especially what is said of the preaching of Christ and his apostles, and the opposition which it excited. A cursory reader, who did not carefully attend to his bible, would be led to suppose that the preaching of Christ and the apostles was *always* "opposed with great bitterness," and

that if any preachers now are not thus opposed, it proves that they are not like Christ and the apostles. And the comparison is not obscurely made between those "professors of religion," who were then "often leaders in the opposition, the religious teachers and learned doctors" of that day, and the professors of religion and ministers of this day who oppose the new measures. And the idea is plainly communicated, that the complaints against the advocates of the new measures, of being "*imprudent* ; their preaching too overbearing and severe," and there being "something *wrong* in their management of revivals," might have been as justly made against Christ and the apostles ; and are rather to be considered as evidence of a striking likeness between these men and Christ and the apostles. And there is a very offensive insinuation of "great spiritual pride," and the study of "carnal policy and management," and a "hypocritical suavity of manner," made against some of the most experienced promoters of revivals, at the present day, in consequence of what they have said about "the theory of revivals being better understood now" than in the days of Davenport, and the preference they have given to measures which are mild and gentle in their nature, and silent and still in their operation, over those which are ostentatious and noisy, and adapted to stir up opposition ; as if they pretended to be more prudent and wise than the apostles, instead of merely claiming, as they do, to understand the management of revivals better than Davenport and his insane followers. And the concluding sentences are, "let us not be puffed up, and imagine that we are *prudent* and *wise*, and have learned how to manage carnal professors and sinners, whose 'carnal mind is enmity against God,' so as not to call forth their opposition to truth and holiness, as Christ and his apostles did. But let us know, that if they have less difficulty with *us*, and with our *lives* and *preaching*, than they had with theirs, it is because we are less holy, less heavenly, less like God, than they were. If we walk with the lukewarm and ungodly, or they with *us*, it is because we are agreed : for two cannot walk together except they *be agreed*."

The principle upon which all this is founded, is, that an impenitent sinner *could not* be pleased with the preaching or conduct of the Lord Jesus Christ, nor with any preaching or conduct that is right. If a Christian lives as he ought, and if a minister preaches as he ought, it cannot fail, according to this theory, to give offence. The author says, "If the *matter* of preaching is right, and the sinner is pleased, there is something defective in the *manner*." And not only must right preaching give offence to some sinners, but it must give

offence to all sinners. And it must not only give offence to every sinner at some times, but it must give offence to every sinner at all times. For, whenever the sinner is pleased with any thing in the Christian, it proves that that thing is wrong. If any exception is admitted to this rule, it will destroy the whole discourse, and defeat its object entirely. A few examples will suffice to show its fallacy; and any child, who reads his bible, can find others in abundance.

"Herod heard John *gladly*" and was induced by what he said to "do many things." What was the defect in John's preaching? Was it wrong in *matter*, or wrong in *manner*, that Herod was pleased? Afterwards, when he was disposed to put John to death, to gratify a wicked woman, he feared the multitude, because they counted John as a prophet. John had gained so strong a hold on the affections of the multitude that Herod was afraid his putting him to death would excite an insurrection. Will it be said, the multitude were saints, or that John had been unfaithful? When Christ asked the chief priests and scribes about the baptism of John, they were afraid to say it was of men, and this was the reason, "If we say, of men, all the people will stone us." According to the principle of this discourse, John must have been a very bad man, very unfaithful, to have excited such feeling in his favour among the mass of the people, that the chief priests and elders were afraid of being stoned, if they should say a word against him. To those very Jews who were seeking his life, Christ said of John, "He was a burning and a shining light; and ye were willing for a season to rejoice in his light." What was the fault of John, which they were pleased with, and *rejoiced in*? No fault at all; they rejoiced in *his light*. John was austere in his manners, and eminently faithful in the ministry; yet the expressions of being pleased with him and his preaching, which we find on record, are much more numerous than those of a contrary nature. The scribes and pharisees were displeased; but the common people, the great mass of the nation, though unconverted, were very much in his favour.

They were pleased also with the Lord Jesus Christ. Great multitudes followed him, and pressed upon him to hear him, so that he was frequently so thronged as not to find time to take food or rest. The scribes and pharisees were displeased, but "the common people heard him gladly." He taught in the synagogues of Galilee, "being glorified of all." According to our author, there must have been something wrong in his preaching. Which was it, "defective in *matter* or defective in *manner*?" When he passed over the sea to the country of the Gadarenes, the people of the other side wait-

ed for his return, and received him gladly. On one occasion, he was compelled to withdraw from the multitude, to prevent their taking him by force and making him a king. When he came openly to Jerusalem, for the last time, "much people that were come to the feast, took branches of palm trees, and went forth to meet him, and cried Hosannah; blessed is the king of Israel that cometh in the name of the Lord." And when the Pharisees saw it, they said among themselves, "Perceive ye how ye prevail nothing? behold, the world is gone after him." We read, very often, that the chief priests and scribes sought how they might take him by subtlety, and put him to death; and were in great difficulty how to accomplish it, for fear of the people.

"But they said, Not on the feast day, lest there be an uproar among the people." So strongly were the great mass of the people, though a race of impenitent sinners, prepossessed in his favour, that his enemies were obliged to hire Judas to betray him in the night, in the absence of the multitude, and then to fasten upon him the charge of blasphemy, before the chief priests, and obtain the consent of the Roman governor to his death. How is all this to be accounted for? Had he been unfaithful in his dealing with the common people? Had he walked with them, or they with him, because they were *agreed* in their moral character? No. Yet the number of those that were pleased appears to have been much greater than the number of those that were displeased. And it was only by craft and subtlety, and false accusations, that his enemies could find how to accomplish their designs.

The same appears to be true of the apostles, and of their ministry. Read the Acts of the Apostles through, and you will find abundant evidence of this. In all cases of persecution against them, it was stirred up by the few; while the many, if they had been let alone, were inclined to favour them, or at least to treat them with respect. The revival on the day of Pentecost overcame all opposition, for a time; so that it is written of the disciples, "and they, continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, and *having favour with all the people*. And the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved." When on the occasion of the healing of the lame man, Peter and John were apprehended, and brought before the rulers, they did not dare to punish them, "because of the people." When they were apprehended again, the officers were afraid to offer any violence to them, lest they themselves should have been stoned by the multitude. There was no danger of their being stoned by those

who were converted, but by those who were unconverted, who were strongly inclined to favour and protect the apostles against their persecuting rulers. In several places where Paul and his companions suffered persecution, they were favourably received and well treated by the multitude, till certain designing individuals came from other places, and by their intrigues raised a persecution against them. Paul abode on the island of Melita three months, without the least appearance of opposition that we read of, but, on the contrary, was "honoured with many honours."

Do these things prove that John the Baptist, Jesus Christ, and the apostles, walked, in all these cases, with the ungodly, or the ungodly with them, because they were *agreed* in their moral character? No; it cannot be pretended.

Will the ungodly world, then, be generally pleased with the exhibition of Christianity in its purest form? and if so, what becomes of the doctrine that "the carnal mind is enmity against God?" The answer is not difficult. Men of sense, though unconverted, can and do see, that the Christian character, in its perfect form, is excellent and lovely; and it commands their respect and admiration, when viewed in its true light, and secures their consciences in its favour. And though the hearts of men are naturally selfish, and selfishness is the opposite of the Christian temper, yet men can see that it is for their advantage to have others live like Christians, and treat them as the gospel requires. Their own selfish feelings are gratified, in many instances, by having others do justly, love mercy, and walk circumspectly. It is only when the temper of the gospel is expressed in a way which crosses their path and thwarts their selfish wishes, that it rouses their opposition. And this is the reason why the clear exhibition of the doctrines of the gospel is so peculiarly offensive, particularly the divine sovereignty, in disposing of all creatures and all events as is for the greatest good, and the necessity of self-denial, in order to be Christ's disciples. These things will give offence, if they are felt at all, unless those on whom they are urged are so convinced of their truth and importance, that their selfish regard for their own safety silences their opposition, as has been observed. But the opposition which is made to the new measures is not on this ground. The advocates of them are complained of, for not preaching those doctrines which are considered so peculiarly offensive to the unrenewed heart, so much, so plainly, and so powerfully, as other revival ministers have done. The opposition is on far different grounds; and in view of what has been observed, is plainly no evidence at all in their favour. Nor is it safe to conclude, that the want of opposition to

other measures for promoting revivals is any evidence against them, without taking into view the circumstances of the case, and finding proof from them that it is the want of faithfulness in the exhibition of truth, or in the urging of duty. We must not adopt a rule of judging, in this matter, that would condemn the Lord Jesus and his inspired apostles, as well as those at this day whom we may wish to condemn.

Perhaps an apology is necessary for giving to this discourse a review of such a length. Neither the talents nor standing of the author, nor any thing in the discourse itself, if it had been published under ordinary circumstances, would have induced me to bestow so much attention upon it. But the system of measures with which it is connected, and of which it is a defence, is so calamitous in its tendency, and is urged on by its advocates with so much ardour and perseverance, the discourse, from the semblance of truth which it wears, and the different interpretations which may be given it, when objected to, is so well adapted to produce the impression intended on the minds of those who follow their feelings more than their judgment, and has been multiplied and circulated with so much zeal, that there appears to me to be great cause of alarm. Though professedly a discourse upon the subject of Christian experience and revivals of religion, it is so destitute of any correct distinctions, and so well adapted to justify false zeal, false affections, and spurious conversions, and so capable of being applied to sanction every species and degree of enthusiasm and fanaticism, and to condemn all sober revivals, and all those measures for promoting revivals which have stood the test of ages, that the importance of the subject appears to me to justify, and call for still more attention than has been paid to it. And if such a discourse shall be circulated by thousands in every direction, and be admired by many, and the watchmen of Israel should regard it with apathy, I should consider it as a most alarming indication that false religion and spurious revivals were about to have a far wider spread than our country has ever witnessed.

I cannot think, however, that the author of this discourse can obtain the countenance and support of ministers and Christians generally, and especially of the friends of revivals, till he shall publicly retract the erroneous sentiments it contains, and make a confession before the world for the injurious charges it labours to establish against all who disapprove of the new measures; and especially for giving such advice to "shake off their sleepy ministers," as all disorganizers will consider a full warrant for any disorderly measures they may be inclined to pursue to accomplish that end. And I believe the Christian public must and will hold responsible for

these errors any who shall continue to give the author their countenance and support, so long as he shall refuse to make such a retraction.

In conclusion, I cannot do justice to my own feelings without solemnly calling upon the author of this discourse to re-examine his own experience, and see whether there is any thing in it of a different nature from what he here urges upon others. When a man preaches and publishes a sermon upon a subject so highly experimental as this, it is to be expected, that, if he understands himself, he will disclose the nature of his own experience, and require that of others to be as good as his own. But if there is nothing in the experience of the author, better than what appears in this discourse, I cannot but have the most serious fears that he has deceived himself, and will find, at last, that he has made a fatal mistake, and that for eternity.

NOVANGLUS.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NEW-YORK OBSERVER.

Dr. Beecher's Letter to Mr. Beman.

Boston, Dec. 15, 1827.

Gentlemen,—The letter I now send you, has been often requested for publication. Until the present time I have never been entirely convinced that it was best to publish it. But recently circumstances to which I need not allude, have brought me to the conclusion that it is my duty to consent to its publication. Indeed from the principles contained in Mr. Finney's Sermon, and from what I know concerning revivals which have taken place under his immediate auspices, I am sure that the "new measures," as they are justly called, though not unattended with some good, do nevertheless introduce into revivals another spirit, of whose nature and general influence those who countenance these measures seem not to be aware.

It is a spirit of fanaticism, of spiritual pride, censoriousness, and insubordination to the order of the Gospel, which, if not met by the timely and decided disapprobation of ministers and churches, threatens to become one of the greatest evils which is likely to befall the cause of Christ.

In this opinion I am confirmed by all I have seen or heard from the commencement of these evils to the present day.

For many who differ from me I have cherished sentiments of high estimation and do still cherish them, with the exception of what appears to me a dangerous mistake in respect to the "new measures" for promoting Revivals of Religion.

Nor is it my wish to limit the usefulness of Mr. Finney. My constant desire is, that he may be more useful in time to come: and I have no doubt he may become more useful than ever, if he will cease from and disavow those peculiarities which have not been the cause of his usefulness, and by rendering good men justly afraid of him, have constantly thrown impediment in the way of his success.

I am respectfully yours,
 LYMAN BEECHER.

Boston, January, 1827.

Dear Brother,—It is some time since I have been rejoicing in the revivals of the West,—as I had hoped, the beginning of a new era in revivals, in respect to rapidity and universality. I had begun to anticipate as the result, such a power of moral sentiment in the West, as, in alliance with New-England and other parts of the church, might ere long raise a rampart around the sabbath, and check the burning tide of intemperance, and the progress of heresy and error.

It is not until recently that a rumor has floated on the breeze to excite solicitude. But first by a paragraph in the Christian Register, I was alarmed; and since, by unquestionable information from eye-witnesses and friends of the work, my fears have been greatly increased, that Satan, as usual, is plotting to dishonour a work which he cannot withstand. Far be it from me, at this distance, to write a letter of advice, much less of reproof. I can only pour out my thoughts, from my heart, into your bosom, upon such general topics as seem to be in the neighbourhood of danger, and ask your candid and prayerful attention to the subject; and I feel the more emboldened to hope that my motives will be duly appreciated and my suggestions regarded, from the consideration that I have not heretofore fallen under the imputation of a temporising policy, nor been suspected, I believe of cowardice.

Allow me then, with as little circumlocution as possible, to speak my thoughts upon several topics:—I have confidence in the piety and talents of brother Finney, and have no doubt that he brings the truth of God to bear upon the conscience with uncommon power, and in a manner highly calculated to arouse the public mind, and awaken, and con-

vince of sin. I am aware too, that ministers and churches in their ordinary state, compared with the spirit of a revival, are deplorably lukewarm, and often need strong measures, to bring them up to the point of even prudent zeal, and such as is indispensable to a powerful work of divine grace. I also fully believe, that means adequate to this end, though ever so prudently applied, must be such as sometimes will offend hypocrites and cold hearted professors, who are not reclaimed by them. I can perceive also, that ministers, from a variety of causes, are liable to perform their duty less faithfully towards men of wealth, honour, and high stations, than with reference to persons in a more humble condition; and I am aware that more directness and plainness may in most and probably all cases be employed, than is employed to affect that class of the community, whose influence would be so salutary to the cause of Christ.

I have no doubt that the promises of God, in respect to prayer, includes much more than has commonly been apprehended, and that a chief means of promoting those revivals which are to bring down the mountains, and exalt the valleys, and introduce the Millennium, is to be found in more comprehensive and correct views concerning the efficacy of prayer. Yet still I am satisfied, that there is no subject on which ardent minds are more liable to adopt hasty, and to some extent, false opinions, which may lead to pernicious effects. I am sure, that much has prevailed on the subject of the prayer of faith, as being *in accordance with my views*, which I should disavow and exceedingly disapprove. I am persuaded also, that the truths of the Gospel may be commended to the consciences of all men, both from the pulpit and in general addresses, with more directness and power than they are wont to be by ministers generally; and I am sure that during a revival they can be pressed with a closeness and pungency that would not be endured, and might be inexpedient, in any other circumstances. I am sensible also, that the truth cannot be brought to bear simultaneously upon the conscience of an extended community, without producing great emotion, and producing and justifying extraordinary efforts to obtain and to communicate religious instruction by meetings of increased frequency, and I am not afraid of poverty or famine from any efforts which men *will* make to save their souls.

I am persuaded too, from the close alliance between the moral and social movements of our nature, that some degree of imperfection and indiscretion may be as inseparable from a sudden and powerful revival of religion, as it is from every other sudden and powerful movement of human feeling; and

I am utterly fearless of any of the ordinary defects of a revival on which the enemy hang all their hopes of successful opposition. We might as well object to commerce or agriculture, until the entire business of a nation shall be by every man performed with perfect discretion, as to condemn revivals of religion, because imperfect and sinful beings, when strongly and justly excited, are not perfect in discretion.

No man appreciates more highly than I do, the importance of ardent, powerful, and fearless preaching, as a means of promoting revivals; or would deprecate more than I should, a cold-hearted, timid prudence, which would extinguish zeal and weaken the power of holy men when they are constrained by the love of Christ and the terrors of the Lord.

But the more important revivals of religion are, the more should we deprecate all needless repellences in the manner of conducting them; and the deeper the wave of public feeling which is rolled up by the breath of the Almighty, the greater is the danger, and the more injurious the effect of mismanagement. The ship pressed by mighty winds upon the mountain wave, needs a keen eye and a vigorous arm, as a slight movement of sail or helm may produce instantaneous shipwreck. Besides, revivals usually include but a small part of the entire community, and however well conducted, are destined to meet a re-action when they have passed away. The world will attempt to re-gain its lost dominion, and with a disposition to take ample vengeance for past annoyance and self-denial; with little injurious effect however, if the revival has not materially overstepped the bounds of real propriety, but with tremendous re-action if it has.

In the indiscretion of Davenport may be traced not only the suspension of the revival in this city 80 years ago, when he came here and began to denounce the ministers as unconverted men; but those indelible prejudices against revivals which made old Calvinists formal, Semi-calvinists Arminians, Arminians Unitarians, and Unitarians Universalists. The great Eastern defection was produced by the indiscretions of friends of the revivals, as much as by any one cause.

There are in this city and region now, orthodox churches in which there has not for 80 years been a common evening lecture, and cannot be, owing solely to the extravagance of revivals which took place almost a century ago.

The following are the subjects, upon which I would suggest a few thoughts:

I. The hasty recognition of persons as converted upon their own judgment, without interrogation or evidence. Revivals may become so great and rapid, as to make it proper

that those experiencing a change, in the course of a day, should meet in one place not to be recognised as converts, but to be examined, cautioned and instructed ; for the more powerful and rapid is the work of grace in a community, the more certain is the existence of sympathy and all the causes of self-deception ; and the more imperious the necessity of caution, unless we would replenish the church with hypocrites, to keep her agitated by discipline or covered with shame by the neglect of it.

II. Severe and repelling mode of preaching and conversing with stupid and awakened sinners, giving a predominance to the awful and terrific traits of the divine character and administration. It is a partial exhibition of the divine character and of the Gospel, and though it may be connected with success, it is because God in his mercy works by means of great relative imperfection, and not because it is the "more excellent way." It has a tendency to produce a defective and unlovely state of Christian feeling, a state of predominant severity instead of compassion and kindness. The human mind is *more* affected by kindness than by severity ; and though I have preached much the terrors of the Lord, it has been always with little effect, only as the justice of God, and his mercy, and the sinner's obduracy and ingratitude, have been exhibited in close alliance. I have not found naked terror to do much execution, either as the means of awakening men, or producing submission. It is the Law in the hands of a Mediator. It is the uplifted sword of justice, while Jesus invites and entreats and draws with the bands of love, which alarms, convinces of sin, and subdues the heart.

III. Assuming without sufficient evidence, that persons are unconverted. We may not possess any evidence that a person is pious, and it may be highly probable that he is not ; but probabilities do not render it expedient to assume the fact as certain. Because we enter on ground which we cannot maintain, and assume the appearance of censoriousness, calculated needlessly to awaken prejudice, and augment the phalanx of opposition. It is also wholly a superfluous evil. For why should we incur the responsibility of pronouncing a man unconverted, when a few questions, respectfully proposed, would obtain the data requisite for a close application, with deeper conviction, and less repellency.

IV. The application of harsh and provoking epithets, which, though they may be true in some theological sense, are, as they would naturally be understood, a violation of civilized decorum and of Christian courtesy. The application to men, of all the epithets which their character in the

sight of God might justify, would constitute a hell upon earth. It would be the action and re-action of provocation and insult ; it would prostrate all the valuable distinctions of society, and violate all the requisitions of the Gospel, of rendering honour to whom honour is due, and of being kindly affectionate, and gentle, and courteous. It would render the members of the same family, and the members of the same community, hateful and hating one another. Should pious parents address their unconverted offspring as serpents and a generation of vipers, or pious children assail the ears of their unconverted parents with the epithets of atheists, rebels, enemies of God, children of the devil ; any, but the sons of peace, might be expected to dwell in the family ; and should such provoking epithets be hurled at each other by members of the same community, it might qualify them sooner for Billingsgate than for the church of God. Should an unsettled minister of the Gospel, powerful in talents and zeal, and aided by success, carry himself sword in hand through the community in this overbearing style, we are not to suppose that settled ministers can with impunity do the same, or that any man, can do it permanently with impunity. For, emboldened by success, either he will be lifted up of pride and fall into the snare of the devil, or venturing on from one impropriety to another, the sensibilities of the community, goaded to desperation, will make a stand, and re-act, and sweep him away.

V. Another evil to be deprecated by such unusual treatment of mankind, is its tendency to produce imitators, who without the moral power, will offer the same provocation, and be treated by an indignant community as the seven sons of Sceva were treated by the unclean spirits.—“Jesus we know, and Paul we know, but who are ye ?”

There is nothing in the example of our Saviour, or of the apostles, to authorize an address so calculated to exasperate. Did our Lord call the young ruler an atheist or a devil ? It was only when a course of open opposition to truth and evidence had indicated desperate wickedness, and produced reprobation, that our Lord assumed the language of severe rebuke, and terrific denunciation : and even in this, he acted as the Omniscient Judge, and not as a mere man. Generally his intercourse with sinful men is marked with compassionate dignity ; and even were his address direct and severe, it would not follow, that we might safely imitate. It was predicted of him, that he should not lift up his voice nor cry ; a bruised reed shall he not break, nor quench the smoking flax, until he shall bring forth judgment unto victory, i. e. he should deal so kindly and tenderly with awakened sinners, as

would neither discourage nor enrage them, but carry on the work to salvation. The example of Paul is fraught with instruction on this subject. For though the man never lived who possessed more moral courage, or struck home with more directness and power upon the conscience, yet no one ever manifested more dexterity or care to avoid the repellences of prejudice, or rousing up against himself the irritation of unsanctified feeling; and whenever it became indispensable to administer reproof, he forbears to smite, until by every possible preparation of kindness, he had insured its salutary influence and prevented injurious re-action. If he must smite, it is not until he had bound the culprit with cords of love, and even then the chastisement is applied with so much regret as is calculated rather to break the heart of the sufferer than to enrage it: and in this he consulted the dictates of a sound philosophy, as much as he did the dictates of his benevolent heart. It is certainly a new discovery, that prejudice and hatred and anger have become the salutary causes in pre-disposing the mind of a sinner for the reception of the truth; and if notwithstanding hard names and provoking buffetings, he is awakened and converted, how much more certainly might the same event have been looked for, had these repellences been allowed to sleep, while the same amount of merciful directness and earnestness had been applied to his conscience and his heart.

Nor are we to suppose that the sovereignty of God may be relied on alike in the neglect, as in the use of the most suitable means of interesting and affecting the human mind; for sovereignty consists in rescuing men without reference to legal or moral desert; but not in doing it without means, or in a way that supercedes the necessity of discretion, and does violence to all the laws of the human mind. He can save and does save by means of great relative imperfection: but it is by that which is good in them, and not by that which is defective, and affords no evidence that still greater good might not have been expected, had means been more wisely adapted and better applied.

The laws of the human mind are not to be outraged in preaching the Gospel, or the depravity of the heart needlessly roused and brought out into virulent action against man and God; and though those who themselves were exercised in this dreadful manner, are apt to imagine that all must feel just as they felt, and to preach with reference to the production of such horrid feelings, it is both needless and injurious to do it. There is impediment enough in man while the rage of his enmity sleeps, to forbid the exciting of its extreme violence, and enough to inspire compassion for the sinner,

without involving him in new disabilities by arraying against him the exasperated power of his depravity; and if some are saved notwithstanding, there is no reason to doubt that many are destroyed by such treatment, who might otherwise have been saved.

The following may serve as specimens of the Apostle's mode of preaching the Gospel and dealing with men. At Ephesus he served the Lord for three years with all humility of mind, and ceased not to warn every one night and day, with tears. At Athens, he reasoned with the philosophers on Mars' Hill, in a way that was neither harsh nor abrupt, but courteous and yet direct and powerful. To the Corinthian church, which had sinned greatly, he says, "I write not these things to shame you, but as my beloved sons I warn you. Wherefore, I beseech you, be ye followers of me." And in his second epistle, "Out of much affliction and anguish of heart I wrote unto you, with many tears not that ye should be grieved, but that ye might know the love which I have more abundantly unto you, and though I made you sorry with a letter, I do not repent, though I did repent."

His care to allay and to avoid exciting prejudice, and to conciliate favour by a watchful accommodation of truth to the character, capacity, and condition of his hearers, is beautifully described in 1 Cor. iv. 9—21. Because the Gospel was true and all were sinners, he did not treat them all alike; "Though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself the servant of all, that I might gain the more." The same treatment would not answer for all: "To the Jews I became as a Jew, to them without law as without law, to the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak. I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some; and this I do for the Gospel's sake." To the Galatians, endangered by false teachers, he says, "My little children of whom I travail in birth again, until Christ be formed in you." The directions to Timothy, who was a young man, are, "Rebuke not an elder, but entreat him as a father, and the younger men as brethren, the elder women as mothers, the younger as sisters with all purity." He had no notion that a young man, even as eminent as Timothy, should undertake to break down ministers. "And the servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing them that oppose themselves, &c." The epistle of Paul to Philemon displays a consummate knowledge of the human heart, and is an unrivalled specimen of the most dexterous, delicate, and touching application of moral power; and illustrates perfectly the precept, "be ye as wise as serpents and harmless as doves." When the Apos-

tle used pointed and severe expressions, it was only in desperate cases. As inspired men, they were authorised by God to inflict disease and death, and to utter the most awful imprecations of divine vengeance, but they recognise themselves always as the mere agents of the Holy Ghost, and not as speaking themselves, or expressing their own feelings. Thus Ananias was struck dead for having lied unto the Holy Ghost. The Apostles being the medium through whom the Holy Ghost spake, and Paul "being filled with the Holy Ghost," denounced Elymas the sorcerer, and inflicted blindness upon him. When other men are filled in like manner with the Holy Ghost, and can work miracles in attestation of it, they may address, when God directs, individuals in the same manner. The martyr Stephen in the early part of his address was kind and conciliating. It was not until their incorrigibleness was manifest, and "he filled with the Holy Ghost," that he uttered the fearful denunciations with which his speech closes. The same may be said of [the bold address of Peter and John to the Jewish Sanhedrim, Acts iv. 10, 11, "Being filled with the Holy Ghost, Peter said," &c. i. e. spoke as directed by heaven. Paul also in his imprecation of destruction upon Alexander the coppersmith, is to be understood as denouncing the just judgment of God upon him, under the special guidance of the Spirit, and not as expressing his own vindictive feelings; and the same may be said of the imprecations recorded in the Psalms, and in the Prophets. In common cases, these men were kind and gentle, and more given to expostulation and tears, than to denunciation; and when they speak in this manner, are only the organs employed by heaven to denounce judgments upon the reprobate. God surely has a right to denounce judgments upon the wicked, and to select his own instruments, as he had to exterminate the Canaanites: and sometimes the holy men who pronounce these imprecations expressly say that they are authorised by God to do his "strange work," and yet they do it in "bitterness of spirit," and only because "the hand of the Lord was strong upon them." They therefore executed only a specific commission, in given circumstances; and their conduct furnishes no authority to uninspired ministers to apply to their unconverted hearers generally, the same fearful language which was by heaven directed to be pronounced upon reprobates.

Long have infidels and scoffers triumphed in these imprecations, as the supposed ebullition of unhallowed feeling in good men: and if they were recorded as an example to be adopted by ministers in addressing unrenewed men generally, they do breathe any thing rather than peace on earth and

good will to men, and would give to the infidel the entire and unanswerable force of his objection.

The general principle then is this :—men who hate and reject the truth, and conduct as those did whom God denounced, have reason to fear that the judgments of reprobation will come upon them, and the ministers of Christ may warn and entreat men to take heed. But until certified by a revelation, that an individual or a class of men are reprobates, he has no authority to apply to them, merely as ordinary sinners, the language of denunciation which is peculiar to reprobates; and whoever observes will perceive, that so far from doing this, where there is a serious mind, and an anxious desire, and earnest seeking, they are addressed in the language of compassion, exhortation, warning, and entreaty.* If I might refer to a living instrument of good to men in the conversion of souls, of all modern men most successful, and who if the humility of any man was equal to the temptation of being called a reformer, might be called such, having done more to reduce to a science the mode of applying truth to the human mind, and conducting revivals, than all who preceded him, I should refer to one, who of all men watched with most critical carefulness to avoid needless provocation, and availed himself most carefully of every circumstance which might remove hindrances, and give to truth the most unobstructed efficacy, and who, at the same time, approached the conscience with great directness and power.

V. Female prayer in promiscuous assemblies.—First, it is no where commanded. Secondly, it is no where authorized, either by precept or example. There is no instance in the patriarchal age, of a woman offering sacrifice as an act of worship, and a symbol of prayer; and none in the tabernacle or temple service. On the contrary, when on account of great judgments, it was enjoined on females to pray, it was the wife apart, and the husband apart. Thirdly, female pray-

* The position that all men, because sinners, are therefore to be treated alike by the ministers of the gospel, without respect to age, office, or station in society, is as much a violation of common sense, as it is of the plain directions of the apostle, which exact reverence for age, and honour to whom honour is due; especially for those who rule over men: and if in monarchical governments the recognition of such distinctions was a Christian duty, where the arm of power could punish delinquents, how much more in republican governments, where public opinion is the only law, and a levelling of all distinctions of society would be the sure presage of anarchy and absolute destruction. Such as in France existed for a time, when the sun, moon, and stars were cast to the ground, and fish-women and courtizans formed the mob, and directed the overwhelming tempest of wrath.

er in promiscuous assemblies for worship is expressly forbidden. "I suffer not a woman to teach nor to usurp authority over the man; but to be in silence." The apostle is speaking concerning the order of public assemblies of Christians, and concerning prayer. "I will, therefore, that men pray every where." It is concerning the dress of women in public assemblies that he speaks in the same connexion, that they be clothed in modest apparel, and with delicacy and sobriety. He then twice enjoins silence, and positively prohibits speaking. Again, 1 Cor. xiv. 34, "Let your women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak: and if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home, for it is a shame for a woman to speak in the church." I know that these texts have been explained away; but so have the proof texts which teach the divinity of Christ, the depravity of man, the reality of the atonement, and the necessity of regeneration. Any thing can be explained away by those who are determined to obey their own will instead of the bible. With respect to 1 Cor. xi. 3—16, which may be thought to imply that women did pray in Christian assemblies, I answer,

1. It is not so plain that they did, as it is in the fore cited passages, that they are forbidden; and the plain is to control the obscure, and not the obscure the plain.

2. If they did pray, it must be supposed therefore that it was under the special guidance of the Spirit; a preternatural impulse, which amounted to inspiration; for none but the Lawgiver himself can make exceptions to his own laws; and this considered, the example, if allowed, no more proves that women, undirected by such influence, should speak, than the example of Balaam proves that all unrenewed men should set up for prophets of the Lord. If women did pray, it was a case exempted from the general prohibition, by divine and not by human direction.

3. And if the reasoning were even less conclusive, it would suffice to render the lawfulness of female prayers doubtful, and of course to exclude them under the rule, that if we are doubtful whether a thing is lawful, it is sinful in that state of uncertainty to do it. As he that doubted the lawfulness of eating meats, was condemned if in that state of mind he presumed to eat. But if no command had been given on this subject, I am of opinion that nature itself, as the apostle says, is decisive on the subject. There is generally, and *should be* always, in the female character, a softness and delicacy of feeling which shrinks from the notoriety of a public performance. It is the guard of female virtue, and invaluable in its soothing, civilizing influence on man; and a great

er evil, next to the loss of conscience and chastity, could not befall the female sex, or the community at large, than to disrobe the female mind of those ornaments of sensibility, and clothe it with the rough texture of masculine fibre. But no well educated female can put herself up, or be put up, to the point of public prayer, without the loss of some portion at least of that female delicacy, which is above all price; and whoever has had an opportunity to observe the effect of female exhortation and prayer in public, will be compelled to remark the exchange of softness and delicacy for masculine courage, so desirable in man, so unlovely in woman; and if we need farther testimony, the general character of actresses is a standing memorial of the influence of female elocution before public assemblies.

VII. Bold, or imprudent expressions in the ardour of preaching, or under the provocation of opposition, or in the delirious exultation of spiritual pride.—The pre-eminent importance of religion and the soul, may tempt a man to pour contempt on all carefulness about style and well selected epithets; but if negligence in this respect may destroy souls as well as save them, then the more important the soul, the more important it is that in none of these respects we offend and destroy those for whom Christ died.

VIII. Language of unbecoming familiarity with God in prayer.—Such a thing is possible in good men, but it is piety degenerated and mingled commonly with carnal affection or spiritual pride. A just sense of ourselves and of God, will produce any thing rather than irreverent familiarity. If in heaven pure spirits veil their faces and adore, shall not mortal man, whose eye by faith seeth God, abhor himself? The difference between humble and presumptuous boldness is immense; and no frequency of real spiritual access and communion with God, can possibly breed irreverent familiarity. For a man, then, to talk to his Maker about men and things in the dialect more familiar and divested of reverence, than a well-educated child would adopt in addressing an earthly parent, is utterly inadmissible.

IX. Coarse, blunt, and vulgar expressions.—These, if indulged by good men, indicate, or infallibly produce, the want of that delicacy of feeling, which, next to conscience and piety, is our greatest safeguard against impropriety; and when coupled with religion, adorns the doctrines of God our Saviour; and though some ears may not be offended, there are always, in every assembly, some that will be; and though some souls may not be injured by it, why should it be indulged, when these might be as much benefited by other language, while many may be offended and perhaps destroyed

by it? Say not it is their own fault: for though it may be that they ought not to have been so offended as to have rejected the truth, yet if we, knowing the liability of men to be thus offended and injured, proceed wilfully to create the offence, the wo may belong to them by whom the offence cometh, as really as to those who are criminally offended. My own observation has taught me, that there is a critical state of the mind in the experience of almost every sinner, when small causes may turn the scale the wrong way; and if a minister, careless of his language or conduct in dealing with men, shall save many, the day of judgment may disclose the appalling fact, that he was the means of destroying more souls than he saved. And besides all this, human nature needs elevation and refinement; it is of itself prone enough to sink down to coarseness and indelicacy; and the evil must be immense, of sending religion, the great purifier of man, through the nation in a style which will be calculated to increase the obtuseness of feeling, and the roughness of civilized intercourse. Let grossness characterise the church, and refinement the world, and you throw a large portion of mankind into hopeless opposition to the gospel.

X. A harsh and severe mode of addressing sinners.—Whatever language a man uses, it tends to beget in him the style of feeling of which it is characteristic. If an awakened sinner, to conceal his impression, shall affect lightness of language and manner, he will soon become what he affects to be, a careless sinner. On this principle it is, in my judgment, no minister can adopt a severe, harsh, and censorious manner with sinners, and not become, to some extent in spirit, what he seems to be in language. We must, at times, use the language of severity and terror; but if this becomes the unvarying or common mode, it will be unhappy: nor can the language of denunciation and threatening, such as ‘cursed,’ ‘hell,’ ‘damnation,’ and the like, be made frequent and familiar in the pulpit, without bringing up the association of similar language, from profane lips, in far different places; or without producing, if not as much, yet some degree of the bad influence of profane swearing. In the time of Davenport, they used to address men from the pulpit as “cursed sinners,” and talk about their being “damned to hell;” which made some people wonder what had got into ministers to swear so.

XI. New era in revivals—reformers—reformation always opposed, even by good men, &c.—Such ideas, cherished, bring to the naughty and deceitful heart of man no small danger, and have ruined many; for though multitudes have thought they were raised up to be reformers in the church,

but a small number of men have been in reality such ; and as to opposition from good men, the facts generally have been the other way. The opponents of Luther and Calvin were not pious men, but the legions of Antichrist ; and so long as enemies only lifted the lance against them, the reformation advanced ; but from the time the reformers began to lift it one against the other, it stopped. The chief opponents of Whitfield in England were the hierarchy ; and in this country, the cold-hearted Arminians and formal Calvinists. But the ministers who held the doctrines and maintained the views of revivals, which now pervade New-England and the West, were his most ardent friends : And there is no instance upon record, of a great evangelical reformation which was opposed strenuously by the best of men, and carried sword in hand by denouncing and breaking down the most active, experienced, and successful ministers of Christ and members of his church. Whitfield and the Tennants strengthened the hands of good ministers, and were terrible only to the Arminian and lukewarm ; and while their counsels prevailed, the revivals went on. It was reserved for Davenport and his followers to stop it, by setting up a new mode of preaching and conduct, which good men could not adopt ; for this they were denounced, and separations encouraged, whose deleterious effects a whole century will not obliterate.

XII. A self-sufficient and daring state of mind, which is reckless of consequences, and incorrigible to argument or advice. It may be the result of confidence inspired by success ; of the magnifying effect of intense interest on one subject, which throws every thing else out of the circumference of vision, and into relative insignificance ; of nervous excitement which quickens all the sensibilities of the soul, and magnifies objects of interest ; and, at last, of a settled state of perverted feeling, the product of the preceding causes, which, in the estimation of the subject, becomes absolute knowledge, and pours contempt on argument or advice, and can no more be stopped in its career, than the foaming cataract, or the resistless whirlwind. For why should a good man stop, who knows certainly that he is right exactly, and that all men are wrong in proportion as they differ from him ? This unquestionably was the state of mind to which Davenport and his followers came. He and they, upon the subject of promoting revivals, were undoubtedly the subjects of a religious nervous insanity. They mistook the feeling of certainty and confidence produced by nervous excitement, and perverted sensation, for absolute knowledge, if not for inspiration ; and drove the whirlwind of their insane piety through

the churches with a fury which could not be resisted, and with a desolating influence which in many places has made its track visible to the present day. It was this "know-certain-feeling," which emboldened Davenport to chastise aged and eminent ministers, and to pray for them, and denounce them as unconverted, and to attempt to break them down by promoting separations from all who would not conform implicitly to his views,—by setting on fire around them the wood, hay, and stubble, which exist in most communities, and may easily be set on fire, at any time, by rashness and misguided zeal; and so far as my observation extends, the man who confides exclusively in himself, and is inaccessible to advice and influence from without, has passed the bounds of sound reason, and is upon the confines of destruction.

XIII. Whatever the code of public opinion has adopted which is sinful, must be rejected; but there are a multitude of things which belong to man as an intellectual and social being, which cannot be disregarded, without destroying alike civilization and Christianity. There are some things which adorn, and some which disgrace religion, and should we therefore in our zeal strip religion of the mildness, and kindness, and courtesy of civilized decorum, and exhibit her in alliance with all the repellences and roughnesses of uncultivated humanity, as well might the bodies in the valley of vision have been animated and sent forth in all their unsightly nakedness before the skin came upon them. True religion makes men courteous, and produces those salutary rules of civilized intercourse which distinguish Christian from savage nations. Nor with all these restraints, and grace beside, is there any danger that men, in the interchange of social intercourse, will treat each other with more respect and courtesy, than would naturally result from each man's loving his neighbour as himself.

XIV. Success an evidence that all which is done in revivals is right. No mode of reasoning is so safe as matter-of-fact reasoning, if properly conducted; and none perhaps is so liable to be perverted to purposes of sophistry. The grounds of deception are two: 1. Drawing general conclusions from particular premises; inferring that because some preacher's mode of address or action has been useful in some circumstances, it is applicable to all circumstances. As if a physician, on discovering a remedy for some disease, should make it his standing and universal prescription in all cases; as if the shipmaster, who had once been driven out to sea before boisterous winds, without anchor, or compass, or chart, or rudder, and who reached by miracle his port in safety, should return to denounce henceforth these means of safe-

ty, and insist that nothing was needed to conduct auspiciously the commerce of the whole world but a direct course, and mountain waves, and all sails standing, and a hurricane for a breeze. 2. Judging from limited views and immediate effects, without regarding general and permanent results. The world, both material and intellectual, is governed by general laws, and though the violation of them may produce a temporary good, the certain result, on the great scale, will be more than a balance of general evil. Now the importance of the soul and of eternity is such, as that good men in a revival are apt to feel no matter what is said or done, provided sinners are awakened and saved. But it ought to be remembered, that though the immediate result of some courses of conduct may be the salvation of some souls, the general and more abiding result may be the ruin of a thousand souls, destroyed by this conduct, to one saved by it; and destroyed by it as instrumentally in the direct and proper sense of the term, as any are saved by it. The sovereignty of God is not to be relied on in violation of the great laws of the moral world, but in accordance with them. When the thousands were to be sealed, the four angels were commanded to hold the winds, and keep back the judgments which they should afterwards execute, because war and distress would impede his work of mercy. Hence our Saviour introduced the gospel dispensation gradually, as the mind of man could bear it; not putting new wine into old bottles: and hence, too, Davenport, disregarding the general consequences of his conduct, and intent only on its immediate result, though he saved a few, doubtless entailed moral desolation, and darkness, and death, upon thousands of unborn generations. In a single hour, in this city, he said and did what had the effect to interrupt in the midst an auspicious revival, and commenced a captivity which has continued for more than seventy years. Insomuch, that were not the compassion of God, through Christ, infinite, and repentance available, good had it been for that man, and for New-England, if he had never been born. Beside, the limited success of a given course, whose general result is injurious, is no evidence of divine approbation; for God, as a sovereign, works by means of great relative imperfection; and that there may not be evil only, makes the truth effectual which is preached, even though the manner may be in some respects so reprehensible, as to deserve the dereliction of the Holy Ghost. Success in this case only proves that men are not so outrageously imprudent, as to make it seem necessary to heaven, to withhold the influence of the Spirit from the truth. No evidence then is furnished by success, to show that things which good

men regard as exceptionable, produce this success; or that characteristic excellencies, without these peculiarities, would not render the same men still more eminently successful. If revivals could be achieved in but one way, and that attended by much reaction of evil, such is the vanity of time and the worth of the soul, that the sacrifice should be made; but, when revivals, great, and frequent, and glorious, can be conducted in a manner which strengthens the hands of pastors, and unites the churches, and disarms the world of prejudice, and brings increasing power of truth on the public conscience, and raises up the foundations of many generations, and repairs the wastes of the revivals of other ages, there can be no excuse for conducting them in a manner which shall reverse this order, and let out a civil war in the church, arousing ministers against ministers, and dividing and distracting the churches by wrath, and strife, and endless divisions. The revivals in the West do not, in my judgment, owe their existence to a single arm, and it is too much to be taken for granted, that both their immediate and ultimate results would not have been much better, if they had been attended by fewer novelties and peculiarities. For though such revivals as I have described, promoted by itinerant ministers only, would be dreadful, the same kind of preaching and conduct adopted by settled ministers would unquestionably displace three-fourths of the settled ministers in the United States, and instead of building up the desolations that now exist, would multiply them a thousand fold.

To some of the consequences of a revival, conducted under such auspices as I have described, I beg leave now to call your attention.

It will become more and more exceptionable. Urged by circumstances, men will do things, which, if in the beginning they had been predicted, they would have said, "Are thy servants dogs, that we should do these things?" By degrees, however, all landmarks will be removed, and what was once regarded as important will be set at nought, and what would once have produced horror will be done fearlessly. There is nothing to which the minds of good men, when once passed the bounds of sound discretion, and launched on the ocean of feeling and experiment, may not come too. But the evil, which may flow from those who commence these aberrations, is but a drop of the bucket in the ocean of disorder and misrule to which they may open the door. There is nothing so terrible and unmanageable as the fire and whirlwind of human passion, when once kindled by misguided zeal, and sanctioned by conscience, and the idea of being reviled and persecuted for doing God service. Like the cave

of Æolus, or the gate of Pandemonium, a single arm may suffice to let out the storm. But when once the atmosphere is put in motion, no human power can stop it, until it has exhausted its fury in works of moral desolation. They who did the deed may repent of it early, and stretch out impotent hands to stay the evil; and weep over the desolation without being able to repair it. The restoration of Davenport to sanity, and his subsequent confession, did not repair the moral desolation which his conduct and principles had made.

Another of the evils to be apprehended, is opposition on the part of good men, and the consequent disunion of the churches by a civil war. The peculiarities of the system I have recognised, cannot go through the churches without opposition. Splendid by its early power, many have yielded to it who disapproved for fear they might quench the Spirit: and many have been silent, because they feared that they might speak against a work of God. But when the work shall have given out its distinct character, and put off the natures of love and gentleness, &c. and put on those of wrath and strife: when other reformers shall hasten on to new discoveries, and surpass their predecessors as much as these surpassed others: and denounce them as they denounced those who could not go with them; when stripling imitators of pious men, having nothing in common with them but their imprudence, without their age and moral power, shall go out to outrage humanity and caricature revivals of religion, then will these irregularities be met, and then the collision will be keen and dreadful. For, in every church, there is wood, hay, and stubble, which will be sure to take fire on the wrong side. All your periodical Christians, who sleep from one revival to another, will be sure to blaze out now; while judicious ministers and the more judicious part of the church, will be destined to stand, like the bush, in the midst of the flames; while these periodical Christians will make up, by present zeal for their past stupidity, and chide as cold hearted formalists, those, whose even, luminous course sheds reproach on their past coldness and stupidity. The converts too will catch the same spirit; and go forth to catechise aged Christians; and wonder why old saints don't sing, and make the heavenly arches ring, as they do;—and that shall come to pass, which was spoken by Isaiah the prophet, as the destruction of human society and the consummation of divine wrath upon man, when children shall be princes in the church, and babes shall rule over her, and the child shall behave himself proudly against the ancient, and the base against the honourable.

Another evil to be feared is, that it will unavoidably array a large portion of the unrenewed part of the community against revivals and religion; and produce infidels, scoffers, Unitarians, and Universalists, on every side—increasing the resistance seven fold to evangelical doctrine; withdrawing in proportion, the voluntary support of the Gospel; and consigning the precious cause of Christ, which ought and might govern public opinion, to the hands of a feeble, despised, dispirited few, who watch the holy fire upon the deserted altar of God. All forms of error will grow rank from the aliment of such violence done to the laws of humanity and to the laws of God. The extravagances of the pious in the time of Cromwell threw back the cause of vital piety in England for two centuries, to a state of imbecility and scorn, and has furnished topics to grace the pages of infidel historians, poets, and orators, through every succeeding generation.

Another effect to be deprecated is, that it will prevent the great evangelical assimilation, which is forming in the United States, and paralyze general efforts as much as private churches. The rumour of extravagance would soon begin to press hard upon the friends of revivals in New-England; who could not and would not take the responsibility of justifying what they disapproved, and would be compelled in self-defence, publicly to clear themselves, as having no part nor lot in such matters. There is also a large portion of the church out of New-England, which is evangelical, but which is acquainted with revivals more by the hearing of the ear, than by eyesight and experience; and who, between doubt and fear, are approaching the happy day, when the breath of the Lord may breathe upon them. Upon all these, a revival of extravagance and disorder would exert a deadly influence, and for one generation, at least, protract the form without the power of religion. While all the enemies of evangelical doctrines and of revivals, would keep a jubilee, that these days of hated light had gone by, and given place to the reign of reason and formality.

Another thing to be feared is, that meeting in their career with the most determined opposition from educated ministers, and Colleges, and Seminaries, all these in succession would be denounced, and held up as objects of popular odium, and a host of ardent, inexperienced, impudent young men be poured out, as from the hives of the North, to obliterate civilization, and roll back the wheels of time to semi-barbarism; until New-England of the West shall be burnt over, and religion disgraced and trodden down as in some parts of New-England it was done 80 years ago: when lay-

men and women, indians and negroes, male and female, preached and prayed and exhorted, until confusion itself became confounded.—There is nothing so powerful as the many waters of human passion, and nothing so terrible as the overflowing of such a scourge: and a dispensation so calamitous would be more intolerable, as it is so utterly needless, and would come so unexpectedly in the very dawning of a bright day. The nature of the Gospel, and of the human mind, and the mode of exhibiting truth and conducting revivals, have been developed, and practised with such success, that in New-England, and to a great extent through the nation, the conviction is established, that they are the work of God, and most benign in their moral influence upon the present as well as the future life. Extensively opposition is silenced, and the public mind is fast preparing to come under the influence of faithful preaching, and the Holy Ghost. In New-England revivals are becoming more frequent in the same places, and more general in their extent. There seems to be a joyful and rapid spread of the work of God: but one overflowing of a violent, ungoverned revival would snatch the victory from truth, and throw revivals back at least fifty years. It would be the greatest calamity that could befall this young empire. The perversion of the popular taste, and the extinction of the popular prejudice against learning, and a learned ministry, where an enlightened public sentiment, coupled with enlightened piety, is our all, would be to us, nearly, what the incursions of the northern barbarians were to the Roman Empire. It would stop all our improvements, and throw us back in civilization, science, and religion, at least a whole century. It would constitute an era of calamity never to be forgotten, and be referred to by future historians as the dark age of our republic. There are parts of our nation, to which I might refer you, which were burnt over by such a revival some 20 years ago, where the abiding evils may still be seen in the state of society which has followed. And there too, with all their extravagances of falling, and groaning, and laughing, and jumping, and dancing, were regarded by many, and by some very good men, as a new dispensation of the Spirit,—a new mode of conducting revivals with power; and those, who rode on the foremost waves, thought themselves to be, and were thought to be, raised up to be reformers in their day, oh, my brother! if a victorious army should overflow and lay us waste, or if a fire should pass over and lay every dwelling in our land in ashes, it would be a blessing to be coveted with thanksgiving, in comparison to the moral desolation of one ungoverned

revival of religion ; for physical evils can be speedily repaired, but the desolation of moral causes is deep and abiding.

I have only to add, that the evil may, with perfect ease, be avoided, without diminishing the true spirit and power of a revival ; but in every respect shall increase it. There is no need of praying as if God and man were deaf, or of wallowing on the floor, and frothing at the mouth, as if filled with hydrophobia, instead of the Spirit of God ; nor any harm in kindness and gentleness ; nor any benefit in harsh and severe epithets. The state of man may be explained to him so that he shall believe and feel, better than by calling him a devil, a viper, or a serpent. There may be as great directness as is needed, or as is possible, without indecorum ; and the gospel may be preached faithfully, and attended with the power of God, without groaning in prayer, and crying "Amen," and without female prayers and exhortations, and without that spiritual pride, which never fails to attend pressing the mass of the community out of their place, and shaking together in one chaldron of effervescence, all the passions of all the classes in human society. I would not, brethren, on any account, deter you from the propagation of revivals ; and I believe if brother F. will take counsel, he may be an invaluable blessing. The thing which I have wished to accomplish is, to enable you so to perceive the defects and dangers of your mode of conducting revivals, as that you shall be induced to part with its unseemly warts and excrescences, without diminishing at all the energy and warmth of the healthful pulsation of their hearts, or abating the moral courage or humble boldness with which you pray and preach, or the directness and power with which you address the consciences of men. In short, that revivals, conducted under your auspices, may be so conducted, as that, surpassing in power any you have seen, all good men may hail their approach, and give you their undivided countenance, and none but wicked men and hypocrites fear and tremble.

Dear brethren in Christ ; you must not, for a moment, suppose that I do not fervently love you : or that I ascribe to you, *in extenso*, all the defects to which I have alluded ; but that I have drawn the outlines of a moral chart, which such a disastrous revival, as your present course could not fail to lead to, would amply fill up, I have not a doubt. That you will appreciate my motives, and not be offended, I cannot but believe ; and I have equal confidence that you will appreciate the considerations which I have suggested, and will, as fast and as far as possible, supersede our fears, by a course that all good men will approve and rejoice in.

The happiness and strength of New-England consists in

the fact, that, with few exceptions, none of us ride hobby-horses, or set up for reformers upon our own simple stock of wisdom or moral power, but with great harmony and love, consult, and give and take advice. This makes the church terrible as an army with banners to her foes.

I cannot ask you to reply particularly to so long a letter, but it is my earnest request that you will reply to it early, and let me know how it strikes you; whether it is plain, and direct, and strong enough,—so as to be up to the mark: and if in any respect you would like discussion, that you will give me opportunity of retracting, if I am wrong; or of convincing you, if I am right.

I beseech you, brethren, to consult good men around you, and especially brother Nettleton, whose judgment and long experience in revivals, and knowledge of human nature, cannot be safely disregarded.

But, if at length you should be verging to the conclusion that you must go on as you have done, I must beseech and entreat, you will halt and pray, until there can be time for a meeting of a few Christian brethren with you, in which, *viva voce*, we may kindly, but thoroughly and prayerfully, talk over the entire subject; and see if we cannot bring matters to a state in which we can all act as one.

I am, affectionately, your brother,

LYMAN BEECHER.

Rev. Nathan S. S. Beman.

FROM THE NEW-YORK OBSERVER.

Boston, Nov. 8, 1827.

It having been represented to some of the subscribers, that we disapproved of the proceedings of the Rev. Mr. Nettleton, in reviewing a sermon preached at Troy, March 4, 1827, and in opposing the sentiments and practices which it seemed intended to vindicate and extend, we regard ourselves as called upon by a sense of duty to say, that the proceedings of Mr. Nettleton appear to us to have been characterised by uncommon intellectual vigour, correct and comprehensive views of the interests of the church, and by distinguished wisdom, fidelity, firmness, and benevolence, well adapted to promote the interests of pure religion throughout the land.

Signed,

*Lyman Beecher,
A. S. Norton,
Wm. R. Weeks,
H. R. Weed,*

*Justin Edwards,
Heman Humphrey,
C. J. Tenney,
J. Hawes.*

Catskill, July 12, 1827.

Some of the reasons which the Rev. Mr. Nettleton assigned to his brethren in New-England, for not attending the convention. He was afterwards prevailed on to attend, from the consideration that great advantage would undoubtedly be taken of his absence, and for the sake of reading his correspondence, to show them what had been done:—

1. Feeble health, &c.
2. I have been compelled by ministers to talk and exhaust all my strength, and to spend nearly all my time, for about eight months, on this subject. I have done all that I can; and have been greatly blamed by many for what I have done. I have resigned the subject entirely to the management of settled pastors, whose business alone it is to determine the question, what measures shall be introduced into their churches.
3. Every thing I have said or done has been so perverted, and my motives so impeached, that I choose henceforth to be silent.
4. I know not *who* have been invited, or whether they expect to attend.

5. It has been reported at the West, that the convention was originated by myself; in Troy, and elsewhere, that I am opposed to it; so that, whatever the result may be, I have discovered a determination to throw the consequences of the meeting on myself.

6. No ministers will be bound by the decisions of such a convention.

7. Those who convoke the convention are making too much noise, without any prospect of lessening the evils, and, consequently, will give the subject a new importance. I should greatly prefer a silent convention, on some public occasion like that of a commencement, where the views of brethren who differ may be privately discussed; and in case they should come to any important results, they might be published to the world; otherwise the public mind need not be disturbed.

8. The convention may now be considered as having taken the same business into their own hands, and as having made public, what I have long been wishing to settle as silently as possible: hence I ought to be excused.

9. I have never desired a convention on any other ground, than to give directions and support to the proceedings of the presbytery of Troy, or of some regularly organized body.

10. Every attempt which has hitherto been made to correct any irregular practice, has been construed into coldness, deadness, and called persecution.

11. I never yet, to my recollection, have fallen out with settled pastors, and I fear I cannot act my own judgment and conscience without crossing theirs.

12. I have no controversy with any man on the subject, and I fear, if I attend, it will be construed into a personal controversy, and that it will be impossible to avoid it.

13. I fear that settled ministers at the East and South have not yet *felt* enough of the evils, to appreciate what has already been done; and that these ministers will be obliged to experience more of these evils, before they will take a decisive stand; and the sooner I withdraw, and leave the whole responsibility on them, the better.

14. Every body wishes to take neutral ground as long as he possibly can: it was so with myself.

15. The plea of Mr. Finney, that he wished to sit at my feet and learn, I believe was an after-device to justify himself in not correcting any thing. No complaint was ever hinted at the time. Indeed, after my last interview with Mr. Finney, the friends of the new measures continued to report that N. and F. are one; and this report continued in circulation until my letter to Aikin could be concealed no longer.

16. The judgment, and counsel, and consciences of so many ministers and Christians have been trampled upon, that I fear there has been great sin.

17. I fear to have any fellowship with such a spirit. I fear a retribution. From my long and intimate acquaintance with many ministers who have been denounced, and from my slight acquaintance with their denouncers, I greatly prefer to rank myself with the former.

18. I have reasons in my own mind, which prudence forbids me to name to the world, and yet am willing to give them to some of the eastern brethren, should they attend.

19. Finally. To prevent misunderstanding, I am willing that my friends should attend, and do all in their power to prevent the evils feared. But I have no evidence that the principles on which these men acted are in the least altered. On the contrary, I shall be disappointed if they do not attempt to vindicate them, and justify all they have done.

A
L E T T E R
TO
WILLIAM E. CHANNING D. D.
ON THE SUBJECT OF
RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

BY MOSES STUART
Professor of Sac. Literature in the Theol. Seminary, Andover.

Boston:
PERKINS & MARVIN, No. 114, WASHINGTON ST.

.....

1830.

DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS.....TO WIT.

District Clerk's Office.

BE it remembered, that on the nineteenth day of July, A. D. 1830, in the fifty fifth Year of the Independence of the United States of America, PERKINS & MARVIN, of the said District, have deposited in this Office the Title of a Book, the right whereof they claim as Proprietors, in the Words following, to wit :

A Letter to William E. Channing, D. D. on the subject of Religious Liberty. By Moses Stuart, Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary, Andover.

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled " An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned : " and also to an Act entitled, " An Act supplementary to an Act, entitled, An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned ; and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

JNO. W. DAVIS, { *Clerk of the District
of Massachusetts.*

LETTER.



REVEREND SIR,

IN perusing the volume which you have recently published, entitled 'Discourses, Reviews, and Miscellanies,' and also in reading your 'Election Sermon' recently delivered before the Legislature of this State, I have met with some passages which contain charges, expressed or implied, against the denomination of Christians in Massachusetts who are called *Orthodox* or *Trinitarians*, that seem to me to deserve serious and candid examination. If they are indeed well founded, it is proper that the community should know it; nor can it be taken amiss, that you have given your name to the world as a pledge that they can be established and made good. But if they have no foundation in point of fact, you will join with me in saying that they ought in justice no longer to pass current under the sanction of your name, but that the public should be correctly informed respecting them.

Passages in your recently published works, of the nature to which I have above adverted, are somewhat numerous. But as it is not my object to multiply quotations, or to dispute about words, I shall content myself in this place with making merely a few extracts.

My first extract shall be from your Election Sermon recently published.

"You have all heard of the outward evils, which religion, when thus turned into tyranny, has inflicted; how it has dug dreary dungeons, kindled fires for the martyr, and invented instruments of exquisite torture. But to me all this is less fearful than its influence over the mind. When I see the superstitions which it has fastened on the conscience, the spiritual terrors with which it has haunted and subdued the ignorant and susceptible, the dark appalling views of God which it has spread far and wide, the dread of inquiry which it has struck into superior understandings, and the servility of spirit which it has made to pass for piety,—when I see all this, the fire, the scaffold, and the outward inquisition, terrible as they are, seem to me inferior evils. I look with a solemn joy on the heroic spirits, who have met freely and fearlessly pain and death in the cause of truth and human rights. But there are other victims of intolerance, on whom I look with unmixed sorrow. They are those, who, spell-bound by early prejudice or by intimidations from the pulpit and the press, dare not think; who anxiously stifle every doubt or misgiving in regard to their opinions, as if to doubt were a crime; who shrink from the seekers after truth as from infection; who deny all virtue, which does not wear the livery of their own sect; who, surrendering to others their best powers, receive unresistingly a teaching which wars against reason and conscience; and who think it a merit to impose on such as live within their influence, the grievous bondage, which they bear themselves. How much to be deplored is it, that religion, the very principle which is designed to raise men above the judgment and power of man, should become the chief instrument of usurpation over the soul.

"Is it said, that, in this country, where the rights of private judgment and of speaking and writing according to our convictions, are guaranteed with every solemnity by institutions and laws, religion can never degenerate into tyranny; that here its whole influence must conspire to the liberation and dignity of the mind? I answer, we discover little knowledge of human nature, if we ascribe to constitutions the power of charming to sleep the spirit of intolerance and exclusion. Almost every other bad passion may sooner be put to rest; and for this plain reason, that intolerance always shelters itself under the name and garb of religious zeal. Because we live in a country, where the gross, outward, visible chain is broken, we must not conclude that we are necessarily free. There are chains not made of iron, which eat more deeply into the soul. An espionage of bigotry may as effectually close our lips and chill our hearts, as an armed and hundred-eyed police. There are countless ways by which men in a free country may encroach on their neighbours' rights. In religion the instrument is ready made and always at hand. I refer to Opinion, combined and organized in sects, and swayed by the clergy. We say we have no Inquisition. But a sect, skilfully organized, trained to utter one cry, combined to cover with reproach whoever may differ from themselves, to drown the free expression of opinion by denunciations of heresy, and to strike terror into the multitude

by joint and perpetual menace,—such a sect is as perilous and palsyng to the intellect as the Inquisition. It serves the minister as effectually as the sword. The present age is notoriously sectarian, and therefore hostile to liberty.”—pp. 25—28.

Again, in the newly printed volume of your Discourses, &c. you say ;

“ We do not deny, that our brethren have a right to form a judgment as to our Christian character. But we insist that we have a right to be judged by the fairest, the most approved, and the most settled rules, by which character can be tried ; and when these are overlooked, and the most uncertain standard is applied, we are injured ; and an assault on character, which rests on this ground, deserves no better name than defamation and persecution.

“ I know that this suggestion of persecution will be indignantly repelled by those, who deal most largely in denunciation. But persecution is a wrong or injury inflicted for opinions ; and surely assaults on character fall under this definition. Some persons seem to think, that persecution consists in pursuing error with fire and sword ; and that therefore it has ceased to exist, except in distempered imaginations, because no class of Christians among us is armed with these terrible weapons. But no. The form is changed, but the spirit lives. Persecution has given up its halter and fagot, but it breathes venom from its lips, and secretly blasts what it cannot openly destroy.—pp. 561, 562.

In the same volume, when speaking (as in the preceding extract) against a “ system of exclusion and denunciation in religion,” you make the following remarks ;

“ Another important consideration is, that this system of excluding men of apparent sincerity, for their opinions, entirely subverts free inquiry into the scriptures. When once a particular system is surrounded by this bulwark ; when once its defenders have brought the majority to believe, that the rejection of it is a mark of depravity and perdition, what but the name of liberty is left to Christians ? The obstacles to inquiry are as real, and may be as powerful, as in the neighborhood of the Inquisition. The multitude dare not think, and the thinking dare not speak. The right of private judgment may thus, in a Protestant country, be reduced to a nullity. It is true, that men are sent to the scriptures ; but they are told before they go, that they will be driven from the church on earth and in heaven, unless they find in the scriptures the doctrines which are embodied in the popular creed. They are told, indeed, to inquire for themselves ; but they are also told, at what points inquiry must arrive ; and the sentence of exclusion hangs over them, if they happen to stray, with some of the best and wisest men, into forbidden paths. Now this ‘ Protestant liberty ’ is, in one respect, more irritating than Papal bondage. It mocks as well as enslaves us. It talks to us courteously as friends and brethren, whilst it rivets our chains. It invites and even charges us to look with our own eyes, but with the same breath warns us against

seeing anything which Orthodox eyes have not seen before us. Is this a state of things favorable to serious inquiry into the truths of the gospel; yet, how long has the church been groaning under this cruel yoke?

"Another objection to this system of excluding professed disciples of Christ, on account of their opinions, is, that it is inconsistent with the great principles of Congregationalism. In churches, where the power is lodged in a few individuals, who are supposed to be the most learned men in the community, the work of marking out and excluding the erroneous may seem less difficult. But among Congregationalists, the tribunal before which the offender is to be brought is the whole church, consisting partly of men in humble circumstances, and of unimproved minds; partly of men engaged in active and pressing business; and partly of men of education, whose studies have been directed to law and medicine. Now is this a tribunal, before which the most intricate points of theology are to be discussed, and serious inquirers are to answer for opinions, which they have perhaps examined more laboriously and faithfully than all their judges? Would a church of humble men, conscious of their limited opportunities, consent to try, for these pretended crimes, professing Christians, as intelligent, as honest, and as exemplary as themselves? It is evident, that in the business of excluding men for opinions, a church can be little more than the tool of the minister, or a few influential members; and our churches are, in general, too independent and too upright to take this part in so solemn a transaction. To correct their deficiencies, and to quicken their zeal on this point, we are now threatened with new tribunals, or Consociations, whose office it will be to try ministers for their errors, to inspect the churches, and to advise and assist them in the extirpation of 'heresy.' Whilst the laity are slumbering, the ancient and free constitution of our churches is silently undermined, and is crumbling away. Since argument is insufficient to produce uniformity of opinion, recourse must be had to more powerful instruments of conviction; I mean, to ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS. And are this people indeed prepared to submit to this most degrading form of vassalage; a vassalage, which reaches and palsies the mind, and imposes on it the dreams and fictions of men, for the everlasting truth of God!"—pp. 565, 566.

Once more, in your preface to the same volume, you say;

"It is due to myself to say, that the controversial character of a part of this volume, is to be ascribed, not to the love of disputation, but to the circumstances in which I was called to write. It was my lot to enter on public life at a time when this part of the country was visited, by what I esteem one of its sorest scourges; I mean, by a revival of the spirit of intolerance and persecution. I saw the commencement of those systematic efforts, which have been since developed, for fastening on the community a particular creed. Opinions, which I thought true and purifying, were not only assailed as errors, but branded as crimes. Then began, what seems to me one of the gross immoralities of our times, the practice of aspersing the characters of exemplary men, on the ground of differences of opinion as to the most mysterious articles of faith. Then began those assaults on freedom of thought

and speech, which, had they succeeded, would have left us only the name of religious liberty. Then it grew perilous to search the scriptures for ourselves, and to speak freely according to the conviction of our own minds. I saw that penalties, as serious in this country as fine and imprisonment, were, if possible, to be attached to the profession of liberal views of Christianity, the penalties of general hatred and scorn; and that a degrading uniformity of opinion was to be imposed by the severest persecution, which the spirit of the age would allow. At such a period, I dared not be silent. To oppose what I deemed error was to me a secondary consideration. My first duty, as I believed, was, to maintain practically and resolutely the rights of the human mind; to live and to suffer, if to suffer were necessary, for that intellectual and religious liberty, which I prize incomparably more than my civil rights. I felt myself called, not merely to plead in general for freedom of thought and speech, but, what was more important and trying, to assert this freedom by action. I should have felt myself disloyal to truth and freedom, had I confined myself to vague commonplaces about our rights, and forbore to bear my testimony expressly and specially to proscribed and persecuted opinions. The times required that a voice of strength and courage should be lifted up, and I rejoice, that I was found among those by whom it was uttered and sent far and wide."—pp. vii. viii.

On the tenor and spirit of these accusations throughout, (which however only accord with a multitude of other passages in your writings), it is not my purpose here to remark in a particular manner. I reserve what I have more specially to say respecting these, to another part of the present letter.

I trust you will have the ingenuousness to avow at once, that it was your intention in these passages, and in others of the like nature, to characterize the efforts, the arguments, the designs, and the cause of those who are usually denominated *Orthodox* or *Trinitarians* in this Commonwealth.

You will permit me, in the following pages, to name the class of men *Orthodox*, to whom I here advert, and to call their liberal opponents *Unitarians*. I do this merely for the sake of convenience and brevity; not for the sake of making any claims for one party, or of casting any odium on the other, by the use of such appellations.

In the above extracts then, (as often elsewhere), you have charged the *Orthodox* with a settled, steadfast, unrelenting purpose to suppress all free inquiry respecting matters of religion, to cover with reproach those who may differ from

themselves, to drown the free expression of opinion by denunciations of heresy, and to strike terror into the multitude by joint and perpetual menace. In addition to all this, you represent them as saying ; “ Since argument is insufficient to produce uniformity of opinion, recourse must be had to more powerful instruments of conviction, to ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS.”

If there could be any doubt whom you mean to characterize, in the passages extracted from your Election Sermon, and from the preface to the volume of your Works, the declarations in the Appendix to this volume, in the piece which commences on page 557, put the matter beyond all controversy. I will not therefore expend any time in laboring to establish a point so perfectly clear. I take it for granted that you yourself are altogether too frank and ingenuous, even to pretend that you did not mean to characterize Orthodox Christians in general throughout this State, and in particular the clergy who belong to this denomination of Christians. And I take this for granted, because I cannot help believing that no Unitarian who reads your writings, has ever once suspected, or ever will suspect, that you meant to characterize any other than the Orthodox ; and no Orthodox man who reads the whole of your works, can possibly suppose otherwise. You aim at *real* existences, not *imaginary, future, fantastic* ones ; I mean those which you believe to be real. The friends with whom I am accustomed to think and act, do not once suspect you of laying out your energies, in belaboring what you believe to be “ a man of straw.”

For myself then, as one among the denomination of the Orthodox, I take my full share of all the remarks which you have made against them. One and all of my brethren, with whom I am united in sentiment and affection, feel, so far as I know, in the same manner as I do, with respect to the design of your remarks. We understand you to aim these accusations directly at us ; for it does not signify to go round and round this matter, as afraid to look at it or to

touch it. We know that the accusation and reproaches are intended to strike us ; and we stand up, without a blush or a trembling nerve, before the tribunal of denunciation where you have arraigned us, to hear our sentence with that fortitude, we would fain hope, which it becomes those to exercise who sincerely believe that they are in the right. If we now take the liberty to move an arrest of your judgment, we hope you will not refuse us a hearing. It is natural, you know, for men who are accused of crimes that are *capital* as to *reputation* if not as to life, to appeal, in case of condemnation, to a higher tribunal, if such appeal be lawful ; and if not, to move an arrest of judgment, when the verdict or sentence does not agree with facts and evidence. Above all will they do this, when they know the accusations to be wholly ungrounded, and that they are truly innocent of the matters laid to their charge.

I acknowledge, indeed, that a few solitary passages are found in your writings, in which you seem to manifest a little relenting on the subject of the severe and high wrought language with which you reproach me and my brethren. You sometimes say, that you aim not at *Calvinists*, but at *Calvinism* ; that there are men among the party whom you oppose, whose hearts are better than their heads, and whose religious character you feel bound to respect ; and other things of the like nature. But such declarations are “ few and far between.” They seem most evidently to be the result of mere constraint, when they do appear ; constraint arising probably from a sense of decorum, and apparently too from an apprehension, that a strenuous advocate of *liberality* does not appear altogether to the best advantage, while he is uttering indiscriminate condemnation against more than one half of the community in which he lives, and which, if it be well grounded, falls with more justice still and with heavier weight, on the blessed Pilgrims who laid the foundation of his country’s happy freedom and greatness.

It is my most serious conviction, arising from a perusal of your writings *as a whole*, that no one can justly affirm us to be under obligation to you on the score of benevolence and kindness, because of the *exceptions* to which I have just referred. A native Fellah of Egypt being in company with a recent European traveller there of great spirit and intelligence, he was asked by the latter, (who had been expatiating in praise of the Bashaw of Egypt, and on the happy, flourishing, and safe condition of the country), whether he did not agree with him as to the munificent and generous character of his sovereign. To this the Fellah replied, with a most significant look, and elevating his hands toward heaven; "God is great! Our lord, the Bashaw, gives with *one* hand, and takes away with *two*." So it is, my dear Sir, with your praise. In some solitary passages, you allow for decency's sake, and in order to save the appearance of *liberality*, that there are some among us who have a share of common sense in respect to most subjects, and a few that have a little smattering of what the world deems learning; possibly two or three Orthodox individuals may be found, in the whole State, that have a small degree of cultivated taste. But in other passages almost without number, you rank the whole together, and fearlessly avow that none but bigots, and those who have bid adieu to what little understanding they possessed, can be found in the ranks of Orthodoxy. And what is more than all, some of your partial friends applaud this, and call it bold and fearless declaration of the truth, and the development of high and commanding genius.

I cannot say, however, that I feel any gratitude for such concessions. It lies on the face of your writings, that they are against the tenor of your habitual feelings and views, which (in respect to us) are most manifestly those of scorn, of indignation, and of unsparing severity. You give with *one* hand, but take away with *two*. For one, I am unable to bring my mind to an attitude, in which such gifts can be gratefully accepted. If it be my fault, may heaven forgive

me for it ! But I am as yet ignorant of its being a fault. I have been accustomed to suppose, and do still believe, that in a land of religious freedom, the Orthodox have as good a right to *maintain* the doctrines of the Pilgrims, as Unitarians have to *assail* them ; and that the time has not yet come, when any one individual, however exalted in his own view or in that of his party, can by sweeping denunciations and accusations crush all who venture to oppose him. Sir, you could not have committed a greater mistake than to assume the place of that individual ; to consign us over to the ranks of those, who are plotting against the dearest rights of all who have any respect for religion ; to hold us up to the world as combined to oppress and to enslave (in a religious respect) our fellow citizens ; and then to deliver us over to the execration of all honest men, who prize Christian liberty and social freedom.

There is no denying that you have done this. It stands in high relief in the preceding extracts, which you cannot disavow. More especially you cannot disavow them, because most of them are not the hasty effusions of moments when excitement was urging on the thoughts and the pen and the press, but they are declarations *reviewed* and *republished* to the world after a series of years, in which, as one would naturally suppose, anger had time to cool and resentment to be disarmed. They are written in characters so large and plain, that 'he who runneth may read.' Nor did you, when you penned them, believe or expect that Unitarians would misinterpret them. I cannot refrain from believing that you did *bonâ fide* mean them to speak, what they plainly appear to speak.

And now, when called before such a tribunal, and loaded with denunciations which if credited would forever blast our character and ruin our influence with the community, we do not confess the justice of our sentence, nor acquiesce in it as passed by a court which is the legitimate and ultimate source of jurisdiction. We have a right to appeal, and we

do make the appeal, to the public, to honest and candid men of all classes and parties, we care not what their name may be, from the accusations that you have so often and with such unexampled severity proffered against us, and from the sweeping judgment of excision (excision as to all respect or affection or confidence due to us) which you have so often pronounced.

I say *we* here, not because I am deputed by my brethren to perform the task of writing this pamphlet, (for this is not the case) ; but because I know their sentiments and feelings on these subjects. None of my brethren had even any knowledge that I was engaged in this work, until it was completed. So I cannot be accused of acting in *concert*, or of being urged on by the calls of party. But knowing them as I do, I venture here to speak in their behalf as well as my own. Whatever is wrong in this letter, they and the public must put to my account alone. Whatever is just and true, may be considered as spoken in behalf of all my injured brethren as well as myself.

We are accused of a settled design to invade the religious liberties of this community, and to force upon them, sooner or later, a creed which was framed in the dark ages, and is worthy only of them. We are charged with an intention to erect *ecclesiastical courts*, which, like the Inquisition of old, are by terror and compulsion to bring this whole Commonwealth to one uniform system of religious doctrine.

Such allegations it is proper that we should meet ; and in order to do this, I shall begin with an open declaration and avowal of our sentiments on the subject of religious liberty. I cannot indeed vouch for it, that every man in this State who is named Orthodox, will subscribe to the following sentiments. But this I can say fully, that all among the Orthodox with whom I am acquainted, whether of the clergy or of the laity, do for substance agree in the principles of religious freedom that I am now to propose. All against whom I suppose the denunciations in your works are

specially directed, I have the pleasure of being more or less acquainted with ; and I know well their feelings and views. I venture therefore to say *we* ; and I am fully confident, that the avowal made in this manner cannot be contradicted by any credible evidence whatever.

Let us come then to the *sentiments* of the Orthodox, in regard to *religious liberty*. I will be as brief as the nature of the case admits. You will pardon me, however, for being somewhat *particular* and *specific*, because I wish to be definitely understood, and to allow of no room for misinterpretation.

1. *We hold that every individual has a perfect right to examine and decide for himself, what his own religious sentiments or creed shall be.*

We mean by this, that no law of the land, no public authority or tribunals, and no private combination or society of men to which he has not voluntarily attached himself, shall have any power to demand from him any religious creed whatever, i. e. no power shall compel him to profess any creed, by civil penalty either in respect to his person, his property, or his civil or social rights. We are far from believing that religion has no connection with the prosperity and stability of government. We do fully believe that no good government on earth can be long maintained and be stable, without piety among its subjects. But this is an influence of religion on government and a connection with it, which are *indirect*. We do not hold to the expediency, or propriety, or safety, of committing in any sense to the civil government the disposal of religious matters, in respect either to faith or modes of worship. The only power which we wish ever to see them possess, is, that they may check what is indecent, or hurtful to the public morals, or dangerous to peace on account of the injury which it does to others. But this we would always desire to see effected, rather as an offence that is indictable at common law than by statute. We wish always to see civil government pro-

tect all its citizens in the peaceful enjoyment of their religious privileges ; to do this, on the same ground that we should wish to see its subjects protected with respect to any other rights that are dear to them. We mean that the Mahometan even, and the Jew, and the Deist, as well as the Christian, should have the liberty of worshipping in his own way among us, so long as they demean themselves peaceably, and do not invade the rights of others. We know of *no exception* to participation in *civil* and *social* rights, and *the right of worshipping in our own way*, or of even *not worshipping in any way*, under a government that is free in the sense that we would have it ; and all this without any abridgement of the rights of citizens, without any civil disabilities. At most we know of only one case, to which an exception can be made on the ground of religious opinion. This is, where a man denies the existence of a God, or of a state of future rewards and punishments. In such a case, we do not see how the obligation of an oath can have any binding force at all ; and therefore we cannot see the propriety of administering one, either as a witness or as a magistrate. We cannot help looking on it as a mere mockery of this solemnity, to administer an oath in such cases.

We are aware how much has been said, and may be said, in favor of the State having some established form of religion, and some particular religious test of office. But we are fully persuaded, that the evils which result from such an arrangement very much outweigh all the good that can be derived from it. Religion, all true religion, is a *voluntary* offering on the part of man to his Creator. A forced creed is no creed. Belief, from its own nature and the very constitution of the human mind, must be free, spontaneous, induced by argument, not compelled by fear or by threats. All professed belief of this latter kind, is utterly unworthy of the name. It is an object of abhorrence to God, and of loathing to men. And whether an attempt is made to force

it on our minds, by the terrors of an Inquisitorial tribunal, or by the milder penalties of additional taxation and loss of civil rights, it matters not with us. We will not say that both of these ways of enforcing it ought to receive equal disapprobation from us; but we do truly say, that both receive our unqualified disapprobation.

We are the more confirmed in our views of religious liberty as already explained, because we see very plainly, that the religious opinions which the civil power may sanction to-day, it may to-morrow proscribe. It has often done so. But believing as we do, that religion is a matter of immeasurably greater interest than every thing which pertains to the present world, we should be among the last men on earth to commit the disposal of our faith to the civil magistrate, who might on one day exalt the Christian religion, and on another trample the cross beneath his feet. We set too high a value on this precious gift of heaven, ever voluntarily to commit the keeping of it to hands which may thus desecrate and abuse it.

I have only a word to add here, in order to prevent being misunderstood, respecting a *special* obligation which one may *voluntarily* contract, to a religious society who cherish a particular belief.

If we enter such a society, professing the same belief with them, and understand it as a condition of membership or good standing among them that we continue to cherish the same belief, then, in case we do change it, it is plainly lawful and proper that the society should withdraw from its connection with us as a member. But all this is a thing merely of *voluntary* obligation. And in *no case whatever*, do we believe that civil disabilities or penalties should be connected with any excommunication by a Christian church.

2. We not only believe that all men should be left free to form their religious opinions, without any civil penalties or disabilities, but we maintain most fully, that *when the religious sentiments of any one are formed, he has a right to*

propagate them, to defend them, and to support them, by his efforts, his pen, his property, or his influence.

In all this we understand of course, that in so doing he does not slander or abuse his neighbor, nor deny him any civil or social right as a member of the community, nor hinder him in the lawful exercise of it. Of the former of these faults the civil law justly may take cognizance. Against the latter, the law of love and of doing as we would be done by, protests.

We believe most fully, that men have a right to propagate their religious sentiments, if they confine themselves to argument and persuasion, and do not appeal to abuse, which is a crime in the eye of the civil law, it being manifestly against the peace of the community. We are well aware, indeed, of the mischiefs which may result from a free right to propagate religious, or rather *irreligious* sentiments of any kind. We know too well, what incalculable evil the publication of such books as the *Age of Reason*, the works of Boulanger, of Voltaire, and of La Mettrie have occasioned. We shudder at it as one of the most dreadful of evils, inasmuch as it takes hold on *eternity* and not merely on time. But dreadful as it is, we regard as a still greater evil, the power of civil government, or of any ecclesiastical tribunal, to suppress the publication of books at its option. To-day it may choose, as Frederic the Great did, and the French Directory after him, to circulate widely Voltaire, and D'Alembert, and Rousseau; or to-morrow it may spread wide the poison of some heresy lurking under a Christian name; while, at the same time, it inhibits all antidotes to these tremendous evils. The liberty of the press, *the unreserved liberty of it*, is in our view fundamental to religious liberty. If the press be, as it doubtless sometimes is, a most terrible instrument of doing evil; it is also one of the most efficient of all instruments in doing good. We would forever leave it open and free to do good; and if the liberty to do evil must come along with this, (and we do not see how it is

possible to prevent it), why then the friends of truth must trust to argument, to reason, to conscience, and to God, for triumph over the powers of darkness. And this they may do, without peril to the cause in which they are engaged.

If I have not liberty to propagate my religious sentiments, provided I do it by reason, and argument, and persuasion, and with decorum, then I am not free. Liberty in its highest and most precious sense is denied me. As an immortal being, I look forward to the time when myself and all around me are to enter on the "recompense of reward," a final and eternal one. If I am serious in my religious views; if I am well persuaded that they are true, and this after repeated and protracted and patient examination; then I must be utterly destitute even of the spirit of common humanity, if I do not desire others to participate with me in this persuasion. Were it a matter pertaining merely to their *temporal* interests, most of my fellow beings would pronounce me destitute of humanity in case I should not warn those around me whom I thought to be in danger, and should not excite them to escape from it. But O the never-dying soul! The awful tribunal of "eternal judgment!" "The fearfulness of falling into the hands of the living God, who is a consuming fire!" If I believe that there are unequivocal declarations in God's word, (as I truly do), in respect to these tremendous subjects; if I believe that the impenitent are surely exposed to endless misery; that those who reject the Saviour as he is offered in the gospel, "shall not see life, but that the wrath of God will *abide* on them;" can I as a man of any pretensions to benevolence, refrain from telling all this to others, from urging it upon them, and from warning them of the danger in which I sincerely believe them to be? Truly, the opponents of our religious views must halt here, and candidly avow, that if such are our real convictions, we ought in all good conscience to urge them upon our neighbors.

Say, if you please, that we are utterly mistaken; that all our convictions are the result of superstition, or prejudice, or bigotry, or of a narrow illiberal education; yet so long as we are in this plight, what are we to do? As honest men, we must follow the dictates of our consciences. We acknowledge the possibility that these may be blinded, or perverted, or even "seared;" but so long as we are not convinced that this is the case, how can we do otherwise than propagate our sentiments by all proper methods and with all the earnestness in our power? The liberty of doing this, we value as much more than we do mere *civil* liberty, as the interests of eternity exceed in value those of time.

If then it is essential to a full enjoyment of religious liberty, that *men should have the right of propagating their religious sentiments*, whatever they may be; and that they should be restrained by the laws of the land, only so far as the laws guard the reputation of individuals who may be assailed and protect them from injury as to their property or rights; it will of course follow, that *men should have the right of defending their sentiments when they are assailed, and of showing, if they can do so, that the sentiments of those who assail them are erroneous and hurtful*.

Here, my dear Sir, is a part of religious liberty, on which it does seem to me that yourself, and some others who have the like zeal with you against the Orthodox, have not sufficiently reflected, or that you are unwilling to concede it. We believe, on the part of the Orthodox, that the sentiments of those distinguished men who fled from persecution in the old world, in order that they might worship God in the new one, and in such a way as best agreed with the dictates of their consciences,—that these sentiments do essentially agree with the revelation which God has made in the holy Scriptures. We believe this *ex animo*, from persuasion, because we have searched the Scriptures and think that we find these sentiments there; not because Calvin, and the Reformers, and the Pilgrims believed them. The possibility

of this, you I trust are prepared to admit. If there are bigots among us, as you so often assert, at least, I may venture to suggest, we are not all bigots. Such of us then as believe from investigating the Bible, that the sentiments of the Reformation are found there, hold fast to the position that we ought to have the liberty of defending these sentiments when they are assailed, and of exposing, if we can, the errors of those who assail them.

But here, it would seem, is the very essence of our crime. In your view, it appears to be altogether commendable, that Unitarians should deluge the community with Improved Versions, with the works of Fellowes, and Belsham, and Priestley, and Cappe, and others of the like character; that they should form themselves into Tract Societies and distribute hundreds of thousands of Unitarian tracts, assailing the sentiments of the Orthodox openly, or secretly undermining the principles which they regard as of vital importance; that they should form Missionary Societies and endeavor not only to spread their principles among the Hindoos and coöperate with Rammohun Roy, but to traverse the regions of the West and South in our own land, and forestall the efforts of the Orthodox there; that they should hold public meetings, in which not only the clergy, but legislators, civilians, and judges from the highest seat of justice, come forward and excite the multitude against Orthodoxy; that they should issue periodicals monthly, weekly, and almost daily, in which the public are warned against the *Inquisition* that is forming among them, and the desperate set of bigots who are forging chains for their religious liberty; that they should declaim against these men and their principles, (their alleged or supposed principles), from one Sabbath to another, (in which you above all others, unless you are very erroneously represented, have taken the lead); all this, and much more of the same nature, is not only lawful in your eyes, but altogether commendable. In public and in private, from the pulpit and the press, you

have not ceased to urge on, with all your eloquence, measures of this and the like nature.

But turn now the tablet, and look at the other side of the picture. When the Orthodox publish their books, tracts, and periodicals, they are represented as bigots and as raving mad. They have neither modesty nor humility. When they associate for the purposes of friendly conference and counsel, and in order to strengthen each other's hands, and to encourage each other to walk in the way of their forefathers, they are plotting in order to enclose the community in the toils of the Inquisition; they are forming "ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS," before which all liberal-minded men, that choose to think and investigate for themselves, are sooner or later to be brought, and to be made to know that there is *only one* way of thinking which is to be tolerated. And since such high crimes and misdemeanors as these have been laid to their charge, the public are told, that "the times have required *a voice of STRENGTH and COURAGE to be lifted up; and you rejoice that YOU are found among those by whom it has been uttered and sent far and wide.*" (Preface, p. vii.) Not a movement can they make, but they are suspected of forging manacles for the Liberalists, or at least of looking up the iron to make them with. The forges, to be sure, are under ground and out of sight, like the shops of the fabled Cyclops; but you know, as the neighbors of these famous blacksmiths of old did, that *operations* are going on, for you hear the strokes.

On the claim for yourself of "a voice of strength and courage," and of "uttering and sending it *far and wide,*" it does not become me to make any remarks. The thing I shall leave to speak for itself. But in respect to the assumption, (in the whole paragraph connected with this declaration, and in a multitude of other places in your publications), that all which is done by the Orthodox to oppose the views and designs of Liberalists is bigotry, and narrow-mindedness, and unlawful conspiracy against religious liberty, and design

to bring in again the dark ages of superstition and terror—all this *assumption*, in a land of religious liberty, where every man has the same right to defend and propagate his own sentiments as his neighbor has to propagate opposite ones; all this too, in the STATE of MASSACHUSETTS, the very HOME of the PILGRIMS—it requires some meekness to hear without emotion, and to bear with becoming patience.

What reason now, my dear Sir, can you assign, why the Orthodox have not as good a right to their Associations and Societies, their tracts, their pamphlets, their periodicals, yea, their octavos; their zeal also, and their union, their strenuousness even—in order to maintain their own sentiments, as you and those who are with you have to all these in behalf of Unitarianism? It is a fair question, and I do insist on a sober answer to it. Will you say, that men have no right to be in earnest, in defending *bigotry*? I know you do say this; that is, you say what manifestly implies this. But then I am not to be diverted from my argument by such an answer. Who, I ask, has made the decision that Orthodoxy is *bigotry*? “Dr. Channing and his friends affirm it.” Granted; but in a land of *liberty*, there is a freedom of thought to be allowed; and by far the greater portion of our community have made up their minds, that there is no *bigotry* in the sentiments in question. But you, Sir, take for granted the very question in dispute; and taking this for granted, you decide just as though there was no appeal from your tribunal, and consign us over to the ranks of dark designing conspirators against the religious liberties of our country. It is too late to deny this, or to tread back as to these charges, unless indeed you recall them. They have gone forth “far and wide,” and with “a voice of strength;” and I appeal to every honest and ingenuous man on earth, be he Unitarian or Trinitarian, whether they do not fairly imply all that I have understood them to imply.

Sir, I repeat it once more, the Orthodox do not understand why they have not the liberty of defending the opinions which their ancestors held, in case they do sincerely accord with them. That they do sincerely agree, they openly profess and avow ; and neither yourself, nor any man on earth, has a right to call this in question. Why then do you reproach us, that we are in earnest to defend and to propagate our belief? We do from the heart believe, that the eternal salvation of our fellow beings is connected with a hearty assent to the fundamental principles which we avow. Should we not then be entirely destitute even of common humanity ; should we not be treacherous to the cause which we profess to believe is infinitely important ; should we not in fact be gross hypocrites—if we did not manifest our earnestness in maintaining and propagating our religious sentiments ?

But you will concede the *theory* of this principle. You will say, however, that the *manner* of our defending and propagating our sentiments is what you condemn, and that this is the principal subject of your severe animadversions.

To this I reply, first, that such is not the case in point of fact. You have represented us as having dark, selfish, malignant purposes, as determined at all adventures to introduce compulsion into matters of religion, a compulsion 'worse than the terrors of the Inquisition and the chains which it forges.' This surely is the blackest crime of all, if it be truly ours ; and this as surely has nothing to do with the *manner* in which we defend and propagate our sentiments.

Next, as to the *manner* itself, I have but few remarks to make. I am ready to concede, on my part, that I have seen and read things among the Orthodox, the manner of which I in some respects heartily disapproved. I have never thought, that to rail at our opponents was either Christian or courteous. Above all, every reflecting man must say, Nothing can be more improbable, than that this kind of proceeding will be likely to convince those who differ from us. Who will hear us with patience, when we begin our reproof by

letting him know that we think him either a fool or a knave?

I am not blinded to this by party zeal. I have seen some of it among those whom I warmly love and greatly respect. Perhaps I may have shown some of this same disposition in my own writings. If so, produce it, and I will tread that part under my feet, and make my atonement by unfeigned sorrow to an injured public, and to the injured cause of Christ. But if I have indulged in such a mode of writing, I am unconscious of it to myself. I disapprove it; I even abhor it; and yet I know that I am not proof against temptation, and that I am exposed to all the weaknesses and faults of those around me.

But while I thus answer to one part of your complaint by confession, I must be permitted to say, that so far as I have been able to form a judgment from reading the periodicals and pamphlets of both parties, I do think that there is a wide difference between the faults of the Orthodox in this respect and those of Unitarians. I know of nothing in any recent Orthodox publications, which can well compare with the reiterated charges against us by Unitarians, from the pulpit and the press, of bigotry, of gloomy superstition, of dark and fraudulent designs on the religious liberties of our country, of worshipping a God who is a tyrant, of propagating horrible and blasphemous ideas of the Divinity, of worshipping a God who is no better than the devil, of an intention to renew the horrors of the Inquisition, of being gloomy, unsocial, illiterate misanthropes, enthusiasts, hypocrites, deceivers, and other things of the like nature. It were easy to substantiate this charge by abundance of evidence; and this too from publications which you yourself patronize by your pen, your purse, and your approbation.

But I forbear. The subject is distressing—it is even odious. There are men, I know, among your own denomination, who see all this and look upon it just as I do. You are very far from being agreed among yourselves in respect

to such measures, as you must know ; at least if you do not know it, your friends must have been uncommonly reserved in their communications. There are men among you, and not a few, of high and ingenuous feelings, who take the liberty to believe that the Orthodox have the same right to "urge hard" as the Unitarians have, and who look with disgust on all the accusations of such a nature as those to which I have adverted.

Notwithstanding all that has been done, however, in the way of making such accusations against us, I do not appear as an apologist for any severity, or for the calling of hard names, or for ill natured accusations, on the part of myself or of my brethren. If we are guilty in this respect, we stand condemned. But it is to be expected, that when men are charged with a great crime because they choose to walk, and insist on walking, in the old paths of the Reformers, and when they are assailed in an angry and bitter and scornful manner for so doing, that some of them may be betrayed to go beyond the boundaries, which Christian meekness and forbearance and even self-respect allow. I say this is not strange ; although I do not deny that it is wrong. But if it be wrong, you, my dear Sir, are one of the last men who have a title to reproach us with this wrong, as I shall have occasion to show still further in the sequel, before this letter is closed.

Enough for the present, on the *religious liberty* which we avow and advocate, the liberty to defend our own sentiments and to propagate them. No government can properly interfere with this right. Nor can any party justly deny us such a liberty as I have endeavored to defend. I know of no power on earth, which has the right to say to our opponents, "You shall have unbounded liberty of speaking, and writing, and acting, in order to defend and propagate your sentiments ; but the Orthodox cannot justly claim the same liberty for themselves."

That men should differ in opinion, is incident to the frailty of human nature, and to the imperfection of human

knowledge. But still we hold sacred the right to maintain our honest convictions, not by word and writing only, but by the use of our property and influence as well as our tongues and pens. Our Bill of Rights in this State assures us of this privilege. We have a right to endow seminaries in order to furnish teachers of our own sentiments ; we have a right to demand protection in this ; the very same rights in both respects as Unitarians have. We have a right to give our property to *churches* of our own way of thinking, and to believe and maintain that *parishes* are not of course churches. We have a right to feel ourselves injured when this property is wrested from us under color of the law. We have rights in a University which is the property of the *whole* State, and was not founded or exclusively endowed by Unitarians ; at least we have such rights, so long as we are not absolutely disfranchised. We have a right to expect that the property of the State in such an establishment, should not be appropriated to the purposes of a party ; and that the instructors in them should not give their services to one sect only, which has in *fact*, although not in name, excluded all others from any participation with them in these privileges. We who have children to educate, in common with our fellow citizens, feel the loss of such rights. We cannot help deeply feeling them ; for we are obliged to send our children abroad, at a great expense, in order to avoid their becoming partizans in the present warfare against our own sentiments. We do not complain that our sentiments are opposed ; but we complain that they are opposed in this way, and at the sacrifice of rights that we hold dear and deem sacred. We do not complain that Unitarians build up seminaries for themselves, in order to educate young men to spread abroad and defend their own sentiments ; they have an entire right to build up schools, colleges, or theological seminaries of this kind, and to confine their privileges to their own body. The Bill of Rights assures them of this privilege. But they should remember, that it assures us of the same. What we

complain of is, that an Institution which belongs in common to the whole State, which was founded and endowed to a large extent by Orthodox men, and consecrated to maintaining their faith, should now be made exclusively a party seminary, so that from the President down to the janitor, no man of *known* Orthodox sentiments, can find access there as an instructor. We complain that rights public and common, should be seized by one exclusive party, and appropriated to their own purposes; that teachers, maintained at the expense of the Commonwealth, should be devoted to a seminary exclusively Unitarian, and paid from a fund in which the Orthodox have a common interest. Of all this we complain; but never shall or can complain, that Unitarians manage their *own* Seminaries entirely in their own way; provided always, that they concede to us the same liberty.

Look now for a moment on this whole case, and put yourself in our place. Would you not feel, could you help feeling, that you had to deal with those, who being in possession of power forget right? And yet, Sir, you are not only looking on, but heartily approving of all this, and have yourself been an efficient agent in bringing it about. How can it be that there is only one side to such a question?

We are severely reproached, because we separate in our religious communion and worship from Unitarians. Some of your strongest expressions of disapprobation and indignation are poured out against us for this. And yet, when I examine this matter to the bottom, I am unable to see the justice of this reproof. We do sincerely believe, that certain sentiments are *essential* to the Christian religion. We regard them as being so essential, that true Christianity cannot exist without them. Whether we are in the right or the wrong as to this, it is not my present purpose to inquire. Enough that we sincerely believe ourselves to be in the right. If so, then how can others deny us the liberty of thinking and acting in a manner that accords with this? If we should not do so, it would be proof that we were neither

sincere nor in earnest, in our religious sentiments ; in other words, that we were hypocrites. You may believe this of us ; and judging by the general tenor of your writings, I know not how to avoid the conclusion that you do think so. But we still aver, that you have no right to affirm this ; and we must maintain this position, so long as our consciences acquit us in respect to the matter of this accusation.

In separating from those who differ from us in religious opinion, (as we believe, fundamentally), we are not led on by motives of bigotry or of an exclusive spirit. We are prone to ask a question which is not recent ; “ How can two walk together, unless they are agreed ? ” We do not urge these words beyond what we think to be their plain and obvious import. We do not think that small differences of opinion about *non-essentials*, are intended to be included in them. We limit the meaning to agreement in things, which in our view are *essential*. Such we do honestly believe to be the difference between Unitarians and ourselves. And such, not a few of the Unitarians themselves have avowed it to be. Mr. Belsham declares that “ we do not worship the same God ; ” and some of your writers and speakers declare, that the God whom we worship is a *devil*. How can you complain, then, that we separate from you ? Surely you do not wish to be united in the bonds of communion with such worshippers. If you have any conscience on this subject, it must remonstrate against it.

But who among the Orthodox ever complains that Unitarians separate from them ? I trust none. An inconsistency with the principles that we profess, would lie on the very face of such a complaint.

We do not proscribe men from whom we separate in our worship, either in a civil or social respect. We vote for them as our magistrates and legislators. We help to elevate them to the highest offices in the State ; we do so, because there are among our religious opponents men whose civil and social worth we acknowledge, and pay it the cheerful tribute

of our regard. We do it also, because the State in which we live is so divided in matters of religious opinion, that we fully believe a religious test for civil honor and office would be altogether inexpedient. We rejoice sincerely in the welfare of those whose religious opinions differ from ours, and cheerfully contribute to do them civil honor. All this cannot be denied of us with truth. And when we separate from them in our worship, it is with pain, with deep regret, with ardent wishes that they might cherish the like religious sentiments with ourselves ; but with a consciousness too, that our duty to the principles which we profess, obliges us to follow the course that we pursue.

Such are our views, feelings, and motives, in regard to the painful subjects of dispute now agitated in this community. Such I am sure are my own ; and such, I have satisfactory evidence, are the views of my beloved brethren with whom I have the pleasure to be associated in action and in belief.

I have thus given a brief view, in regard to our opinions about religious liberty and the rights of conscience. In differing from many around us, and in separating from their religious communion, we well know, we do fully recognize the fact, that we are responsible to the great HEAD of the Church. But we as fully believe, that we are responsible *ONLY to Him*. We do not mean to deny others the right of remonstrating, and of endeavoring to show us that our course is wrong ; but it is also true, that we do not believe they have any right to *demand* that we should abandon it ; nor do we think that to call us bigots, and hypocrites, and plotters against the religious liberties of the State, is the most Christian way of reclaiming us.

And now in view of these principles and of these facts in reference to Orthodox Christians, I would ask, Where is the ground of the accusations which are made against them as conspiring against the dearest liberties of the Commonwealth ? I have often been struck, my dear Sir, in reading

your writings as well as those of others, with the *manner* in which you prefer charges of the most heinous nature against us. On your own side, all that your party have done is liberal, and just, and noble, and worthy of the exalted age in which the "march of mind" has become so conspicuous, and which is carrying us on with a rapid stride far away from the Cimmerian regions of Calvin and Luther ; nay, the boldest assertions, the most perilous propositions, if not evidence of a well directed and skilful aim at the enemy, seem to be evidence in your view of great valor and of high devotedness to the cause of the New Reformation. On the other hand, all efforts of the like nature among us, in defence of our own sentiments, or in the way of assailing what we think to be errors—all these from beginning to end, appear to be reputed as mere evidences of narrow mindedness, of gloomy bigotry, of furious zeal, of a persecuting spirit, and of dark designs to renew the manacles and the dungeons to which the disciples of Ignatius Loyola have so long made their appeal.

Sir, I do not understand this. By whom has the great question been prejudged and settled, whether all that is just and true is so plainly on the side of Unitarianism, that it does not so much as admit of a single doubt, or rather, that it is to be assumed as a matter of course ? Or is this assumption even founded on one of the great *a priori* principles of our moral nature, which it needs no reasoning to settle, and which no arguments can make plainer or stronger than it is from the very first moment that it is presented to the mind ? So one who reads your writings, would be strongly tempted to suppose you deem it to be. What you say and write on subjects connected with religious dispute, bears this impress on its very face. If not, then I can solve the appearances in your writings, only by a supposition more disagreeable still, and to which I shall never resort without being absolutely driven to do it ; I mean the supposition, that you have, by the flattery of your friends, and in conse-

quence of dictating to your party so long, at last come to the position of mind, that αὐτὸς ἱκανός is enough ; that you expect as a matter of course, that all which you utter will be readily assented to, and that none but bigots will venture to call it in question. I will not, however, believe this either of you or your friends, without better evidence than any that yet lies before the public. I could easily believe that some of the journal and newspaper writers, who employ so many paragraphs in fulsome and bloated eulogies of your works, might belong to the class supposed above. But as I have no apprehension that you have any concert with them, or even thank them for the *lacker* which they strive to put on you, I have not a word more to say concerning them. What there is in your writings that deserves praise, (and this is much, and some of it of a very high order too), they seem to me to be so unfortunate as not to see ; and what is of a different or doubtful character, they are pretty sure to laud in the most extravagant and disgusting manner.

Having thus explained the views and feelings of myself and my friends, in relation to the religious liberty which we think to be proper, and which we shall ever strenuously advocate, and thus prepared the way to decide more fully how little your apprehensions respecting our principles and designs are capable of being justified and defended ; I now proceed *more fully* to develope, (as I intimated near the commencement of this letter it was my intention to do), *the tenor and spirit* of your accusations against us.

In order to present a combined and condensed view of these, I must beg the liberty of repeating here, not the words in all cases, but the substance and spirit of the passages which the beginning of this letter presents. These, united with other extracts from your writings which I intend to make, will enable every intelligent reader to judge for himself, whether the complaints which I have brought forward, and which I have still to prefer, are not sufficiently well grounded.

I make no hesitation in repeating the expression of my entire undoubting conviction, that the Orthodox are the men whom you mean to characterize in these and the like passages ; and all proof of this, to any intelligent reader, I must think to be utterly unnecessary.

In the first extract just named, you intimate that ‘ the religion of the Orthodox has been turned into spiritual tyranny, that it has fastened superstitions on the conscience, subdued the ignorant and susceptible with spiritual terrors, spread far and wide dark appalling views of God, struck a dread of inquiry into superior understandings, and made servility of spirit to pass for piety. The intimidations [of the Orthodox] from the pulpit and the press have rendered some too timid to think, made them anxiously stifle every doubt or misgiving in regard to their opinions, to shrink from the seekers after truth as from infection, to surrender their best powers to others and unresistingly to receive a teaching which wars against conscience and reason. [Orthodoxy] makes chains that eat more deeply into the soul than those of iron. This espionage of bigotry as effectually closes our lips and our hearts as an armed and hundred-eyed police. This opinion is combined and organized in sects, and swayed by the clergy. A sect skilfully organized, trained to utter one cry, combined to cover with reproach whoever may differ from themselves, to drown the free expression of opinion by denunciations of heresy, and to strike terror into the multitude by joint and perpetual menace—such a sect is as perilous and palsyng to the intellect, as the Inquisition. It serves the minister as effectually as the sword. *The present age is notoriously sectarian, and therefore hostile to liberty.*’ Elect. Serm. pp. 25—28.

Of course, then, the *present age* is one in which such a sect lives, (i. e. in your estimation) ; and lives, not in Europe or Asia, where it would very little concern us, but here at home, in Old Massachusetts, the land of the blessed Pilgrims ; and this sect is neither more nor less than the *Orthodox*. It

would be strange indeed to deny that you meant to affirm this, merely because you have not here called them by name. I will not for a moment suppose you to be capable of such disingenuousness.

In the second extract above named, you suggest that 'the accusation of a persecuting spirit, will be repelled on the part of the Orthodox with indignation. But you insist upon it that it is true. Fire and sword, you allege, are not the only instruments of persecution. The form may be changed, while the spirit lives.' "Persecution has indeed given up its halter and fagot; but *it breathes venom from its lips, and secretly blasts what it cannot openly destroy.*" Works. pp. 561, 562.

A terrible Hydra indeed this must be, which has such a poisonous breath! And happy must it be for Massachusetts, that she can furnish "a voice of strength" to reach "far and wide" enough to frighten it back to its native fen, whenever it makes its appearance and begins to hiss!

In the third long extract as mentioned above, the *Inquisition* is again brought upon the tapis. 'The multitude [of the Orthodox] dare not think or speak, because [the Inquisition in the *new* form] is more terrible than that of Spain. Men are told indeed to search the Scriptures; but they know full well, that unless they find there the creed of the Orthodox, they must undergo the penalty of exclusion. All this is worse than Papal bondage. And on the ground of Congregationalism, the church can be little more than the tool of the minister in the business of exclusion. So all comes into the hands of the clergy; who, in order to complete the whole plan, are forming Consociations, and erecting ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS, which are to compel men to believe as they do. This is a most degrading form of vassalage, imposing on the mind the dreams and fictions of men, for the everlasting truth of God.' Works. pp. 565, 566.

The fourth extract presents an apology for your controversial efforts. This in substance is, that 'you saw assaults on

freedom of thought and speech [by the Orthodox], which would have left us only the name of religious liberty. It became perilous to search the Scriptures for ourselves, and to speak our own convictions. The often reiterated idea of penalties as bad as fine and imprisonment is again introduced, [a spectre which seems to have haunted you with more than ordinary obtrusiveness and pertinacity] ; and then to frighten this spectre away, your strong voice was raised, and it made its retreat.' Works. Pref. pp. vii. viii.

Here I might rest my case, having made out proof enough of the ground of complaint which I have alleged, in respect to the treatment that we have received at your hands. But that I may not seem to have fastened on a few paragraphs, and to have dealt unfairly, I proceed still farther to cite from your Works.

On page 215, you speak of Robert Fellowes' work as 'a useful vindication of Christianity from the *gross errors* which Calvinism has labored to identify with this divine system.'

Page 216, you speak of the "five thorny points of Calvinism," and say that "few designs are more praiseworthy, than to free Christianity from the reproach brought upon it by that system."

On the same page you assert, that "Calvinism owes its perpetuity to the influence of fear in palsying the moral nature ;" that it terrifies men so "that they dare not confess, even to themselves, the shrinking, which they feel, from the unworthy views which this system gives of God ; and by thus *smothering their just abhorrence*, they gradually extinguish it, and even come to vindicate in God what would disgrace his creatures."

Just before the paragraph now presented, you say of Mr. Fellowes' work, that "it expresses strongly and without circumlocution, *the abhorrence with which EVERY mind, uncorrupted by false theology*, must look on Calvinism."

Yet those who abandon Calvinism, with all these awful severities and horrible absurdities, and prefer to adopt the

system in a somewhat modified or milder form, you represent, a few pages onward (p. 220), as *cowards* and *degenerate*. At least you say, that "if the stern reformer of Geneva could lift up his head" and hear their mitigated tone, he would call them so, and he would tell them that "*moderate* Calvinism is a solecism, a contradiction in terms;" by all which I understand you plainly to mean, that such as profess to be *moderate* Calvinists, are justly liable to the imputation of *cowardice*.

On page 221, after speaking of the Westminster Assembly's Catechism and Confession, you say, "A man of plain sense, whose spirit has not been broken to this creed by education or terror, will think that it is not necessary for us to travel to heathen countries, to learn how mournfully the human mind may misrepresent the Deity." In other words, the religious creeds of the heathen can afford no more striking misrepresentations of the Deity, than the Assembly's Catechism and Confession.

On page 402, you represent Trinitarians as 'having no right to object to the picture and symbol worship of the Roman Catholics. If Christ is God, and has a body, that body may as well be pictured as any other one; and there can be no rational objection to making use of this picture in our worship.'

On page 405, you aver that "Trinitarianism is a riddle;" that "instead of teaching an intelligible God, it offers to the mind a strange compound of *hostile attributes, bearing plain marks of those ages of darkness, when Christianity shed but a faint ray, and the diseased fancy teemed with prodigies and unnatural creations.*"

On page 409 you say; "We look with *horror* and grief on the views of God's government, which are naturally and intimately united with Trinitarianism. They take from us our Father in heaven, and substitute a *stern* and *unjust* lord."

On page 415, you admit that there are some great minds among the adherents of the prevalent system [of Orthodoxy]; "but," you add, "they seem to move in chains, and to fulfil

poorly their high function of adding to the wealth of the human intellect ;” and you then liken them to Samson grinding in the mill of the Philistines.

On page 423, you say that if you believed what Trinitarians teach in regard to sin, you should “feel yourself living under a legislation unspeakably dreadful, under laws written, like Draco’s, in blood ; and instead of thanking the sovereign for providing an infinite substitute, you should shudder at the attributes which render this expedient necessary.”

On page 428 you say ; “According to these principles [viz. those of Trinitarianism], the fanatic who exclaimed, *I believe, because it is impossible*, has a fair title to canonization.” “Trinitarianism links itself with several *degrading* errors ; and its most natural alliance is with Calvinism, that cruel faith, which, stripping God of mercy and man of power, has made Christianity an instrument of torture to the timid, and an object of doubt or scorn to hardier spirits. I repeat it, a doctrine, which violates reason like the Trinity,” etc.

On page 557 you say ; “Nothing is plainer, than that the leaders of the party called ‘Orthodox,’ have adopted and mean to enforce a system of exclusion, in regard to Liberal Christians.”

On page 558, the Orthodox are represented as having fallen into some of “the grossest errors.”

On page 561, the Orthodox are represented as menacing with ruin the Christian who listens to Unitarians, and as branding him with the most terrifying epithets in order to prevent a candid inquiry into the truth.

On page 568 you assert, that “it is a *melancholy fact*, that our long established form of Congregational church government is menaced, and TRIBUNALS *unknown to our churches,—are to be introduced for the very purpose, that the supposed errors and mistakes of ministers and private Christians may be tried and punished as heresies ; that is, AS CRIMES.*”

But where shall I end in making extracts of such a nature, when all of these have been taken from three short pieces in

your book ; and in these I have omitted as much as I have extracted that is of the like nature ? I conclude the whole task of extracting, by presenting one specimen more of the manner in which you treat that doctrine which of all that is *peculiar* to the gospel, the Orthodox deem the most dear and sacred ; I mean the doctrine of Atonement by the suffering and death of Christ upon the cross. It is thus that you speak of this part of our faith.

“ This doctrine of an Infinite substitute, suffering the penalty of sin, to manifest God’s wrath against sin, and thus to support his government, is, I fear, so familiar to us all, that its severe character is overlooked. Let me then set it before you, in new terms, and by a new illustration ; and if in so doing, I may wound the feelings of some who hear me, I beg them to believe, that I do it with pain, and from no impulse but a desire to serve the cause of truth.—Suppose, then, that a teacher should come among you, and should tell you, that the Creator, in order to pardon his own children, had erected a gallows in the centre of the universe, and had publicly executed upon it, in room of the offenders, an Infinite being, the partaker of his own Supreme Divinity ; suppose him to declare, that this execution was appointed, as a most conspicuous and terrible manifestation of God’s justice, and of the infinite we denounced by his law ; and suppose him to add, that all beings in heaven and earth are required to fix their eyes on this fearful sight, as the most powerful enforcement of obedience and virtue. Would you not tell him, that he calumniated his Maker ? Would you not say to him, that this central gallows threw gloom over the universe ; that the spirit of a government, whose very acts of pardon were written in such blood, was terror, not paternal love ; and that the obedience, which needed to be upheld by this horrid spectacle, was nothing worth ? Would you not say to him, that even you, in this infancy and imperfection of your being, were capable of being wrought upon by nobler motives, and of hating sin through more generous views ; and that much more the angels, those pure flames of love, need not the gallows and an executed God, to confirm their loyalty ? You would all so feel at such teaching as I have supposed ; and yet how does this differ from the popular doctrine of atonement ? ” pp. 423, 424.

On this last extract I deem all comment superfluous. The holy apostle who asserts that *Christ has redeemed the church by his blood* ; who was “ *determined not to preach any thing else save Jesus Christ and him CRUCIFIED ;* ” who “ *gloried in nothing save in the CROSS of Christ ;* ” and the redeemed in heaven who ascribe *salvation to his BLOOD*, may stand as arbiters to decide on such an awful paragraph.

And now, my dear Sir, I come to the main object of this letter. I have endeavored to prepare the way, and come at last to the principal thing in view ; with great reluctance, indeed, but still with deep conviction that duty bids me do it. I have complained that you have uttered frequent and severe accusations against us, who belong to the denomination of the Orthodox. I have shown the ground of my complaint. Permit me then to add to what I have said, by making what I deem a reasonable and proper and Christian request of you.

You have given your name to the world as the author of accusations, that *we are aiming to subvert and destroy the religious liberty of this Commonwealth ; that we are combined to put down all free inquiry in matters of religion ; that we are endeavoring, in secret and openly, to introduce an ecclesiastical tyranny worse than that of the Inquisition ; that we are determined to raise up ecclesiastical Courts to try, condemn, and punish all whom we deem to be heretics ; and thus to prevent all right of private judgment, and all freedom in respect to religious opinion.*

I have openly avowed in this letter my own opinion, and what I know to be the opinion of the Christian brethren with whom I have the honor to be associated, in relation to these subjects. I know that what I have said is incapable of being contradicted, on any grounds of evidence. *I do know that the accusations which you stand pledged to support are NOT TRUE. I aver that THEY ARE NOT*, before heaven and earth. That they are accusations of a hurtful tendency, need not be said. They go to destroy all respect for us, all confidence in us, all prospects of our usefulness in society or in the church, just so far as you are believed ; and to render us the objects of suspicion, of scorn, and of hatred. As injured men, as injured in a manner that is highly unjust and cruel, we call on you either for reparation, or else to support your charges. These charges are *allegations as to matters of FACT*. They are not matters of opinion merely, or the deductions which may be drawn from opinions.

As matters of fact, you are bound to support them. According to all demands of propriety and justice, you have no liberty now to retreat, by professing disdain of your opponents ; none to screen yourself under the allegation, (as you have attempted in the preface to your Works to do), that you dislike controversy. On every ground of equity, you must either support the charges which you have made, *as to facts* ; or take them back ; or else stand before the public as one who has abused and maltreated his fellow beings, members of the same Commonwealth, entitled to the same privileges with himself, and having a right to claims that they shall be spoken of with *truth* and *justice* ; a right which cannot be violated without responsibility for so doing.

Sir, we have borne these charges in silence long enough—so long that not a few of your friends begin to aver, that silence gives consent to the truth of them. You have repeated them so often and for such a series of years, without being called in question in some important respects for so doing, that you seem of late to have considered the right of doing it as a matter quite beyond the reach of debate. You do not seem to expect, that the objects of your vehement and scornful denunciation, would venture to resist or even to complain. Like those subdued by the irresistible power of the great Assyrian King, “not a bird would move the wing, or open the mouth, or peep.” But if you have believed this respecting us, you have erred, at least in one point, with regard to your views of the Orthodox. We have not been cowering with fear ; we have “held our peace for good.” We acknowledge, indeed, that when “we have meditated on some of these things, the fire has burned within us.” But if we have been trespassers in this respect, kindly put it to the score of human infirmity. After all, however, there are times when it becomes a duty to call on those who assail us with bitter reproaches, who endeavor to hold us up to the scorn and ridicule of the world, who accuse us of crimes which *in foro conscientiae* would be properly

adjudged to be *high treason against the religious liberties of this Commonwealth*, so long as we profess to be citizens of it, and have sworn to maintain its constitution and its rights. There are boundaries beyond which it is not the duty of the peaceable and the inoffensive to go, in tolerating abuse of this nature without demanding a reparation. We have come to those bounds. We allege before the world that we have been slandered and abused by your writings; we appeal to the particulars; we offer the evidence; and we now appeal to every honest and candid man of any party, to judge whether we have not supported our charge, that you have made and often repeated such accusations against us.

If now you can establish the *facts* which you have alleged, and which go to make up the charges in question, in respect to the Orthodox as a body in this Commonwealth, confession and humiliation in this whole affair undoubtedly will belong to us. If you cannot prove it of the *whole*, then the sweeping accusations which you have made are to be modified, greatly modified. If you can prove it only of a few solitary individuals, called by the name of Orthodox, but who in fact are extravagant and reckless men, this will be little to your purpose, and nothing to ours. We wash our hands of such orthodoxy. Our orthodoxy bids us to be peaceable members of the State, true friends of our government, advocates of religious liberty even at the peril of life and property, and of this too in its highest and most extensive rational sense. We are *Congregationalists*, as we profess to be. We have no prejudices, indeed, against the Presbyterian or other forms of church government, which our brethren of Orthodox denominations in this Commonwealth or in any part of our country see fit to adopt. It is our belief that the gospel has not *prescribed exclusively* any particular form of church government; but that this is left to expediency as times and circumstances may require. Nor are those who may differ from ourselves in respect to the regimen of the churches, therefore to be involved any more than we, in the charges

which you have preferred against the Orthodox. They have no such objects in view, as you charge upon us all ; and they would not only disclaim them, but contend most strenuously against them.

But in respect to such of us as profess to be Congregationalists, neither yourself nor any man on earth, has a right to deny that we are sincere in this profession. How then can we have it in view to erect *ecclesiastical judicatories and courts which are to try and punish heretics as criminals* ? Why Sir, the suggestion of such a thing among *Congregationalists*, is just as if one were to ask under the present form of our government in this State, 'What day is appointed for the *coronation* of the Governor ?' And the fact that you even suggest such a thing, shows, either that you regard us as hypocrites in professing to be Congregationalists ; or—shall I say it—that you make assertions of this nature, without even knowing what Congregationalism admits or rejects.

My belief is, that you cannot make your charges good, against any man in this State who bears the name of Orthodox. Still I must be understood as asserting no farther than I have evidence before me. In regard to that class of the Orthodox at which you have aimed your accusations, I fearlessly assert that you cannot possibly make them good. And in this class, I would comprehend laymen as well as clergymen. I have the pleasure of a personal acquaintance somewhat extensive, among the men who are active in promoting the interests of Orthodoxy in Massachusetts. I know that you have wronged them in your charges, and that you are utterly unable to support these charges.

You will ask me, perhaps, why I should select *you* as the object of this call and of this complaint. My answer is ready. You have been ingenuous enough to give your name to the world, as a pledge that you will support the charges which you have made. I commend you most sincerely for this. It is a pledge, that you do not mean to act in the dark, and that you are not afraid to take on *you* the responsibility of what

you affirm. I regard it also as a satisfactory testimonial, that you believe in the truth of what you have alleged. I would not for a moment have it understood, that in denying the charges which you have brought, I mean to implicate you in the charge of uttering *intentional* falsehood. Sir, I know of nothing in your life or writings, much as I dissent from many things which you have said, that would justify me in making such an assertion. I should deem it inexcusable in myself, not to explain what I say in such a manner, that I shall not be understood by any one, as making an allegation of this nature against you ; nor will I allow the objection to be made to me, that I have assailed you with such a complaint. But this does not make our case any better, but rather the worse. The openness and sincerity with which you proclaim your opinions, are the very means of making them current with such a part of the public as have no personal acquaintance with our views and feelings and motives. If it were known, or even suspected, that you made such charges as a mere party fetch, the mischief of them would at once be prevented. But now, you do the thing with so much openness, and zeal, and sincerity ; and withal hold such a rank in the opinion of the public as to uprightness, and veracity, and candor ; that the allegations which you make that are erroneous, become dangerous and injurious ones. The fact that you are sincere in making them, then, is no reason why we who are exposed to injury by them, should not insist that they *must* be either made good or retracted. It furnishes the weightier reason why we should do so. And the fact that you have given your name to the world, is a public pledge that you stand ready to support them. You cannot complain then that we make the call on you to do this.

As to the *anonymous* accusations which are a thousand times repeated, from the more stately Review down to the insignificant newspaper and two-penny pamphlet, we have more important concerns in which we ought to be engaged

than in answering them. At all events, I shall never trouble them with any calls of this nature.

One other reason I would assign, why I have made the call on you to support the accusations which you have made against us. It is this, viz. that if we are to give credence to the testimony of your friends, you are the head or leader of the Unitarian party in this State. So the partial friend, who has recently made your defence against the criticisms of the *Edinburgh Review*, has stated to the world. "Dr. Channing, as our readers are generally aware, *is the acknowledged leader of the Unitarian sect*, as far as there can be leaders, etc." *North Amer. Review*, July 1830. p. 46. Taking this statement (which has often before been virtually made) to be correct, and knowing that what you say and publish is reëchoed, and republished, and applauded so often and to such a wide extent, we have a right to request, nay to demand from you the reason, why you endeavor so extensively to injure us and to bring us into suspicion, or into contempt and hatred.

What sort of impression you make on your admirers, is sufficiently evident from another passage on the same page of the *N. Amer. Review* which I have quoted. The writer there says ; "Dr. Channing has no doubt *uniformly observed the decorum*, which belongs to his character and feelings, as well as to his position, *and has treated his opponents with PERFECT LIBERALITY.*" p. 46. Who the writer of this *Review* is, I know not. He is evidently a man of talents and knowledge, and no more prejudiced, I presume, against the Orthodox, than many others, who, like himself, know nothing about them. He receives with implicit belief what you say respecting them. He even commends you for "*perfect liberality*" towards them. As a matter of common justice to his fellow citizens, we have a right now to solicit, that he would peruse the evidence collected in this letter of your "*perfect liberality and decorum* ;" then to put himself for a moment in our

condition, and ask, Whether this is the measure of "decorum and liberality" which he would like to have exercised towards himself? The complaints which he makes of the British Reviews, and makes with great justice and force too, as to not a few things, have respect to mere trifles compared with those things of which we feel compelled to make complaint against you.

In the general tenor of his remarks, by way of vindicating your works against the criticisms of the Edinburgh Reviewer, I concur. The flippant impudence, (if I may venture to speak what I feel), the superficial criticism, the illiberal spirit, and the palpable mistakes in literary taste and judgment, which the Scotch Reviewer seems to me to betray, hardly render his work worth the notice bestowed upon it in our own much more able and respectable Review. I have no sympathies with *such* foreign criticism; no blindness, I trust, to the merits and excellencies of your writings in many important respects. I could almost say, "Ubi bene, nemo melius." Indeed, I do fully and heartily say this, of a great many passages in them. I have as much satisfaction in the claims of America to notice, in consequence of your writings, as the Reviewer himself. But then, I have complaints to make which he has either wholly overlooked, or which he is not disposed to acknowledge as well founded. He will pardon me for thus *criticising* on his *criticism*, and believe me when I say of the North American as a whole, *Non invideo, miror magis*. I could even add, on account of some of the pieces in this work, *I nostrum decus*.

But to return; the mischief of which we complain, in consequence of lending your name to sanction accusations against us, does not stop within the narrow circle of Massachusetts. For example; the editor of the *American Quarterly* and *National Gazette*, has every now and then retailed, secretly or openly, accusations against "*the bigots*" of the North, which are copied from you, or echoed in the spirit fostered by reading your works. It comes, however, not with a very

good grace from him. If he is a *true* son of the Romish Church to which he professes to belong, it is indeed "passing strange" that he should rail at the bigotry of us Protestants and Puritans. A man who professes to believe in the infallibility of the Pope, in the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, in purgatory, in the *plena indulgentia* which is to be purchased for a few pence and which stands advertised on the conspicuous places of the *eternal City*; who of course, if he is sincere in all this, must, on the same authority, believe equally in the relics of the cross, in the transportation by angels of the chapel of my Lady of Loretto, and in the miraculous liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius, with a multitude of other things of the like nature; and who, as a true son of the same church, must bow with cheerful acquiescence in the Bull of the late Pius at Rome, the "Vicar of God and successor of St. Peter," dated Aug. 7, 1814, which after the Jesuits had been suppressed for 40 years by another *infallible* Pontiff, not only restores them to all their rights and privileges, but declares, that "if any one shall infringe, or by an audacious temerity oppose any part of this ordinance [the Bull in question], let him know that he will thereby incur the INDIGNATION of ALMIGHTY GOD, and of the HOLY APOSTLES PETER AND PAUL"—I say a man who sincerely believes all this, is not altogether the right man to rail at the bigotry of Orthodox Congregationalists in Massachusetts. And if he be not sincere in his profession of being a genuine and dutiful Son of his mother Church, but professes to be what he is not, then his sneers or his scoffs are matters which, without any very strenuous effort, we can make up our minds to endure.

And now, my dear Sir, can you believe me, when I declare, that in all which I have said above, I have no *personal* aim at you? It is true, that I have called on you *personally*; for how could I possibly avoid this, when my whole letter is concerned with allegations that you have made? But as to exciting a spirit of hostility or bitterness against you as a

man, I disclaim openly any such intention ; it would be unworthy of the cause which I profess to advocate ; it would be unbecoming my place, or the character which I would wish to bear. Is there no separation that can be made by our public, between calling in question allegations and charges, and personal malignity towards those who make them ? I trust there is ; at least, in my own case, I certainly hope there is. I am not behind some of your more sober and judicious friends, in my approbation and admiration of many things in your writings. In all your and my personal intercourse, on the occasion of a discussion some years since, I had no personal reasons to complain of you. I would hope that you can say the same of me. I am sure that I bear you no ill will ; I am certain too, that I am very far from cherishing disrespect for your talents. I say this fully and freely, because I am anxious to be rightly understood. My complaint is, of the injury which your charges are adapted to do us ; of what I believe to be utterly unfounded allegations against our character and designs ; of being held up by you to the public, as conspirators against its sacred liberties. Justice, truth, a proper regard to our good name and usefulness, all demand that the charges against us should be examined, and that they should either be substantiated or retracted.

I could wish the call on you to do this had fallen into better hands than mine. But as the unpleasant task has not to my knowledge been undertaken, I have ventured upon it through a sense of duty. I can only appeal to the good sense, and equity, and candor of the community, for a justification of my course. If these condemn me, then let me stand condemned. If not, then I shall at least have the satisfaction of believing that what I have done may contribute to bring more into the light certain matters, which it has now become high time our community should more fully understand.

Allow me in closing this communication, (already protracted far beyond my original intention), to say a few things in reference to the great contest which is going on between

Unitarianism and Orthodoxy in this part of our country. Your place as the leader of the Unitarian party, (you will pardon me for saying this which I copy from your friends), renders it of some importance, that you should be possessed of just and definite views in regard to some great points of deep conviction and feeling among us. We have no secrets to keep in relation to these matters; and therefore I will frankly state them.

First of all we do sincerely believe in the great Protestant maxim, that **THE SCRIPTURES ARE THE SUFFICIENT AND ONLY RULE OF FAITH AND PRACTICE.** We do not regard them as a secondary and inferior or mere supplementary edition of the laws of nature. What they reveal, we take as our creed, *our only creed.* We do not reject the use of symbols of faith and catechisms; but we assign no authority or validity to them any farther than as we believe them to be a true representation of God's Word. In heart and soul we agree with the *great doctrines* of the Reformers, of Calvin and Luther. We do so because we believe them to be contained in the Bible, not because we rely at all on any authority of these great men. But we do not hold ourselves bound to defend the same doctrines which they embraced, by the same specific reasons in all cases which they employed in defending them. We have no scruple in rejecting some of their reasons, and of employing better ones when we can find them. Neither do we feel bound to their technology or diction in all cases. Much of this depended on the logic of the day, on the metaphysics of the schools, and on the state of questions controverted between them and the Romanists. The key to many a proposition in their writings, is to be found only by knowing against what errors these propositions were directed; a truth almost entirely overlooked by the greater part of their opponents at the present time; but one which is so obvious, that the overlooking it is well nigh inexcusable. Many an assertion in their writings, which is now brought forward as unjust and "mon-

strous and horrible," melts down into plain and simple truth that every rational Protestant must own, when examined with the caution that I have suggested, and which a common share of candor demands should be exercised.

We are *Calvinists*, if you please to call us so, although we do not court the name. Nor do we refuse it, if it seem good to our opponents to bestow it. But we do not receive *every thing* which Calvin taught; nor any thing because he taught it. We hold ourselves at liberty, and that without being justly subjected to the charge of "disingenuousness and cowardice," to reject some things which seem to us quite unimportant in the system of the Reformers; and to reject their reasons in support of other things which we receive, just so often as we find them, on examination, turn out to be insufficient.

We say the same things in respect to our Pilgrim Fathers. We mean to be their "sons in faith," as we are their sons by descent. But this binds us not to all their modes of reasoning, nor to all their views in respect to matters not essential to the existence and prosperity of true Christianity.

Having adopted these principles, not from tradition, not from catechisms and creeds, not from "the fear of what is worse than the fetters and dungeons of the Inquisition," but from what we believe to be calm and dispassionate inquiry into the Scriptures, from what we know to be long-continued and diligent investigation of them, we have made up our minds to stand fast in the liberty wherewith we believe Christ has made us free, in maintaining the system of doctrine which is denominated *Evangelical* or *Orthodox*. This indeed is very diverse, in not a few important respects, from what you and some of your friends represent it to be. Some years since, my respected friend and colleague, the Rev. Dr. Woods, brought forward against you the allegation of misrepresenting our doctrines, and called on you to make good the charge, or to retract it. Of this call, for reasons best known to yourself, you thought proper to take no notice.

Yet the call must, on all hands, be admitted to be just and proper. You recently tell us in your preface, that your reasons for not answering such calls were, that you might not be involved in personal controversy; that you must have "*spoken with great freedom*," and "set down as a grave moral offence, the disingenuousness so common at the present day, which, under pretence of maintaining old opinions, so disguises and discolors them, that they can with difficulty be recognized." But if such be the fact in regard to your opponents, why not prove this to the world, by adducing legitimate and satisfactory evidence? In such an age and such a country as ours, where every thing may be and must be examined, it is presuming pretty largely on the public credulity, to suppose that assertions will stand for arguments, and high and exasperated denunciation, for patient labor of investigating and proving in detail. It is what neither yourself, nor any other man in America, has any right to claim or expect.

But besides those doctrines of the Orthodox which have been misrepresented and misunderstood, there are others, no doubt, which are opposed and denied in the very respects in which we believe them to be true.

I proceed, however, with my remarks of a more general nature. In the present state of conviction and feeling among the Orthodox, which results from examination and full persuasion, it cannot be rationally expected, that we should accede to every contradiction of our principles, or succumb to every tempest that assaults us. *There is one way, and one only, to annihilate all the Orthodoxy of the State; and this is, to show by the fair and established laws of interpretation, that the Bible does not support it.* All else will fail of its end. We do in good faith believe that the Bible is the word of God; and that it is our supreme, authoritative, infallible, and only guide. We cannot be convinced, therefore, that it is our duty to relinquish what we regard as its plain and unequivocal decisions, in order to embrace what we

regard as the speculations of men, and the maxims of fashionable philosophy. We do not concede the propriety of allowing *a priori* notions and assertions, to take the place of what the sacred writers have decided. We are not acquainted with any man, whose word is law or gospel to us. We would receive no apothegms, because they are asserted with an air of confidence, and in glowing and vehement language, or in eloquent strains. A man to enjoy our religious confidence, must give some good evidence that he loves, and reverences, and has deeply studied his Bible. We submit implicitly to Paul, and Peter, and others like them; but in all other cases, we stop to ask the *why* and the *wherefore*.

Sir, you have mistaken the orthodox community of Massachusetts. They care as little for bringing in the dark ages as you do. They are a great deal farther from commending the faith of those who are laboring to extend the superstitions of Rome in our community than yourself, if the softened tones in which you speak of the advocates of these superstitions, are to be taken as the index of your feelings.

Nor are the Orthodox to be diverted from their purpose, by language of severe reproach and unmeasured indignation. The sons of those, who left country and kindred to brave the storms of the ocean in frail barks, to face the gloomy horrors of the wintry blasts and storms in a savage land and in a boundless forest, and who did all this cheerfully that they might hold fast their orthodox faith, and worship God according to it—the sons of such men, holding to the same principles, and believing them to be the only foundation of their eternal hopes—are not to be diverted from their course by obloquy and denunciation, however eloquent and severe. With them, religion is all. The world and all its concerns vanish into insignificance, when it comes into comparison with the “glory that is to be revealed.” It cannot be expected, then, if they are in any measure what they profess to be, that they should be overawed or daunted by denunciation or opposition. No Sir; these will not accomplish the

purpose at which they aim. It is not that the Orthodox are insensible to what their fellow beings think and say of them. Far from this. There is much more sensibility among them on this subject than I could wish. I cannot withhold my hearty commendation, however, of very many of them, for checking these feelings, and putting restraint upon them. But still, they know when they are mal-treated. They know when their rights are denied under cover of law; when they are excluded from the literary and civil privileges and offices of the State; when they are jeered at in private circles, and pointed at with the finger of scorn in public. With all this they have borne, and borne long; I do not say that they have always done this with such patience and meekness as became them. I am afraid that this is not the case. But depend on it, Sir, there is a secret flame kindled in this Commonwealth, by such measures as I have named above on your part and that of your friends, which, though smothered long, cannot always be smothered. Justice, and fairness, and equality of rights, must at last become the order of the day. Well will it be for the peace of this community, if the season when this shall take place should not be long protracted. There is always danger in a smothered sense of injustice and oppression; above all when this is the fact with respect to great numbers who belong to the leading class of men in the community; danger to those who feel it, as well as to others. May heaven avert its consequences from our beloved Commonwealth!

I shall be entirely misunderstood, if I am supposed to utter these things *in terrorem*. I know well that our opponents are not men to be influenced in this way. It is the last method that I should adopt, in order to influence them. I say these things merely as one who loves his country and his Commonwealth, and the happy form of government under which he lives, and who fears the consequences of any thing which may have a tendency to disturb our peace. But the time has come, when the whole truth should be openly told.

Depend on it, Sir, there is a smothered sense of deep injury among the Orthodox, both of civil and religious injury, which needs to be allayed by a return to the principles of justice, and equal rights, and kind discussion, on the part of those who are striving to crush them. We look to Switzerland ; we see the wandering exile pastors there thrust out from their country, or languishing in dungeons, and their families begging their bread, because these dauntless heralds of salvation have dared to preach Christ and him crucified. We cannot help knowing that Unitarianism has done this ; and consequently we are slow to receive professions of *liberality*, as certain evidence of its existence. We *fear* that there are not wanting in our own State, some who would not scruple to walk in the steps of their Liberal Brethren abroad ; some whose standing argument against our principles is, that Calvin burned Servetus ; but who unluckily have never read the ecclesiastical history of Geneva in the nineteenth century. Far, very far, are we from reproaching the Unitarians as a body, in our State, with such views and wishes. On the contrary, we do verily believe that a few of the more intolerant among them, are altogether deceived as to the feelings of their brethren. We do not believe that the majority are prepared for those *ultra* measures, to which they are occasionally urged. They would abhor the idea of oppressing and abusing us, would they but candidly and patiently examine the whole matter. We must still hope that they will do this, before they proceed to further measures ; and that after all, the present appearances in our State, which are portentous of storm and tempest, will be dissipated, and unclouded sunshine follow. At least we hope this. And that this great end may be accomplished, we would earnestly beseech all who love the peace and prosperity of society and the church, to direct their fervent unceasing supplications to Him, who "maketh the winds and the waves to obey his voice," who is "King of kings and Lord of lords," who is "seated at the

right hand of the Majesty on high," and is **GOD OVER ALL AND BLESSED FOREVER.**

I am, my dear Sir, notwithstanding my difference of sentiment and feeling, with much respect, and with the most sincere wishes for your happiness in time and eternity,

Your friend and obedient servant,

MOSES STUART.

Andover, July, 1830.

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